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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

4 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CXXXIII.

**COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWELFTH DAY OF APRIL
TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF APRIL, 1904.**

FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION

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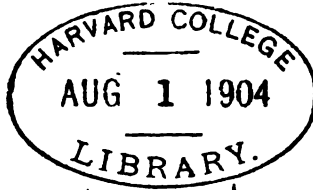
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THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES commence with the year 1803, and the contents are set forth in the following Chronological Table:—

HISTORY.		(SIXTH PARLIAMENT.)	
CONQUEST to 34 GEO. II.—1066 to 1760.		Vol. 39 & 40...59 GEO. III.	1819
Vol. 1 to 15, 1 WILL. I. to 34 GEO. II. 1066-1760		— 41 60 — ...	1819-20
REIGN OF GEORGE III.—1760 to 1820.		<i>Second Series.</i>	
Vol. 15 to 35, 1 GEO. III. to 40 GEO. III. 1760-1800		REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—1820 to 1830.	
(FIRST PARLIAMENT.)		(SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.)	
Vol. 35 41 GEO. III.....1801		Vol. 1 to 3... 1 GEO. IV.	1820
— 36 42 — 1802		— 4 & 5... 2 — 1821	
		— 6 — 7... 3 — 1822	
		— 8 — 9... 4 — 1823	
		— 10 — 11... 5 — 1824	
		— 12 — 13... 6 — 1825-6	
		— 14 — 15... 7 — 1826	
(SECOND PARLIAMENT.)		(EIGHTH PARLIAMENT.)	
Vol. 36 42 GEO. III. 1802-3		Vol. 16 7 GEO. IV.	1826
—		— 17 8 — 1827	
DEBATES.		— 18 & 19... 9 — 1828	
<i>First Series.</i>		— 20 — 21...10 — 1829	
(SECOND PARLIAMENT—continued.)		— 22 to 25...11 — 1830	
Vol. 1 & 2...44 GEO. III.....1803-4		<i>Third Series.</i>	
— 3 to 5...45 — 1805		REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.—1830 to 1837.	
— 6 & 7...46 — 1806		(NINTH PARLIAMENT.)	
(THIRD PARLIAMENT.)		Vol. 1 to 3... 1 WILL. IV.....1830-1	
Vol. 8 & 9...47 GEO. III. 1806-7		(TENTH PARLIAMENT.)	
(FOURTH PARLIAMENT.)		Vol. 4 to 8... 2 WILL. IV.	1831
Vol. 9 to 11...48 GEO. III.....1807-8		— 9 — 14... 3 — 1832	
— 12 — 14...49 — 1809		(ELEVENTH PARLIAMENT.)	
— 15 — 17...50 — 1810		Vol. 15 to 20... 4 WILL. IV.	1833
— 18 — 20...51 — ... 1810-11		— 21 — 25... 5 — 1834	
— 21 — 23...52 — 1812		(TWELFTH PARLIAMENT.)	
(FIFTH PARLIAMENT.)		Vol. 26 to 30... 6 WILL. IV.	1835
Vol. 24 to 26...53 GEO. III. ... 1812-13		— 31 — 35... 7 — 1836	
— 27 & 28...54 — ... 1813-14		— 36 — 38... 8 — 1837	
— 29 to 31...55 — ... 1814-15			
— 32 — 34...56 — 1816			
— 35 & 36...57 — 1817			
— 37 — 38...58 — 1818			

REIGN OF VICTORIA—1837 to 1901.**(THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)**

Vol. 39 to 44...	1	VICTORIA	1838
— 45 — 50...	2	—	1839
— 51 — 55...	3	—	1840
— 56 — 58...	4	—	(a) 1841

(FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 59	4	VICTORIA	(b) 1841
— 60 to 65...	5	—	1842
— 66 — 71...	6	—	1843
— 72 — 76...	7	—	1844
— 77 — 82...	8	—	1845
— 83 — 88...	9	—	1846
— 89 — 94...	10	—	(a) 1847

(FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 95	10	VICTORIA	(b) 1847
— 96 to 101...	11	—	1848
— 102 — 107...	12	—	1849
— 108 — 113...	13	—	1850
— 114 — 118...	14	—	1851
— 119 — 122...	15	—	(a) 1852

(SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 123	15	VICTORIA	(b) 1852
— 124 to 129...	16	—	1853
— 130 — 135...	17	—	1854
— 136 — 139...	18	—	1855
— 140 — 143...	19	—	1856
— 144	20	—	(a) 1857

(SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 145 to 147...	20	VICTORIA	(b) 1857
— 148 — 151...	21	—	1858
— 152 — 153...	22	—	(a) 1859

(EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 154 to 155...	22	VICTORIA	(b) 1859
— 156 — 160...	23	—	1860
— 161 — 164...	24	—	1861
— 165 — 168...	25	—	1862
— 169 — 172...	26	—	1863
— 173 — 176...	27	—	1864
— 177 — 180...	28	—	1865

(NINETEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 181 to 184...	29	VICTORIA	 1866
— 185 — 189...	30	—	1867
— 190 — 193...	31	—	... 1867-8

(TWENTIETH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 194 to 198...	32	VICTORIA	... 1868-9
— 199 — 203...	33	—	1870
— 204 — 208...	34	—	1871
— 209 — 213...	35	—	1872
— 214 — 217...	36	—	1873

(TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 218 to 221...	37	VICTORIA	1874
— 222 — 226...	38	—	1875
— 227 — 231...	39	—	1876
— 232 — 236...	40	—	1877
— 237 — 242...	41	—	1878
— 243 — 249...	42	—	... 1878-9
— 250 & 251...	43	—	(a) 1880

(TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 252 to 256...	43	VICTORIA	(b) 1880
— 257 — 265...	44	—	1881
— 266 — 273...	45	—	(a) 1882
— 274 & 275...	45	—	(b) 1882
— 276 to 283...	46	—	1883
— 284 — 292...	47	—	1884
— 293 — 301...	48	—	... 1884-5

(TWENTY-THIRD PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 302 to 307...	49	VICTORIA	(a) 1886
--------------------	----	----------	----------

(TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 308 & 309...	49	VICTORIA	(b) 1886
— 310 to 321...	50	—	1887
— 322 — 332...	51	—	1888
— 333 — 340...	52	—	1889
— 341 — 348...	53	—	1890
— 349 — 356...	54	—	... 1890-1

Fourth Series.**(TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT—*cont.*)**

Vol. 1 to 6...	55	VICTORIA	1892
----------------	----	----------	-----------

(TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 7	56	VICTORIA	1892
— 8 to 21...	57	—	... 1893-4
— 22 — 29...	57	—	1894
— 30 — 35...	58	—	1895

(TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 36	59	VICTORIA	1895
— 37 to 44...	59	—	... 1895-6
— 45 — 52...	60	—	1897
— 53 — 65...	61	—	1898
— 66 — 76...	62	—	1899
— 77	63	—	1899
— 78 — 83...	63	—	1900
— 84 ... 63 & 64	--	—	1900
— 85 — 87...	64	—	1900

(TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 88	64	VICTORIA	1900
---------------	----	----------	-----------

REIGN OF EDWARD VII.**(TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT—*cont.*)**

Vol. 89	1	EDWARD VII	...1901
— 90 to 100	1	—	...1901
— 101 ... 1 & 2	—	—	...1902
— 102 to 117	2	—	...1902
— 118 to 128	3	—	...1903
— 129 to 133	4	—	...1904

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CXXXIII.

FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION, 1904.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 12TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Page

Birkdale Improvement Bill. —Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]	1
Brixham Gas Bill. —Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill; South end-on-Sea Gas Bill. Read the third time, and passed	1
Acton Improvement Bill. —As amended considered; to be read the third time	1
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. —As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time	1
Colney Hatch Gas Bill. —As amended, considered; to be read the third time	1
Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) Bill [LORDS].—Ipswich Dock Commission Bill [Lords]; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [Lords]; New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [Lords]; Tyne mouth Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed	1
Crystal Palace District Gas Bill (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed	2
Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Electric Power Bill. —Order [12th February], that the Bill be committed, read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.—(<i>Mr. Caldwell.</i>)	2
Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. —Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills	2

Apr. 12.]

Page

Tottenham Improvement Bill. —Petition for additional Provision ; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills	2
RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP NO. 5). —Ordered, That William Nisbet Blair, Horace Bantick and John Monk do attend the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills on Thursday, 14th April, at Twelve of the Clock	2

PETITIONS.

BEER HOUSES. —Petition from Newport (Monmouthshire), for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table	3
ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL. —Petition from Bermondsey, against (praying to be heard by Counsel) : referred to the Select Committee on the Bill	3
LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law ; from Iver ; Eastbourne ; Carlisle ; Gillingham ; Buxton ; Idle ; Cable Street ; Cheadle Hulme ; Arbroath ; Market Lavington ; Exeter ; Kirkburton ; Brighton (two) ; Skelmanthorpe ; Broadway ; Portsmouth ; Preston ; Aspull ; Middlesborough ; Westbourne Park ; Dundee ; Kilmarnock (two) ; Fallowfield ; Crumlin ; Abercam ; Crawley ; Bispham ; Stenhousemuir ; Lennox-town ; Grangemouth ; Flimby (four) ; Maryport ; and Paddington ; to lie upon the Table	3
MISRA, PANDIT ADYA PRASADA. —Petition of Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, for redress of grievances ; to lie upon the Table	3
SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petitions against ; from Handsworth ; and Manchester ; to lie upon the Table	3
THACKER, K. G. —Petition of K. G. Thacker, for redress of grievances ; to lie upon the Table	3

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of His Majesty during the Easter Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896 :

1. Judicial Statistics (England and Wales).—Copy of Judicial Statistics, Part I., relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for England and Wales for 1902. (2.) Board of Education (Public Elementary Schools, etc.).—Copy of Lists of Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges under the Administration of the Board, 1903-4. (3.) Local Government Board (Ireland).—Copy of Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, for the year ended 31st March, 1903. (4.) Prisons (Scotland).—Copy of Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, being the Sixty-fifth Annual Report on Prisons in Scotland, 1903. (5.) Trinidad.—Copy of further Papers relating to the disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, in March, 1903. (6.) Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3133 to 3135. (7.) Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 604 to 607. (8.) Egypt (No. 1, 1904).—Copy of Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1903.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table 4

Apr. 12.]

Page

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AGRARIAN OFFENCES (PROVINCES) (IRELAND).— Copy presented, of Return by Provinces of Agrarian Offences in Ireland for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	4
INDENTURED COOLIE LABOUR. —Return presented, relative thereto [Address 2nd March; <i>Sir Howard Vincent</i>]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 118.]	5
TRINIDAD. —Copy presented, of Amended Prison Rule relating to Indentured Immigrants sentenced to hard labour (by Act); to lie upon the Table ..	5
BOARD OF EDUCATION (WELSH INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION ACT, 1889). —Copy presented, of Report of the Board of Education on the Administration of Schools, under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889 (by Act); to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 119.]	5
FRANCE (No. 1, 1904). —Copy presented, of Despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, forwarding Agreements between Great Britain and France of 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	5
CROWN'S NOMINEE ACCOUNT. —Abstract Account presented, of Receipts and Payments of the Treasury Solicitor, in the year ended 31st December, 1903, in the Administration of Estates on behalf of the Crown, and Alphabetical List of Intestates' Estates in respect of which Letters of Administration were granted to the Treasury Solicitor as Crown's Nominee, and of other cases (partial Intestacies, etc.) in which accounts were opened in the Books of the Treasury Solicitor in the same year in respect of moneys received by him as Crown's Nominee [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 120.]	5
GREEK LOAN OF 1898. —Account presented, up to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	5
EGYPTIAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1885. —Account presented, up to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	5
GOVERNMENT INSURANCES AND ANNUITIES. —Account presented, of all moneys received and of the disposal thereof, and of all Contracts for the grant of Deferred Life Annuities and for Payments on Death made, during the year 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 121.] ..	5
LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896. —Copy presented, of Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade up to the 31st December, 1903, and of the Proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 122.]	6
EAST INDIA (LAND REVENUE). —Copy presented, of Statement showing the number of Processes issued against Land Revenue Defaulters during the year 1901-2 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	6
EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND). —Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 123.]	6

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Apr. 12.]</i>	
BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES, AND VACCINATION (SCOTLAND).— Copy presented, of the Forty-ninth Annual Report on the Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland for 1903, and Thirty-ninth Annual Report on Vaccination [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	6
LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1903.— Copy presented, of Tables showing the constitution of County, District, and Burgh Licensing Courts in Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	6
ROYAL OBSERVATORY (EDINBURGH).— Copy presented, of Fourteenth Annual Report of the Astronomer Royal for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	6
LUNACY (SCOTLAND).— Copy presented, of Forty-sixth Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	6
LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.— Copy presented, of the Motor Car Registration and Licensing (Scotland) Order, 1903, [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	7
LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.— Copy presented, of the Motor Cars (Use and Construction) (Scotland) Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	7
DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.— Copy presented, of the Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Order of 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	7
REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).— Return ordered, "showing for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, (1) the Amount contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, to the Revenue collected by Imperial officers; (2) the Expenditure on English, Scottish, and Irish Services met out of such Revenue; and (3) the Balances of Revenue contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, which are available for Imperial Expenditure (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 248, of Session 1903)."—(<i>Mr. Lough.</i>)	7
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.	
SUPPLY OF RAW COTTON—GAMBLING IN FUTURE.— Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	7
CIVIL RIGHTS OF SLAVES IN PEMBAS.— Question, Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answer, Earl Percy	8
YIELD OF COAL TAX.— Question, Mr. Plummer (Newcastle-on-Tyne); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	9
COMMISSION OF CROWN AGENTS.— Question, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	17
MORTALITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINES.— Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	19

Apr. 12.]

Page

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

NAVAL STATISTICS.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffolk, Woodbridge) ..	19
WITWATERSRAND GOLD MINES—MORTALITY AMONG KAFFIR LABOURERS.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) ..	19
CHINESE LABOURERS' WAGES.—Question, Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	20
LAND SETTLEMENT IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. John Ellis; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	20
TRANSVAAL MAGISTRACY.—Question, Mr. John Ellis; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton ..	20
IRELAND AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES' ACT.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) ..	21
MAHONY ESTATE, GAP OF DUNLOE.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	21
PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN IRISH RURAL DISTRICTS.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	22
COUNTY DOWN GRAND JURY.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	22
IRISH LOAN FUND BOARDS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	23
BELLEEK AND FINTONA LOAN FUND SOCIETIES.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	23
WAR OFFICE (RE-CONSTITUTION) COMMITTEE'S REPORT.—Question, Sir Michael Foster (London University); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	23
PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE—PARLIAMENTARY FEES.—Question, Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	24
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), Sir Wilfrid Lawson (Cornwall, Camborne), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) ..	25
NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Lawrence Ambrose Waldron, Esquire, for the Parliamentary Borough of Dublin (St. Stephen's Green Division).	

NEW BILL.

Indian Councils Bill.—"To amend the Indian Councils Act, 1874," presented by Mr. Secretary Brodrick; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 148.]

SUPPLY [5TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

1 £3,646,000, Naval Armaments.

<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	27
<i>Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth)</i>	28
<i>Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean)</i>	29
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i>	30
<i>Mr. Kearley (Devonport)</i>	32
<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee)</i>	32
<i>The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge)</i> ..	33
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	40
<i>Mr. Pretyman</i>	42

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,044,200, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the *Personnel* for Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc., including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson</i>	43
<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>	44
<i>Mr. Pretyman</i>	47
<i>Captain Norton (Newington, W.)</i>	47
<i>Mr. Kearley</i>	49
<i>Captain Norton</i>	51
<i>Mr. Reginald Lucas</i>	51
<i>Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside)</i>	51
<i>Mr. Pretyman</i>	51
<i>Captain Norton</i>	54

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £3,044,100, be granted for the said Service."—(*Captain Norton*.)

<i>Mr. Kearley</i>	55
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Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 90 ; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 74.)

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. Whitley</i>	57
<i>Mr. Pretyman</i>	57
<i>Mr. Kearley</i>	58
<i>Captain Norton</i>	59
<i>The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)</i>	59

Apr. 12.]

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,062,800, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of the *Matériel* for Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc., including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	59
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
<i>Mr. Pretyma</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	61
<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	62

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 210 ; Noes, 39. (Division List No. 75.)

4. £2,428,000, Victualling and Clothing for the Navy.

<i>Mr. Kearley</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65
<i>Mr. Pretyma</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	67
<i>Mr. Whitley</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	69

Vote agreed to.

5. £293,000, Medical Establishments and Services.

6. £15,500, Martial Law, etc.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £154,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of Educational Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

7. £72,600, Scientific Services.

8. £404,500, Royal Naval Reserves.

9. £444,000, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

10. £796,200, Half-Pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £1,208,800, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905." ..

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

11. £353,300, Civil Pensions and Gratuities.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow ; Committee to sit again To-morrow.

Apr. 13.]

Page

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington) 71

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."
—(Sir A. Acland-Hood.)

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twelve minutes after Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : WEDNESDAY, 13TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S INDISPOSITION.—The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER, owing to indisposition; Whereupon Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy-Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order 73

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London and North Western Railway Bill.—As amended, to be considered to-morrow 73

Midland Railway Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 73

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2).—Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Brixham, Coventry, Liverpool, Ripon, and Southwark, and the Bromley and Beckenham Joint Hospital District, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long 73

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law).—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Stourbridge Union, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long 73

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2 Bill).—"To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Brixham, Coventry, Liverpool, Ripon, and Southwark, and the Bromley and Beckenham Joint Hospital District," presented, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 149.] 73

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Stourbridge Union," presented, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 150.] .. 73

Amersham, Beaconsfield and District Water Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table 74

Apr. 13.]

Page

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).—Ordered, That Colonel R. T. H. Law and Captain R. Owen do attend the Committee on Group F of Private Bills on Thursday, 14th April, at half-past Eleven of the clock	74
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Wolverhampton Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	74
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PETITIONS.

CANAL TRAFFIC BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table	74
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ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table	74
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FALSE STATEMENTS (COMPANIES) BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table	74
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HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table	74
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LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.—Petition from Aberdare, in favour; to lie upon the Table	75
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LICENCES (RENEWAL).—Petitions against alterations of Law: From Faringdon; Chelsea; Baillieston; Pontypool; Barton-upon-Irwell; Weston; Eccles (three); Crumlin; Wandsworth; Darwen; Worsley; Northampton; Leyton; Radstock; Battersea; Bolton; Kinross; Aspull; Penzance; Dollar; Denholme; Cowbridge; Cardiff; Brithdir (three); Barmouth; Hatherleigh; Buckie; and Grays; to lie upon the Table	7b
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MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table	75
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POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHES) BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table	75
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POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY COUNCILS) BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table	75
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RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, against; to lie upon the Table	75
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RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table	75
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SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petitions against: From Waltham Cross; Stamford; Romford; Woolwich; and Plumstead; to lie upon the Table	75
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TRADES UNIONS AND TRADES DISPUTES BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, against; to lie upon the Table	75
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TRADES UNIONS AND TRADES DISPUTES (No. 2) BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, against; to lie upon the Table	75
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VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Wandsworth, against; to lie upon the Table	75
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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ALIENS. —Return presented, relative thereto [Address 15th March.— <i>Mr. Cochrane</i>]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 124.]	76
POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER). —Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering certain Polling Districts in the Clitheroe and Westhoughton Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	76
POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD). —Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Hertford altering certain Polling Districts in the Western or Watford Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	76
BRITISH COTTON CULTIVATION. —Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on Cotton Cultivation in the British Empire and in Egypt, by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	76

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

MEDICAL ATTENDANCE OF PAUPERS IN THE HIGHLANDS. —Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray ..	76
ACCOMMODATION FOR CONVALESCENT OFFICERS AT OSBORNE. —Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	77
OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR. —Question, Mr. Elliot (Durham); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	77
DEATHS FROM PLAGUE IN INDIA, BOMBAY AND BENGAL. —Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Brodrick	78
IRISH MAGISTRATES—CASE OF DR. TIERNEY. —Question, Mr. Griffith Boscawen (Kent, Tunbridge); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	78

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

COURTS-MARTIAL—POWERS OF JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL. —Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	78
SOUTH AFRICAN WAR REWARDS. —Question, Mr. Ainsworth (Argyll); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	79
CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL. —Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill and Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	79
CHILD LABOUR IN MINES. —Question, Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustus)	80
LIMERICK POSTAL STAFF. —Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	81

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

<i>Apr. 13.]</i>	<i>xix</i>
LIMERICK TELEGRAPHISTS. —Question, Mr. Joyce ; Answer, Lord Stanley ..	<i>Page</i> 81
IRISH ESTATES COMMISSIONERS' RETURNS. —Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) ; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	82
EVICTED TENANTS IN QUEEN'S COUNTY. —Question, Mr. Delany ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	82
WAR AND FINANCE. —Question, Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside) ; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	83
MARINE INSURANCE BILL. —Question, Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	83
REGULATIONS FOR FOREIGN SHIPS. —Question, Mr. Charles McArthur ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	83
HEALTH OF THE ARMY. —Questions, Sir John Tuke (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities) and Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.) ; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour	83
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE. —Questions, Lord Hugh Cecil (Greenwich), Mr. John Morley (Montrose Burghs) and Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester) ; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour	84
NEW MEMBER SWORN. —John Edward Bernard Seely, Esquire, for the County of the Isle of Wight	84
STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL). —Sir JAMES FERGUSSON reported from the Chairmen's Panel, That they had appointed Mr. Laurence Hardy to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, in the place of Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice ; and Mr. Stuart Wortley to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, in the place of Sir Thomas Esmonde. Report to lie upon the Table	85

NEW BILL.

Local Authorities (Treasury Powers) Bill. —"To transfer to the Local Government Board the Powers of the Treasury under enactments relating to Local Authorities," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish ; supported by Mr. Grant Lawson ; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 151.]	85
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EAST INDIAN REVENUES (TIBET).

<i>The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) ..</i>	<i>85</i>
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House consents to the revenue of India being applied to defray the expenses of any Military Operations which have or may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian Possessions, for the purpose of protecting the Political Mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government."—(<i>Mr. Secretary Brodrick.</i>)	

Apr. 13.]

Page

<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i>	99
<i>Lord George Hamilton (Middlesex, Ealing)</i>	103
<i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i>	110
<i>Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.)</i>	112
<i>Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland)</i>	114
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	117
<i>Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.)</i>	122
<i>The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i>	125

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 270 ; Noes, 61. (Division List No. 76.) ..

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be now read a second time.”

<i>Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean)</i>	135
<i>Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.)</i>	140
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	140
<i>Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield)</i>	141
<i>Colonel Welby (Taunton)</i>	143
<i>Captain Norton (Newington, W.)</i>	144
<i>Colonel Sandys (Lancashire, Bootle)</i>	145
<i>The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)</i>	146
<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	149

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

EVENING SITTING.

LAND JUDGE'S COURT (IRELAND).

<i>Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.)</i>	151
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	157

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That the time has arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland in the interests of all concerned.”—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

<i>Mr. French (Wexford, S.)</i>	161
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	172
<i>Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.)</i>	178

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That the time has arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland in the interests of all concerned.—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

VIVISECTION OF DOGS.

<i>Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham)</i>	180
--	-----

Apr. 14.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in the opinion of this House, no operations for the purposes of vivisection should be performed on Dogs."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.) 180

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 14TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Cambrian Railways Bill [Lords]; Elysée Palace Hotel Company Bill [Lords]; Gosport Water Bill [Lords]; Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill [Lords]; Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [Lords]; Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords]; New River Company Bill [Lords]; Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords]; University of Leeds Bill [Lords]; Victoria University of Manchester Bill [Lords]; West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment) Bill [Lords]; Yorktown and Blackwater Gas Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time .. 181

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 181

Site for Duke of York's School Bill [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 29th day of March last. That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Site for Duke of York's School Bill [Lords] 182

St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 182

Corporation of London (Southwark and other Bridges) Bill.—Reported [Parties do not proceed]; Report to lie upon the Table 182

*Apr. 14.]**Page*

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. —Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow	182
Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. —Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	182
London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [LORDS]. —Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	182
Young and Bell's Patents Bill [LORDS]. —Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time	182
Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [LORDS]. —Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	182
Railway Bill (GROUP No. 5). —Ordered, That Mr. Harry Noriss do attend the said Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills upon Monday next, at eleven of the clock	182

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Cromarty, for alteration; to lie upon the Table	183
HOUSE-LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Paisley, against; to lie upon the Table	183
LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Paisley, against; to lie upon the Table	183
LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law: from Bottisham; Largs; Basingstoke; High Bentham; Failsworth (two); Massingham; Forest Gate; Woodbridge; Beccles; Aldborough; East Dereham; Sidcup; Hindley (two); Hindley Green; Hornsea; Dalkeith; Bracknell; Holt; Slough; Little Hulton; Sunbury-on-Thames; Wymondham; Hathersett; Blackley (two); Colne; Ripley; Worsboro' Bridge; London; Blaina; Trinant; Tredegar; Worthen (two); Pennerley (two); Perkins Beach (two); Aston; Wattlesborough Heath; Pontesbury; Snailbeach (two); Ministerley; Westbury; Meadow Town; Brynmawr; Stamford; Leeds; Beccles; Norwich; and Bournemouth; to lie upon the Table ..	183
SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petitions against: from High Wycombe; Deptford; Sheffield; Lichfield; Tamworth; Mexborough; and Brierley Hill (two); to lie upon the Table	183
TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE). —Petition from Luton, for withdrawal; to lie upon the Table	183

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1897. —Copy presented, of Sixth Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	184
---	-----

Apr. 14.]

Page

POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF (SCOTLAND).— Copy presented, of Report of Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland. Vol. II., containing Minutes of Evidence, Appendices, and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.. ..	184
--	-----

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. —Copy ordered, “of Memorandum stating the nature of the proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.”—(<i>Mr. Bonar Law</i>)	184
--	-----

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

PROMOTION OF ASSISTANT CLERKS.—MEDICAL EXAMINATION. —Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish ..	184
--	-----

ANTHRAX IN NORFOLK. —Question, Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	185
--	-----

EDUCATION AND LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND).—AMOUNT AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION. —Question, Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	185
---	-----

SOLICITORS STRUCK OFF THE ROLL. —Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, Sir Robert Finlay	186
---	-----

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION STATISTICS AND BOARD OF TRADE REPORT THEREON. —Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour	186
--	-----

EXPORTS OF WHEAT AND FLOUR FROM INDIA. —Question, Mr. Hunter Craig (Lanarkshire, Govan); Answer, Mr. Brodrick	186
--	-----

PROSECUTION OF MR. TILAK. —Questions, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) and Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answers, Mr. Brodrick	187
---	-----

INDIAN POLICE COMMISSION.—ISSUE OF NEW ORDERS. —Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick	188
---	-----

IRISH WATER BAILIFFS. —Question, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham	189
---	-----

THE KING-HARMAN ESTATE. —Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	189
---	-----

MR. JOHN ROBINSON'S FARM AT BALLINACROSS. —Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	189
--	-----

IMPRISONMENT OF SOLDIERS IN DEVIZES GAOL. —Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	190
--	-----

REPORT ON TRINIDAD RIOTS. —Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	190
---	-----

USE OF PLAGUE SERUM IN JOHANNESBURG. —Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	191
--	-----

INCOME TAX DEDUCTIONS FROM SALARIES OF ARMY CIVILIAN CLERKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. —Question, Sir John Rolleston; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster ..	191
--	-----

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ARMY FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	191
THE POMPADOURS.—Question, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	192
FATAL ACCIDENT AT RATHCOURSEY BEACH.—Questions, Captain Donelan (Cork Co., E.); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster	193
THE SUNKEN SUBMARINE.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffelk, Woodbridge) ..	193
BOERS AND THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE.—Questions, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough), Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) and Dr. Macnamara; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	194
PLAGUE IN HONG-KONG.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	195
CANADIAN STEEL AND IRON BOUNTIES.—Question, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	195
SUEZ CANAL CONVENTION.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	196
THE MISSION TO TIBET.—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson (Cornwall, Camborne); Answer, Earl Percy	197
INLAND REVENUE—ILLEGAL DEMANDS.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	197
POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	197
ADULTERATED SPIRITS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	198
ARGENTINE CATTLE TRADE.—Questions, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.) and Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answers, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey)	199
ALIEN CRIMINALS.—Question, Mr. Stuart Samuel (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	199
ADULT MALE ALIENS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Question, Mr. Stuart Samuel; Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas	200
BRITISH TRADE WITH TUNIS AND MADAGASCAR.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)	200

<i>Apr. 14.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	201
DUNDEE MAILS.—Question, Sir John Leng; Answer, Lord Stanley	201
ARCHITECT OF NEW COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, DUBLIN.—Questions, Mr. Boland; Answers, Mr. Victor Cavendish	202
PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN LIMERICK.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) and Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	202
DERBY PRISON MATRON.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	203
IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.—Question, Mr. William Abraham (Cork, Co., N.E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	203
IRISH INDUSTRIES.—Question, Mr. William Abraham; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	204
LIMERICK TELEGRAPH LEARNERS.—Question, Mr. Joyce; Answer, Lord Stanley	205
LIMERICK POSTAL STAFF—HOLIDAY GRIEVANCE.—Question, Mr. Joyce; Answer, Lord Stanley	205
MOY POST OFFICE—EXTRA FEES.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley	206
CORK POST OFFICE—PROMOTIONS.—Questions, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien (Cork) and Captain Donelan; Answers, Lord Stanley	206
ANNUAL LEAVE IN THE CORK POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; Answer, Lord Stanley	208
THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Edmund Robertson, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)!	207
ARMY REFORM.—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	211
GOVERNMENT FISCAL POLICY AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.—Question, Mr. Black; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	211
SCOTTISH EDUCATION BILL.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	211
ROYAL COMMISSION ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISORDERS.—Question, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	212

SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY].

(Considered in Committee.)

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,839,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Supply and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

Apr. 14.]

Page

Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield) 213

Motion made, and Question proposed "That item B (Guns and Carriages) be reduced by £100,000,"—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner*.)

Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) 213
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) 214
Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth) 216
Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) 217
Mr. Lyell (Dorsetshire, E.) 217
The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, S.) 217
Colonel Welby (Taunton) 221
Mr. Courtenay Warner 222

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside) 222
Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 222

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item C (Ammunition) be reduced by £200."—(*Mr. Weir*.) ..

Mr. Arnold-Forster 223
Mr. Weir 223

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 224
Mr. Arnold-Forster 224
Mr. Whitley 224
Colonel Welby 225
Colonel Legge (St. George's, Hanover Square) 226
Captain Norton (Newington, W.) 226
Sir Elliott Lees (Birkenhead) 227
Sir Charles Dilke 228
Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 229
Mr. Arnold-Forster 230
Captain Jessel (St. Pancras, S.) 232
Colonel Bowles (Middlesex, Enfield) 233
Mr. Courtenay Warner 233

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D (Small Arms) be reduced by £100."—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner*.)

Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green) 234
Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) 234
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 236
Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) 237
Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe) 237
Mr. Arnold-Forster 238
Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam) 239

Apr. 14.]

Page

<i>Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne)</i>	239
<i>Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield)</i>	240
<i>Colonel Denny (Kilmarnock Burghs)</i>	241
<i>Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.)</i>	241
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	242
<i>Mr. Dalziel</i>	242
<i>Mr. Courtenay Warner</i>	249
<i>Mr. Nannetti</i>	243
<i>Mr. Weir</i>	245
<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>	246

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 142 ; Noes, 198. (Division List No. 77.)

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. Nannetti</i>	249
<i>Colonel Legge</i>	251
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	251
<i>Mr. Charles Hobhouse</i>	252
<i>Mr. Burdett-Coutts (Westminster)</i>	252
<i>Sir Carne Rasch</i>	253
<i>Mr. Nannetti</i>	254

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item F (Miscellaneous Services) be reduced by £100."—(*Mr. Nannetti*.)

<i>Mr. Mooney (Dublin Co., S.)</i>	254
<i>Mr. Weir</i>	254
<i>Mr. Field</i>	254
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	256
<i>Mr. Nannetti</i>	256

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 107 ; Noes, 190. (Division List No. 78.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (BY ORDER).

As amended, considered.

A Clause (Application of Company's Acts), brought up and read the first and second time, and added.

<i>Mr. Causton (Southwark, W.)</i>	259
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A Clause (Company to construct subways at Elephant and Castle).

"The Company shall not open for public traffic Railway No. 3 by the Act of 1900 authorised to be constructed or any part thereof until they have constructed and opened for public traffic subways for foot-passengers near the Elephant and Castle in the general lines shown on the plan signed in duplicate by William Robert Galbraith and by Arthur Harrison, and referred to in Sub-section 17 of Section 30 of the Act of 1900 (for the protection of the Vestry of the Parish of Saint George-the-Martyr, Southwark)."
—(*Mr. Causton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

<i>Mr. Rea (Gloucester)</i>	263
<i>Captain Norton (Newington, W.)</i>	265
<i>Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham)</i>	265
<i>Mr. Corrie Grant (Warwickshire, Rugby)</i>	265
<i>Mr. Cust (Southwark, Bermondsey)</i>	266
<i>The Chairman of Committees (Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith)</i>	266
<i>Mr. Bamford Slack (Hertfordshire, St. Albans)</i>	268
<i>Mr. Bailey (Newington, Walworth)</i>	269

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 133 ; Noes, 143. (Division List, No. 79.)

Amendments made to the Bill.

Bill to be read the third time.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL [BY ORDER].—As amended, considered.

<i>Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs)</i>	271
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Bill to be read the third time.

SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,839,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Supply and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

<i>Mr. Courtenay Warner</i>	274
-------------------------------------	-----

Apr. 14.]

Page

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item G (Equipment Stores) be reduced by £100."—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner.*)

<i>Colonel Welby</i>	275
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	275
<i>Mr. Nannetti</i>	276

Question put

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 109 ; Noes, 163. (Division List No. 80.)

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	279
<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>	280
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	281

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported.

Motion, made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,918,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Staff for Engineer Services, and Expenditure for Royal Engineer Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at home and abroad (including Purchases), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>	283
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	283
<i>Mr. Peel</i>	283
<i>Colonel Welby</i>	284
<i>Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton)</i>	284
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	285
<i>Mr. Whitley</i>	286

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, etc., of the Staff for Engineer Services) be reduced by £100."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	286
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Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 88 ; Noes, 144. (Division List No. 81.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next ; Committee also report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [13th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Apr. 14.]

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	289
<i>The Attorney-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs)</i>	290
<i>Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs)</i>	291
<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	291
<i>The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield)</i>	292

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.—Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working and administration of the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, and to report whether any and, if so, what, Amendments are reasonable and necessary to improve the service of Workmen's Trains in the Metropolis and elsewhere, and to secure the provision of the accommodation required by workmen by all Railway Companies.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bowles, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Leverton Harris, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Levy, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Lough, Mr. Nannetti, Captain Norton, Mr. Peel, Mr. Matthew Ridley, Sir Harry Samuel, Mr. Sheehan, Mr. Ure, and Sir Thomas Wrightson were accordingly nominated members of the Committee.

Ordered, that the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*) 292

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : FRIDAY, 15TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for additional Provision in the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Tottenham Improvement Bill. Ordered, That the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 293

Acton Improvement Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 293

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (King's Consent signified).—Read the third time, and passed 293

Colney Hatch Gas Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 293

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 293

Apr. 15.]

Page

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. —Read a second time, and committed	293
---	-----

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3). —Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Earsdon, the Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, and Longton, the Henley and Wallingford, the Wallingford and Crowmarsh, and the Whitchurch and District Joint Hospital Districts. Ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long	239
--	-----

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. —“ To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Earsdon, the Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, and Longton, the Henley and Wallingford, the Wallingford and Crowmarsh, and the Whitchurch and District Joint Hospital Districts.” Presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 152.]	293
---	-----

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill. —Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table	294
--	-----

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP C).—Mr. CAWLEY reported from the Committee on Group C of Private Bills, That Mr. Remnant, one of the members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table	294
--------------------------------------	-----

PETITIONS.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901) AMENDMENT BILL. —Petition from Huddersfield in favour; to lie upon the Table	294
---	-----

LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law; from Barnsley (two); Falkirk; Rochester; Eccles; Mere; Kilburn; Weymouth; Tenbury; Cheetham; Staincross; Helensburgh; Rutherglen; Llanganor; Stranraer; Kirkintilloch; Berwick-on-Tweed; Newton Heath; Potton; Lochgilphead; Birmingham; Ashton-under-Lyne; Street; Wibsey; Gravesend; Portobello; Manchester; Lewin's Mead; Hatfield Broad Oak; Briton Ferry; Neath; Tabor Bryncaws; Maesteg; and Nanty-moel; to lie upon the Table	294
---	-----

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL. —Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table	294
--	-----

MORTGAGE OF PREMISES BILL. —Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table	294
---	-----

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL. —Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table	294
--	-----

SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petitions against; from Birmingham; and Cannock; to lie upon the Table	294
---	-----

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th March; *Mr. Nannett*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 126.] 295

BRITISH MUSEUM.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 3rd March; *Mr. John Morley*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 127]. .. 295

Army (Annual) Bill.—Copy ordered, “of Memorandum Explanatory of Amendments proposed to the Army Act.”—(*Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster*.)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 125.] 295

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

THE KING-HARMAN ESTATE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 295

SALVAGE OF DAMAGED SUBMARINES.—Question, Mr. Yerburgh (Chester); Answer, Mr. Pretyma 296

CONSTRUCTION OF BATTLESHIPS BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—Question, Mr. Yerburgh; Answer, Mr. Pretyma 296

SALVAGE OF SUBMARINE A.1.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Pretyma 297

MORNING DELIVERY OF LETTERS IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—Question, Mr. Alban Gibbs (London); Answer, Lord Stanley 297

BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PROPOSED NEW VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.—Questions. Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey); Answers, Sir William Anson 298

SALE OF GREEN PLOVER DURING THE CLOSE SEASON.—Question, Mr. Scott Montagu (Hampshire, New Forest); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 299

EXCISE AND CUSTOMS REVENUES ON LIQUOR AND DRUGS IN INDIA.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 299

SALARIES OF IRISH SCHOOL TEACHERS.—Questions. Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 299

HUTTING ACCOMMODATION FOR SOUTH AFRICAN PERMANENT GARRISON.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 301

Weights and Measures Bill.—Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. Bousfield (Hackney, N.) 302
Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.) 310

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Bill be now read a second time.”

Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.) 310
Mr. Gretton (Derbyshire, S.) 314

Apr. 15.]

Page

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the word ‘ now,’ and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘ upon this day six months.’ ”—(*Mr. Herbert Robert-son.*)

Question proposed, “ That the word ‘ now ’ stand part of the Question.”

<i>Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley)</i>	315
<i>Sir Joseph Dimsdale (London)</i>	317
<i>Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.)</i>	318
<i>Mr. Spear (Devonshire, Tavistock)</i>	319
<i>Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside)</i>	320
<i>Mr. Jordan (Fermanagh, S.)</i>	320
<i>The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)</i>	321
<i>Sir Francis Powell (Wigan)</i>	323
<i>Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central)</i>	323
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach (Bristol, W.)</i>	324

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be committed to the Standing Committee on Law, &c.”—(*Mr. Bousfield.*)

<i>Sir William Tomlinson (Preston)</i>	324
<i>Mr. Gretton</i>	324

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the words ‘ the Standing Committee on Law, etc.’ and insert the words ‘ a Select Committee ’ instead thereof.”—(*Sir William Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, “ That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

<i>Mr. Bousfield</i>	325
<i>Mr. Jesse Collings</i>	325
<i>Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston)</i>	325
<i>Mr. Gerald Balfour</i>	326

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill committed to the Standing Committee on Law, etc.

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

<i>Mr. Price (Norfolk, E.)</i>	327
<i>Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.)</i>	328

Apr. 18.]

Page

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

<i>General Laurie (Pembroke and Haverford West)</i>	332
<i>Sir Herbert Maxwell (Wigtonshire)</i>	336
<i>Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.)</i>	339
<i>Sir Frederick Milner (Nottinghamshire, Bassettlaw)</i>	340
<i>Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye)</i>	341
<i>Mr. Ashton (Bedfordshire, Luton)</i>	341
<i>The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.)</i>	342
<i>Sir Lees Knowles (Salford, W.)</i>	345
<i>Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.)</i>	346

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee."

<i>Mr. Walter Long</i>	346
<i>Mr. Channing</i>	347

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill committed to a Select Committee.

Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill — [SECOND READING].—Order for Second Reading read.

<i>Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.)</i>	
<i>Mr. William Jones (Carnarvonshire, Arfon)</i>	

Motion made and, Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

<i>Mr. Groves (Salford, S.)</i>	348
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And, it being half-past Five of the Clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Friday, 13th May.

Adjourned at twenty-eight minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 18TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.—To be read the third time to-morrow 349

London and North Western Railway Bill (KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED).—Bill read the third time and passed 349

London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time and passed, without Amendment 349

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxxv

<i>Apr. 18.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
Midland Railway Bill. —Read the third time, and passed. [New Title] ..	349
Young and Bell's Patents Bill [Lords]. —Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment	349
Harlow and Sawbridgeworth Gas Bill [Lords]. —Read a second time, and committed	349
London County Council (Money) Bill. —"To regulate the expenditure of Money by the London County Council on capital account during the current financial period, and the raising of Money to meet such expenditure; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.. .. .	349
LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDER (No. 4). —Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to Portsmouth, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long	349
Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. —"To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to Portsmouth," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 153.] ..	349
Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. —Reported with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	350

PETITIONS.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION ACT (1896) AMENDMENT BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	350
FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901) AMENDMENT BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	350
LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	350
LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING). —Petition from Battersea, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table	350
LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law; from Glasgow; Froggatt; Plymouth; Tyne Dock; Mountain Ash; Failsworth; Pontesbury; Southport (two); Fulham; South Shields (eleven); Downham; Eccles; Llanrhaidr; Rhiw; Walworth and Camberwell; Manchester; Partick; Dorking (two); and Battersea; to lie upon the Table	350
LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	350
POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH) BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	350
POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY COUNCILS) BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	351
PUBLIC LIBRARIES BILL. —Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table	351

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Apr.</i> 18.]	
REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Manchester, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petition from Folkestone, against; to lie upon the Table	351
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petition from Battersea, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
TIED HOUSES BILL.—Petition from Battersea, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
TIED HOUSES (FREEING) BILL.—Petition from Battersea, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Battersea, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351
WAGES BOARDS BILL.—Petition from Battersea, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	351

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EXPLOSIONS (CURTIS AND HARVEY'S FACTORY AT CLIFFE, KENT).—Copy presented, of Report by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an accident which occurred in the drying-house for nitro-cotton at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent, on the 4th February, 1904 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	351
EMIGRATION STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Emigration Statistics of Ireland for the year 1903 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	352
BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	352
EAST INDIA (OFFICIAL SECRETS).—Copy presented, of the Indian Official Secrets (Amendment) Act, 1904 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	352
ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 14th April ; <i>Mr. Bonar Law</i>] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 128.]	352
TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH GERMANY.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th March ; <i>Mr. Matthew White Ridley</i>] ; to lie upon the Table	352
SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 13th April, 1904, declaring that Daniel Gray, Leading Hand of Fitters, Royal Gun Factory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	352
NAVAL EXPENDITURE.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 10th March ; <i>Sir Edgar Vincent</i>] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 129.]	352

Apr. 18.]

Page

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

OPERATION OF THE EDUCATION ACT. —Question, Mr. George White (Norfolk, N.W.); Answer, Sir William Anson	353
APPOINTMENTS TO ABSTRACTOR CLASS—AGE LIMITS. —Question, Mr. Yoxall (Nottingham, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	355
INCOME TAX COLLECTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. —Question, Sir J. Stirling Maxwell (Glasgow, College); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	355
DEFAULTING SOLICITORS—CREATION OF A PUBLIC TRUSTEE. —Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, Sir Robert Finlay	356
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM AND ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE—DATES OF COMPLETION. —Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-on-Trent); Answer, Lord Balcarras	356
SPEED OF H.M.S. "DRAKE"—IMPROVED PROPELLERS. —Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Pretymman	357
PENSIONS OF ROYAL MARINES. —Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Pretymman	358
GUN SIGHTS OF H.M.S. "CENTURION." —Question, Mr. Harmsworth (Caithness-shire); Answer, Mr. Pretymman	358
LONDON POSTAL PORTERS GRIEVANCES. —Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley	359
OFFICERS OF MACEDONIAN GENDARMERIE. —Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Earl Percy	359
REPORT OF CIVIL ASSESSORS FOR MACEDONIA. —Question, Mr. Yerburch (Chester); Answer, Earl Percy	360
AREA, POPULATION, AND VALUATION OF PROPOSED SCOTTISH EDUCATION DISTRICTS. —Question, Mr. Maxwell (Dumfries-shire); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	360
STATISTICS OF ANIMAL DISEASE. —Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	361
CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION TO BOARDS OF GUARDIANS. —Question, Dr. Rutherford Harris (Camberwell, Dulwich); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	361
COMPENSATION FOR ACCIDENTS ON THE DUBLIN AND BLESSINGTON STEAM TRAMWAYS. —Question, Mr. James O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	361
IRISH LAND ACT—RECEIVABLE ORDER FORM FOR REPAYMENT OF PURCHASE ANNUITIES. —Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	362
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRICT INSPECTORS OVER SIXTY YEARS OF AGE. —Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	363

Apr. 18.]

Page

APPOINTMENT OF LOCAL MANAGER FOR LISLEA NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	363
SALARY OF PRINCIPAL TEACHER OF DROUMTACHER NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	364
REMISSION OF CHARGES FOR EXTRA POLICE IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	364
PETITION OF VETERINARY OFFICERS OF DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	365
IRISH LAND PURCHASE ACTS—CALCULATION OF ANNUITIES.—Questions, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	365
AMOUNT PAID BY GOVERNMENT TO LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM SMALL ARMS COMPANIES FOR THE USE OF RIFLE RANGES.—Question, Mr. Whitley (Hali-fax); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	366
POLICE REGULATIONS FOR NATIVES IN JOHANNESBURG.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	366
PURCHASES OF COAL FOR GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	367
COLLECTION BY BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE OF HUT TAX IN RHODESIA.—Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	367
WAGES OF CHINESE LABOURERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question Mr. Whitley; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	367

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

INSPECTORS OF ORDNANCE.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffolk, Woodbridge)	368
CONSTRUCTION OF ULLAPOOL NAVAL RESERVE STATION.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham)	368
HASLAR TOLL BRIDGE.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Mr. Arthur Lee	369
SUBMARINE A1.—Question, M. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Pretyma	369
ADMINISTRATION OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, S.)	369
SOMALILAND CAMPAIGN.—Questions, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton), Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.), Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), and Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster	370

Apr. 18.]

Page

THE WOOLWICH ROTUNDA GUNS. —Question, Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	372
COLONIES AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS. —Question, Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	372
TRANSVAAL ORDINANCES—ASSENT OF THE GOVERNOR. —Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	373
CHINESE IN THE TRANSVAAL. —Question, Major Seely (Isle of Wight); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	373
TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA LABOUR ORDINANCES. —Question, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	374
PLAGUE AT HONG-KONG. —Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	374
THE MISSION TO TIBET. —Question, Mr. Lambert; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	374
TELEGRAPHIC RATES TO INDIA. —Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Brodrick ..	375
BRUSSELS SUGAR CONVENTION. —Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	375
THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT. —Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Earl Percy	376
AMERICAN DUTY ON IRISH MACKEREL. —Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Earl Percy	377
BRITISH PATENTS. —Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)	377
VAGRANCY LAWS. —Question, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	378
DUNDEE POSTMEN'S GRIEVANCES. —Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) ..	378
CALF LYMPH FOR SCOTLAND. —Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk)	379
AGRICULTURE. —Question, Mr. Lambert; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey)	379
CANADIAN CATTLE. —Question, Sir John Leng; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	380
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DEPARTMENTS. —Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University)	380

Apr. 18.]

Page

SCOTTISH PRIVATE BILL INQUIRY.—Questions, Mr. Black (Banffshire) and Sir Walter Thorburn (Peebles and Selkirk); Answers, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire)	381
REGISTRATION OF DEEDS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Clancy (Dublin Co., N.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	381
IRISH TRAINING COLLEGES.—Questions, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	382
LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS.—MR. CYRIL ATKINSON'S APPOINTMENT.—Questions, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.) and Captain Donelan (Cork Co., E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	383
DUBLIN CASTLE ORDERLIES.—Questions, Mr. Sloan; Answers, Mr. Wyndham	384
IRISH PAUPER LUNATICS.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	384
IRISH DEAF AND DUMB CHILDREN.—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	385
WEXFORD FISHERY PIERS.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	385
IRISH BOARD OF WORKS FINANCE.—Question, Mr. William Abraham (Cork Co., N.E.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	385
DINGLE GUARDIANS' SURCHARGE.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	386
CLEGGAN HARBOUR, CONNEMARA.—Question, Mr. O'Malley (Galway, Connemara); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	386
RAE ESTATE, COUNTY KERRY.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	386
CROWN AND QUIT RENTS IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) and Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answers, Mr. Victor Cavendish ..	387
IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT STAFF.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	387
TIPPERARY URBAN COUNCIL SURCHARGES.—Question, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	388
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY OF MUSIC.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	388
IRISH AGRICULTURAL GRANTS.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	389
TEACHING OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Wyndham	390
LABOURERS' COTTAGES.—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	390

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xli

Apr. 18.]

Page

IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick);
Answer, Mr. Wyndham 391

ALLEGED ASSAULT BY A GALWAY CONSTABLE.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscom-
mon, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 391

NORTH TIPPERARY TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION CLASSES.—Question, Mr. P. J.
O'Brien (Tipperary, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 392

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE'S LUGGACURREN ESTATE.—Questions, Mr. John
Redmond (Waterford), Mr. Kilbride, and Mr. Delany; Answers, Mr. Wynd-
ham. 393

BALLYBOY ARTILLERY PARADE GROUND.—Question, Mr. Cullinan; Answer,
Mr. Arnold-Forster 394

GAMBLING IN "FUTURES."—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, The Prime Minister
and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 394

MOSELEY COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. A. J.
Balfour 395

SCOTTISH CONGESTED DISTRICTS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.—Question, Mr. Weir;
Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 395

THE VALUATION BILL.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland);
Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 395

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling
Burghs), Mr. Lough (Islington, W.). Mr. Gibson Bowles, and Sir Henry
Fowler; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 395

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee
of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the
Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr.
Arthur Elliot, and Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution
Mr. Yerburch and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

Report to lie upon the Table 396

IRISH VALUATION ACTS.—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of
Evidence, brought up and read.

Report to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 130.] 397

NEW BILL.

Poor Law Medical Officers' (Ireland) Superannuation Bill.—"To pro-
vide Superannuation for Poor Law Medical Officers in Ireland," presented
by Mr. T. W. Russell; supported by Mr. Harrington and Dr. Thompson; to
be read a second time upon Thursday, 28th April, and to be printed. [Bill
154.] 397

Apr. 18.]

Page

SUPPLY (CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES).—Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.”

<i>Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	397
<i>Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	404

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out from the word ‘that’ to the end of the Question, in order to add the words ‘in the opinion of this House, the system of Primary Education in Ireland is fundamentally defective, and has proved injurious in its operation.’”—(*Mr. Nannetti.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	414
<i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	419
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	421
<i>Mr. Samuel Young (Cavan, E.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	424
<i>Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	426
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	429
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	439
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	442
<i>Sir James Haslett (Belfast, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	443
<i>Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	449
<i>Mr. Charles Derlin (Galway)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	451

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY (CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment to Question [18th April], “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.”

Which Amendment was—

“To leave out from the word ‘That,’ to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, ‘in the opinion of this House, the system of Primary Education in Ireland is fundamentally defective, and has proved injurious in its operation.’”—(*Mr. Nannetti.*)

Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

<i>Mr. Charles Derlin</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	451
<i>Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	456
<i>Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	458
<i>Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	461
<i>Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	462
<i>Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	464
<i>Mr. Wolff (Belfast, E.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	465
<i>Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	466

Apr. 18.]

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 172 ; Noes, 118. (Division List No. 82.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 471

Main Question put, and agreed to.

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS I.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,500, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for expenditure in respect of Royal Palaces."

Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) 473

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

Army (Annual) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

Clause 4 :—

Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 474

Amendment proposed—

"In Clause 4, page 3, line 10, after the word 'Act' to add the words 'as amended by the Army (Annual) Acts.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 474

Apr. 19.]

Page

Amendment, as amended, put. and agreed to.

On Clause 8 :—

Clause agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In Clause 9, page 4, line 6, after the word ‘ Act,’ to add the words
 ‘ as amended by the Army (Annual) Act, 1891.’ ”—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there added.”

<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	473
<i>Mr. Caldwell</i>	476
<i>The Attorney-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs)</i>	476

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill reported ; as amended, to be considered To-morrow. .

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That this House do now adjourn.”—
 (*Sir A. Acland-Hood*) put, and agreed to 476

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : TUESDAY, 19TH APRIL, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The LORD ABINGER sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman .. 477

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Shields Gas Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be
 proposed by the Committee of Selection 477

Kettering Improvement Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed 477

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Southport and Lytham Tram-
 road (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the
 Commons 477

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Brought from the Commons 477

**Birkdale Improvement Bill ; Brixham Bas Bill ; Soothill Nether Urban Dis-
 trict Tramways Bill ; Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill ; St. Marylebone Electric
 Lighting Bill ; Acton Improvement Bill ; Charing Cross, Euston, and
 Hampstead Railway Bill ; Colney Hatch Gas Bill ; London and North-Wes-
 tern Railway Bill ; Midland Railway Bill.** Brought from the Commons ;
 read 1^a ; and referred to the Examiners 477

A₁ s. 19.]

Page

London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [H.L.]; Young and Bell's Patents Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to 477

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 477

Ulster Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [H.L.]; Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [H.L.]; Buxton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Ellenborough be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Estcourt; read, and agreed to 477

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Bristol Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [H.L.]; Leeds Corporation (Waterworks) Railway Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]; Holywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Barrymore be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Boston; read, and agreed to 478

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts—Was presented by the Lord President (The Earl Vane [M. Londonderry]); read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. [No. 43.] 478

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. [No. 44.] 478

PETITIONS.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.—Petitions against restriction of the discretionary power of magistrates to grant licences; of Manchester, Salford, and District Temperance Union; Eccles Free Church Council; Eccles Congregational Church. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 478

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL [H.L.].—Petition in favour of; of the St. Pancras Corporation. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 478

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H.L.].—Petitions in favour of; of the Town, City, and County Councils of Bethnal Green; Beverley; Bootle; Burnley; Cardiff; Chester; Croydon; Dewsbury; Dover; Gateshead; Longton; Middlesbrough; Neath; Poole and others; Reading; Richmond (Surrey); Rochdale; Scarborough; Shoreditch; Stoke Newington; Swindon; Worcester; Fulham; St. Pancras; Wiltshire; Edinburgh School Board; Sheffield Federated Trades Council; Ramsgate and District Incorporated Chamber of Commerce; Edinburgh and Leith Licensed Grocers Association; Chambers of Commerce, etc., signing; Persons signing. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 478

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Standing Order No. CXI., viz. :—	479
POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF (SCOTLAND).—Report of a Departmental Committee, appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland, to inquire into the system of poor law medical relief, and into the rules and regulations for the management of poorhouses ; with supplement. (March 30.)	479
COOLIE IMMIGRATION.—Immigration Ordinances of Trinidad and British Guiana. (March 30.)	479
JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 1902 (PART I. CRIMINAL STATISTICS).—Statistics relating to criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, reformatory and industrial schools, and criminal lunatics, for the year 1902. (April 7.)	479
EDUCATION.—Lists of public elementary schools and training colleges under the administration of the Board, 1903–4. (April 7.)	479
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).—Annual Report for the year ended March, 1903. (April 7.)	479
TRADE REPORTS—I. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.	
No. 604. Belgium (Canals and other navigable waterways).	
No. 605. Italy (Changes in the distribution of works of art in the Royal Galleries of Florence). (April 7.)	
No. 606. Africa (Prospects of growing cotton in the East Africa Protectorate). (April 9.)	
No. 607. Africa (Country produce traffic on the Uganda Railway). (April 13.)	480
II. ANNUAL SERIES.—No. 3135. West Africa (Report on the trade of Liberia). (April 9.)	480
TRINIDAD.—Further papers relating to the disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, in March, 1903. (In continuation of [Cd. 1661], July, 1903.) (April 8.)	480
EGYPT, No. 1 (1904).—Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the finances, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1903. (April 8.)	480
PRISONS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1877.—Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, being the Sixty-fifth Annual Report on Prisons in Scotland. (April 12)	480
FRANCE No. 1 (1904).—Despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, forwarding agreements between Great Britain and France of 8th April, 1904. (April 12.)	480

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xlvi

Apr. 19.]

Page

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1903.—Tables showing the constitution of county, district, and burgh licensing courts. (April 13.)	480
LUNACY (SCOTLAND) ACT.—Forty-sixth Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. (April 13.)	480
ROYAL OBSERVATORY, EDINBURGH.—Fourteenth Annual Report of the Astronomer Royal for Scotland. (April 13.)	480
AGRARIAN OFFENCES (PROVINCES) (IRELAND).—Return for the year ended 31st December, 1903. (April 13)	481
INDIA (LAND REVENUE).—Statement showing the number of processes issued against land revenue defaulters during the year 1901–1902. (April 13) ..	481
BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES AND VACCINATION (SCOTLAND).—Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Registrar-General in Scotland for the year 1903, and Thirty-ninth Annual Report on Vaccination. (April 13)	481
POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF (SCOTLAND).—Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland; Volume II. containing minutes of evidence, appendices, and index. (April 15) ..	481
CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1897.—Sixth Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland. (April 15) ..	
The same were ordered to lie on the Table.	481
TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).	
No. 3136. Netherlands (Amsterdam).	
No. 3137. Germany (Pomerania).	481
CHARITY COMMISSIONERS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Fifty-first Report	481
INDIA (OFFICIAL SECRETS).—India Official Secrets (Amendment) Act, 1904 ..	481
EXPLOSIVES.—(Explosion at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, Faversham, Kent.) Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain M. B. Lloyd, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of gunpowder which occurred in the mixing house of the factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at the Marsh, Faversham, on the 2nd February, 1904	
(Explosion at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent.) Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an accident which occurred in the drying-house for nitro-cotton at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent, on the 4th February, 1904	481
EMIGRATION STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Report and Tables for the year 1903 ..	482
BRITISH COTTON CULTIVATION.—Report to the Board of Trade on cotton cultivation in the British Empire and in Egypt, by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington	482

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Orders, made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade :—

I. Authorising the construction of light railways—

- (1.) In the parishes of Arkley, Barnet Vale, Chipping Barnet, Bushey Rural, Bushey Urban, and Watford Urban, in the county of Hertford.
- (2.) In the urban and rural districts of Rugby, in the county of Warwick.
- (3.) From St. Osyth to Clacton-on-Sea, in the county of Essex, in the rural district of Tendring, and the urban district of Clacton.
- (4.) In the Borough of Leicester and in the rural districts of Barrow-upon-Soar, and of Market Bosworth, in the county of Leicester.

II. Transferring to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Bradford the powers conferred upon the Nidd Valley Light Railway Company by the Nidd Valley Light Railway Order, 1901, and amending that Order 482

BOARD OF EDUCATION (COMMITTEE ON THE MODEL COURSE OF PHYSICAL EXERCISES).—Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the model course of physical exercises.

(Presented by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 483

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).—Return of all loans raised in England, under the Provisions of any Act of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 31st March, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc. 483

TRINIDAD.—Amended prison rule relating to indentured immigrants sentenced to hard labour 483

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.—Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Order of 1904 483

BOARD OF EDUCATION (WELSH INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION ACT, 1889). Report to the Board of Education on the administration of schools under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889 483

GOVERNMENT INSURANCES AND ANNUITIES.—Account of all moneys received on account of contracts for the grant of deferred life annuities, and for payments on death, under the provisions of the Acts 27 and 28 Victoria, chap. 43, 45, and 46 Victoria, chap. 51, and 50 and 51 Victoria, chap. 40, and of the disposal thereof, and of the contracts made for the year ended 31st December, 1903 .. 83

POLLING DISTRICTS.—Orders made by the county councils of Hertford, altering certain polling districts in the Western or Watford Parliamentary Division ; and Lancaster, altering certain polling districts in the Clitheroe and West-houghton Parliamentary Divisions 483

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xlix
Page

Apr. 19.]

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896 ; MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

The Motor Cars (Use and Construction) (Scotland) Order, 1904.

The Motor Car Registration and Licensing (Scotland) Order, 1903. .. 484

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS ACT, 1893.—Amended regulations made by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland .. 484

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES FUND (IRELAND).—Order transferring to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland the powers and duties of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland in respect of the portion of the fund placed at the disposal of the Department by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 484

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) ACT, 1888.—Order in Council, dated 24th March, 1904, adding the county of Armagh to the district assigned to the Belfast Local Bankruptcy Court 484

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Report of the proceedings of the Board of Trade up to the 31st December, 1903, and of the proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date 484

EGYPTIAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1885.—Account up to 31st March, 1904 .. 484

GREEK LOAN OF 1898.—Accounts up to 31st March, 1904 484

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury Minute, dated 13th April, 1904, declaring that David Gray, leading hand of fitters, Royal Gun Factory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.
Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 484

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Moved, That Standing Order No. XXI. be considered in order to its being suspended for this day's sitting (The Earl of Hardwicke) ; agreed to, and ordered accordingly. Then it was moved that the Motion on East Indian Revenues (Tibet) do have precedence of the Order of the Day which stands before it (The Earl of Hardwicke) ; agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.—

Earl Spencer 485
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 486

TIBET (EAST INDIAN REVENUES).

The Under-Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Hardwicke) 488

Moved, to resolve, " That this House consents to the revenue of India being applied to defray the expenses of any military operations which have or may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian Possessions, for the purpose of protecting the Political Mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government."—(*The Earl of Hardwicke.*)

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.] d

<i>Earl Spencer</i>	491
<i>The Earl of Northbrook</i>	493
<i>The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne)</i>	498

On Question, Motion agreed to.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1 :—

<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	502
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Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 1, page 1, line 7, to leave out from the word ‘prohibiting’ to the word ‘provided’ in line 10, and to insert the words ‘the landing from steam trawlers, steam carriers, and sailing smacks with auxiliary power or of sixty-five tons and upwards, of turbot and brill not exceeding 13 inches in length, and of soles and plaice not exceeding 11 inches in length.’ ”—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

<i>Lord Heneage</i>	506
<i>The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (The Earl of Onslow)</i>	507
<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	509

On Question, Amendment negatived.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

<i>The Earl of Onslow</i>	510
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Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 1, line 23, after the word ‘or’ to insert the words ‘any fishery officer appointed under the Sea Fisheries Regulation Act, 1888, or, in England or Wales, any officer appointed in that behalf.’ ”—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

<i>The Earl of Onslow</i>	511
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Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 1, page 2, line 10, after the word ‘sole’ to insert the words ‘*solea vulgaris.*’ ”—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 1, page 2, line 21, after the word ‘Fisheries’ to insert the words ‘and a reference to the Sea Fisheries Regulation (Scotland) Act, 1895, shall be substituted for the reference to the Sea Fisheries Regulation Act, 1888.’ ”—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

<i>Earl The of Onslow</i>	511
-----------------------------------	-----

Apr. 19.]

Page

Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 1, page 2, after line 21, to insert the words ‘ In the application of this section to the administrative county of London references to the “ mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled ” shall be substituted for references to the council of a county or borough.’ ”—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2 :—

<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	512
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Amendment moved—

“ In Clause 2, page 2, line 33, to leave out the words ‘ for the purpose of preventing the destruction of any undersized flat-fish.’ ”—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

<i>The Marquess of Huntly</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	512
<i>Lord Heneage</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	513
<i>The Earl of Onslow</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	514
<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	515

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived.

The House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : TUESDAY, 19TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Provisional Order Bills (No Standing Orders Applicable).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill; Wolverhampton Corporation Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time .. 515

Apr. 19.]

Page

Cambrian Railways Bill [LORDS]; Elysée Palace Hotel Company Bill [Lords]; Gosport Water Bill [Lords]; Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [Lords]; New River Company Bill [Lords]; Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords]; University of Leeds Bill [Lords]; Victoria University of Manchester Bill [Lords]; West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment) Bill [Lords]; Yorktown and Blackwater Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time and committed	516
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PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).—Captain JESSEL reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned until Friday, at Twelve of the clock. Report to lie upon the Table	516
--	-----

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee.

1. "That, in the case of the Tottenham Improvement Bill, Petition for Additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to introduce their Additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

2. "That, in the case of the Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill, Petition for Additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to introduce their additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

3. "That, in the case of the City of London (Central Criminal Court House), Petition for leave to deposit a Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to deposit their Petition for a Bill."

4. "That, in the case of the North Wales Electric Power Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with; That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill"

516

Resolutions agreed to.

PETITIONS.

DOGS BILL. —Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table	517
---	-----

LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law; from Worthing; St. Just; Drift Sancreed; Carfury; Penzance (two); Gosen; Bow; Knowlwood; Ilminster; Acton; Yeadon (three); Bolton; Chelsea; Baidon Green; Morton Banks; Guiseley; Barnstaple; Buckland Brewer; Ilfracombe; Ilkley; Plumstead; Glasgow (two); Bristol (two); Walbottle; Blyth; Brow; Beech Grove; and Flimby (two); to lie upon the Table	517
---	-----

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table	517
--	-----

RE-VACCINATION BILL. —Petition from St. Helens, in favour; to lie upon the Table	517
---	-----

SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petition from Chelsea, against; to lie upon the Table ..	517
---	-----

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lii
Page

Apr. 19.]

TOWN AND COUNTY COUNCILS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.— Petition from Montrose, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	517
TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE).—Petition from Chelmsford, for withdrawal ; to lie upon the Table	517
VAGRANTS' CHILDREN PROTECTION BILL.—Petition from Montrose, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	517

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Rail- way Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban and rural dis- tricts of Rugby, in the county of Warwick (Rugby and District Light Rail- way Order, 1904) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	518
FINANCIAL STATEMENT (1904-5).— Copy ordered, “ of Statement and Revenue and Expenditure as laid before the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when opening the Budget.”—(<i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.</i>) Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 132.]	518
SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT [DEFICIENCY ANNUITY].—Committee to consider of authorising the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in pursuance of any Act of the present Session to amend the Savings Banks Acts (King's Re- commendation signified), To-morrow.—(<i>Mr. Victor Cavendish.</i>)	518
TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH GERMANY.—Return [presented 18th April] to be printed. [No. 131]	518
EXPLOSIONS (EXPLOSION AT THE FACTORY OF MESSRS. CURTIS AND HARVEY, LIMITED, FAVERSHAM, KENT).—Copy presented, of Report by Captain M. B. Lloyd, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an explo- sion of gunpowder which occurred in the mixing house of the factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at the Marsh, Faversham, on the 2nd February, 1904 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	518
LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Rail- way Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways from St. Osyth to Clacton- on-Sea, in the county of Essex, in the rural district of Tendring, and the urban district of Clacton (Clacton-on-Sea and Osyth Light Railway Order, 1904) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	518
LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Copy presented of Order made by the Light Rail- way Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the borough of Leicester and in the rural districts of Barrow-upon-Soar and of Market Bosworth, in the county of Leicester (Leicester and District Light Railways Order, 1904) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	519

Apr. 19.]

Page

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parishes of Arkley, Barnet Vale, Chipping Barnet, Bushey Rural, Bushey Urban, and Watford Urban, in the county of Hertford (County of Hertford Light Railways (No. 1) Order 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 519

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, transferring to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford the powers conferred upon the Nidd Valley Light Railway Company by the Nidd Valley Light Railway Order, 1901, and amending that Order (Bradford Corporation (Nidd Valley Transfer) Light Railway Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 519

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRABAND TOBACCO TO CHELSEA AND KILMAINHAM PENITENTERS.—Question, Mr. Whitmore (Chelsea); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavenish 520

INSPECTION OF TENEMENT HOUSES USED AS WORKSHOPS.—Question, Mr. Forde Ridley (Bethnal Green, S.W.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 520

LICENSING AND DRUNKENNESS IN LIVERPOOL.—Question, Sir Frederick Milner (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 521

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS AT DONARD, COUNTY WICKLOW.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 521

CONSULAR REPORTS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Earl Percy 521

COTTON IN INDIA—CONSUMPTION AND GROWTH.—Question, Mr. Emmott (Oldham); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 522

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN IRISH LUNATIC ASYLUMS. Question, Mr. James O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 523

EXPENSES OF CANDIDATES FOR DENTAL APPOINTMENTS TO THE ARMY.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster .. 523

RIFLE MANUFACTURE.—Question, Colonel Bowles (Middlesex, Enfield); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 523

COMMITTEE ON BARRACK CONSTRUCTION—PUBLICATION OF REPORT.—Question, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 523

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

NAVAL SALVAGE OPERATIONS.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretymann, Suffolk, Woodbridge) .. 524

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST.—Question, Sir John Leng; Answer, Mr. Pretymann 524

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lv

<i>Apr. 19.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
ROYAL GARRISON REGIMENT.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	525
RECRUITING IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	525
IRISH ARMY ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	526
CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	526
CHINESE INDENTURED LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	527
UNEMPLOYED KAFFIRS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	527
CONGO FREE STATE—INJURIES TO BRITISH SUBJECTS.—Question, Mr. Emmott (Oldham); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	528
CONGO FREE STATE—ILL-TREATMENT OF NATIVES.—Question, Mr. Emmott; Answer, Earl Percy	528
MACEDONIAN GENDARMERIE.—Question, Mr. Charles Allen (Gloucestershire, Stroud); Answer, Earl Percy	528
SIAM.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Earl Percy	529
SMUGGLING OF AMMUNITION IN THE PERSIAN GULF.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	530
PROMOTION IN THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	531
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT INQUIRY.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	531
CUSTOMS BOATMEN.—Question, Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs); Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington)	531
PROTECTION OF THE SCOTCH FISHERIES—SEA POLICE DUTY.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Bute-shire)	532
IRISH QUEEN'S COLLEGES—DEPUTY-PRESIDENTS.—Questions, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, N.) and Mr. John Redmond (Waterford); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	532

Apr. 19.]

Page

THE WHITE ESTATE. —Question, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork Co., W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	533
CASTLETOWN, BEREHAVEN, AND BANTRY HARBOUR. —Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	533
DOHEN NATIONAL SCHOOL. —Question, Mr. P. A. M'Hugh (Leitrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	534
IRISH POLICE AND UNITED IRISH LEAGUE MEETINGS. —Questions, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham	534
RATHMINES URBAN DISTRICT. —Question, Mr. Mooney (Dublin Co., S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	535
TITHE, QUIT, AND CROWN RENTS IN IRELAND. —Question, Mr. William M'Killop (Sligo, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	535
IRISH ESTATES COMMISSIONER—FORMS FOR SALE AND PURCHASE OF LANDS. —Question, Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	535
IRISH LAND PURCHASE. —Question, Mr. Kilbride; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	536
IRISH POST OFFICE—DELAYS IN FORWARDING POST OFFICE ORDER ADVICES. —Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley ..	536
CASTLETOWN POSTAL SERVICE. —Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, Lord Stanley	537
NATIONAL EXPENDITURE COMMITTEES REPORT. —Questions, Sir Edgar Vincent (Exeter) and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	537
Bishopric of Bristol Bill [Lords]. —Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 155.]	538
Railways (Private Sidings) Bill. —Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Trade, etc., with an Amended Title.	
Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 133.]	
Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 133.]	
Bill as amended (in the Standing Committee) to be taken into consideration upon Friday, 17th June, and to be printed. [Bill 156.]	538
SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES). —Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures—Sir Barrington Simeon; and had appointed in substitution Mr. Victor Cavendish.	
Report to lie upon the Table.	539

Apr. 19.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WAYS AND MEANS).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Proceedings of the Committee of Ways and Means, if under consideration at Twelve o'clock this night be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House.)"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 292 ; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 83.) .. 540

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

THE BUDGET STATEMENT.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 543

CUSTOMS—TEA.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on Tea, there shall be charged on and after the twentieth day of April nineteen hundred and four, until the first day of August, nineteen and hundred five, the following duty (that is to say) :—"Tea, the pound . . . Eight pence."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i>	568
<i>Mr. Ritchie (Croydon)</i>	573
<i>Mr. Haldane (Haddingtonshire)</i>	578
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach (Bristol, W.)</i>	582
<i>Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.)</i>	592
<i>The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i>	598
<i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i>	598
<i>Sir Edgar Vincent (Exeter)</i>	602
<i>Mr. Ashton (Bedfordshire, Luton)</i>	607

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.**WAYS AND MEANS.**

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CUSTOMS—TEA.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on Tea, there shall be charged on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, until the first day

of August, nineteen hundred and five, the following duty (that is to say :)—“Tea, the pound . . . Eightpence.”—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

<i>Mr. Ashton</i>	610
<i>Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree (Bethnal Green, N.E.)</i>	615
<i>Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.)</i>	619
<i>Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.)</i>	626
<i>Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.)</i>	628
<i>Sir William Holland (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham)</i>	630
<i>Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.)</i>	632
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	632
<i>Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs)</i>	640
<i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i>	641

Amendment proposed—

“In line 5, to leave out the words, ‘Eight pence,’ and insert the words ‘Six pence.’”—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘Eight pence’ stand part of the proposed Resolution.”

<i>Mr. J. Chamberlain (Birmingham, W.)</i>	643
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)</i>	646

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 265 ; Noes, 193. (Division List No. 48.)

Main Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 259 ; Noes, 188. (Division List No. 85.)

CUSTOMS—TOBACCO.

Motion made and Question proposed, “That the duties of Customs payable under section one of the Finance Act, 1898, on manufactured tobacco shall, on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, be increased, in the case of cigars, by six pence per pound, and in the case of cigarettes by one shilling per pound, and the duties payable under the same section on unmanufactured tobacco shall, on and after the same date, be increased, in the case of stripped tobacco, by three pence per pound”—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment proposed—

“In line 5, to leave out from the word ‘pound’ to the end of the proposed Resolution.”—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question put, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Resolution.”

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 228 ; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 86.)

Main Question again proposed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

lix
Page

Apr. 20.]

<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i>	659
<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.)</i>	662
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	662
<i>Mr. Robson (South Shields)</i>	663

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 200 ; Noes, 106. (Division List No. 87.)

Resolutions to be reported upon Thursday.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

Army (Annual) Bill.

As amended, considered.

An Amendment made.

Bill read the third time, and passed 665

DISTURBANCES AT LISBURN.

On the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

Questions, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.), Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)
and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.) ; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland
(Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 667

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : WEDNESDAY, 20TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords] ; Thurles Urban District Council
Water Bill. As amended, considered ; to be read the third time 669

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords] (by Order). Second
Reading deferred till Thursday, 5th May (Evening Sitting) 669

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. Read a second
time, and committed 669

Great Central Railway Bill ; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.
Reported with Amendments ; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be
printed 669

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petitions for alteration ; from Stornaway ;
and Dornoch ; to lie upon the Table 669

Apr. 20.]

Page

LICENCES (RENEWAL).—Petitions against alteration of law ; from Islington ; Sowerby Bridge ; Heartsease ; Cadeleigh ; Grangemouth ; Kingsbridge ; Truro ; Sunbury-on-Thames ; Holbeach ; Bolton ; Prestatyn ; Hornsey ; Abingdon ; Ipswich ; Fulham ; Cresswell ; Uxbridge ; Kenley ; Bramhall ; Falkirk ; Aberavon ; Groeslon ; Lewes ; Batheaston ; Garn Dolbenmaen ; Gosport ; Upton Lane ; Nottingham (two) ; Staplehurst ; Newton Stewart ; Netherfield ; Border District ; Mostyn ; Bingley ; Aylestone ; Atherton ; Ellistown ; West London ; and Salcombe ; to lie upon the Table	669
GOVERNMENT ACT (1888) AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Bristol, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	669
RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.—Petition from Bath, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	670
RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition in favour ; from Birkenhead ; and Newcastle-on-Tyne ; to lie upon the Table	670
ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.—Petition of the Scottish Women's Protestant Union, against ; to lie upon the Table	670
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petitions against ; from Haringay ; Sheffield ; Boston ; and Rotherham ; to lie upon the Table	670
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.—Petition from Bath, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table	670

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES 1904-5 (SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES).—Copy presented, of Appendix to the Estimate for Civil Services, Class 6, Vote 1, containing a List of Superannuation and Retired Allowances payable on 30th November, 1903 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 134]	670
JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Judicial Statistics for England and Wales, 1902, Part II. (Civil Judicial Statistics), edited by Sir John Macdonnell, C.B., LL.D., Master of the Supreme Court [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	670
TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3136 to 3138 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	670
CHARITY COMMISSION (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Fifty-first Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	670
EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS).—Address for "Return showing the estimated position as regards capital expenditure, of the several Railways and Irrigation Works under construction in India on the 31st day of March, 1904, and the proposed expenditure thereon during 1904-5 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 137, of Session 1903)."—(Mr. Price.)	671

Apr. 20.]

Page

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

APPOINTMENT OF PUPIL TEACHERS.—Question, Mr. Brooke Robinson (Dudley); Answer, Sir William Anson	671
ACCIDENT AND SICKNESS INSURANCE LAWS ON THE CONTINENT.—Question, Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	672
EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT—BY-LAWS.—Question, Mr. Tennant; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	672
CLERKS TO PETTY SESSIONS IN POLITICAL CONTESTS.—Question, Mr. Brand (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	673
ADMIRALTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO BEREHAVEN HARBOUR FUND.—Question, Major Jameson (Clare, W.); Answer, Mr. Pretymann	673
BALLOT ACT—SUGGESTED AMENDMENT.—Question, Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	674
MEMBERS OF BOARDS OF GUARDIANS AS PUBLIC VACCINATORS.—Question, Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	674
REPAIRS TO H.M.S. "MELAMPUS."—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, Mr. Pretymann	675
ANNUAL LEAVE OF ADULT NIGHT MESSENGERS IN PROVINCIAL POST OFFICES.— Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Lord Stanley	675
RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF WAR CORRESPONDENTS USING WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.— Question, Mr. Brynmor Jones (Swansea District); Answer, Earl Percy	675
COST OF RIFLE MANUFACTURE IN GOVERNMENT FACTORIES.—Question, Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	676
ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT—ESTABLISHMENTS TO BE GIVEN UP IN NEWFOUND- LAND BY THE FRENCH.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pankras, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	677
DISCHARGES FROM SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY.—Question, Mr. Moon; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	677
CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE AND REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Moon; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	677
MR. DANYZ'S VIRUS FOR DESTRUCTION OF RATS.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	678

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

NEW ARMY JOURNAL.—Questions, Sir John Leng (Dundee) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold- Forster, Belfast, W.)	678
COLONIAL LEGISLATURES AND PREFERENCE.—Questions, Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend) and Major Seely (Isle of Wight); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	679

Apr. 20.]

Page

BRITISH INDIAN TRADESMEN IN EAST LONDON. —Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	680
INDIAN EXCISE LEGISLATION. —Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	680
INDIAN POLICE COMMISSION REPORT. —Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	681
EXCHEQUER BALANCES. —Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.)	681
NATIONAL BORROWINGS. —Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	682
BOY COPYISTS IN THE POST OFFICE. —Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	682
REFUSALS TO RENEW LICENCES. —Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	683
TRAINING OF PUPIL TEACHERS. —Questions, Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.); Answers, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University)	683
PUPIL TEACHERS. —Question, Mr. Ernest Gray; Answer, Sir William Anson ..	684
COMPANIES ACT AND FRANCHISE. —Question, Mr. Ernest Gray; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk)	685
TECHNICAL EDUCATION AT TULLIALLAN AND CULROSS. —Question, Mr. Eugene Wasor (Clackmannan and Kinross); Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire)	685
CAHIRCIVEEN RIVER ESTUARY BUOYS. —Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	686
MONAGHAN TECHNICAL COMMITTEE AND THE BRITISH FLAG. —Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	686
CHARGES AGAINST THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY. —Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	687
BLARIS HURLING MATCH. —Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.), and Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham	687
POLICE TESTIMONIALS. —Question, Mr. William Abraham (Cork Co., N.E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	688
INCOME TAX—LIMERICK APPEAL. —Question, Mr. Landon (Limerick, E.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	688

TABLE OF CONTENTS

lxiii

Apr. 20.]

Page

BANK OF IRELAND—COLLECTION OF LAND ACT ANNUITIES.—Question, Major Coates (Limerick); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 689

ROSEREA POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Kendal O'Brien (Tipperary, Mid.); Answer, Lord Stanley 689

IRISH TELEGRAPHISTS AND THE ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Lord Stanley 690

ECCLESIASTICAL DISORDERS—APPOINTMENT OF A ROYAL COMMISSION.—Questions, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 691

SHOP HOURS AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILLS.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 692

MOROCCO.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 692

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. Lloyd George (Carnarvon Boroughs), and Sir William Harcourt (Monmouthshire, W.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 693

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Yerburgh and Mr. Herbert Lewis; and had appointed in substitution. Mr. Arthur Elliott and Mr. Lloyd Morgan.

Report to lie upon the Table 695

Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Law, etc.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 135.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 135.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 157] 695

ADJOURNMENT.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR, Member for the East Toxteth Division of Liverpool, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "the composition of, and the scope of the reference to, the Royal Commission appointed to investigate Ecclesiastical Disorders in the Church of England," but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly arisen—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, until this Evening's Sitting 695

NEW BILL.

LIQUOR SELLERS' LIABILITY BILL.—“ To provide for the payment of compensation by Sellers of Liquor in certain cases,” presented by Sir Wilfrid Lawson; supported by Mr. T. W. Russell; to be read a second time upon Friday, 6th May, and to be printed. [Bill 158.]	696
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LICENSING BILL.

<i>The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)</i>	696
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Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Licensing Acts, 1828 to 1902, in respect to the extinction of Licences and the grant of new Licences.”—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

<i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson (Cornwall, Camborne)</i>	703
<i>Mr. Whittaker (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley)</i>	707
<i>Mr. Lloyd Wharton (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon)</i>	716
<i>Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.)</i>	718
<i>Mr. Talbot (Oxford University)</i>	719
<i>Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester)</i>	722
<i>Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercrombie)</i>	723
<i>Mr. Osmond Williams (Merionethshire)</i>	724
<i>Sir John Kennaway (Devonshire, Honiton)</i>	725
<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i>	727
<i>The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i>	732
<i>Mr. Lloyd George (Carnarvon Burghs)</i>	743
<i>Mr. Groves (Salford, S.)</i>	749
<i>Mr. Corrie Grant (Warwickshire, Rugby)</i>	751

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 314 ; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 88.)

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Cochrane do prepare and bring in the Bill.

LICENSING BILL.—“ To amend the Licensing Acts, 1828 to 1902, in respect to the extinction of licences and the grant of new licences,” presented accordingly, and read the first time, to be read a second time upon Monday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 159.]

EVENING SITTING.

Adjournment (under Standing Order No. 10.)

ECCLESIASTICAL DISORDERS—ROYAL COMMISSION.

<i>Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, E. Toxteth)</i>	757
<i>Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange)</i>	764

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That this House do now adjourn.”—(*Mr. Austin Taylor.*)

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lxv

Apr. 20.]

Page

<i>Mr. Brynmor Jones (Swansea District)</i>	766
<i>Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale)</i>	769
<i>Mr. William Rutherford (Liverpool, West Derby)</i>	770
<i>The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i>	771

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 90 ; Noes, 176. (Division List No 89.)

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (MEALS).

<i>Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton)</i>	781
<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	789

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Board of Education should require arrangements to be made by the local education authorities whereby every child compelled by law to attend a public elementary school shall have received proper nourishment before being subjected to mental or physical instruction, and that in cases in which proper food has not been provided for the child by its parents, it should be first supplied by the local education authority, and subsequently suitable action taken to recover the cost."—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

<i>Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.)</i>	792
<i>The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University)</i>	793
<i>Mr. Bond (Nottingham, E.)</i>	796

And, it being Midnight, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to interrupt the business.

Whereupon Mr. CLAUDE HAY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put ;" but Mr. SPEAKER withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question, and the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Wednesday next

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT (DEFICIENCY ANNUITY).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of The Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Act.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Resolution to be reported to-morrow	796
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Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : THURSDAY, 21st APRIL, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The LORD HARTISMERE (*L. Henniker*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father. 797

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with :—Richard Jaeger's Patent.

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with :—Chippenham Gas ; Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas ; Sheppy Gas ; Wellington (Somerset) Gas ; North Staffordshire Railway ; Norwich Water ; Sutton Gas ; Croydon Gas ; Great Northern Railway ; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway ; Ryde Gas. The same were ordered to lie on the Table 797

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—The LORD BALFOUR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The orders made on the 22nd of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed 797

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd March last discharged, and Bill committed 797

Ulster Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed 797

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed 798

Gomersal Gas Bill.—Bexhill Water and Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed 798

Torquay Tramways Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 798

Great Eastern Railway Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed 798

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons 798

Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [H.L.].—Read 3a ; Amendments made ; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons 798

Apr. 21.]

Page

Chesterfield Corporation Tramways and Improvements Bill [H.L.]— Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons.. .. .	798
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Hutchesons' Hospital and Hutchesons' Educational Trust Bill [H.L.]— [SECOND READING.]—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.	
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<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	798
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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Tweedmouth.*)

<i>The Earl of Camperdown</i>	803
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Amendment moved—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and add at the end of the Motion] the words 'this day six months.'"—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

<i>The Earl of Kintore</i>	806
<i>The Acting Chairman of Committees (Lord Balfour of Burleigh)</i>	806

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed: the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3138. Denmark (Iceland); No. 3139. Servia	810
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JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 1902 (PART II. CIVIL JUDICIAL STATISTICS).— Statistics relating to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts, and other Civil Courts, edited by Sir John Macdonnell, C.B., LL.D., a Master of the Supreme Court.. .. .	810
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BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Report of a public inquiry held under Sections 16 and 23 of the Education Act, 1902, and Section 73 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, by A. T. Lawrence, K.C., at Carmarthen, on the 24th and 25th of March, 1904.

Presented by Command, and ordered to lie on the Table	810
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Sea Fisheries Bill [H.L.]— The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended in Committee of the Whole House (No. 45)	811
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Army (Annual) Bill. —Brought from the Commons; read 1 ^a ; to be printed; and to be read 2 ^a To-morrow, (<i>The Viscount Hutchinson [E. Donoughmore.]</i>) (No. 46)	811
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Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill [H.L.]— SECOND READING Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.	
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<i>Lord Monkswell</i>	811
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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

Apr. 21.]

Page

<i>The Earl of Northbrook</i>	815
<i>The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne)</i>	820
<i>Earl Spencer</i>	822
<i>Lord James of Hereford</i>	823
<i>Viscount Goschen</i>	825
<i>Lord Stanley of Alderley</i>	827

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Sale of Intoxicants to Children Bill [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1 :—

<i>Lord Dunboyne</i>	829
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Amendment moved—

“ In page 1, line 7, to leave out Clause 1 and to insert as a new clause : ‘ Every agent or servant of any licensed person who knowingly sells or delivers any intoxicating liquor to any person contrary to the provisions of the intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1901, shall be liable to the same penalties as are provided by the aforesaid Act in the case of a similar offence committed by such licensed person.’ ”—
(*Lord Dunboyne.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee ; and to be printed as amended.
(No. 47).

NEW ZEALAND AND PREFERENCE.

<i>Earl Beauchamp</i>	830
<i>The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (The Duke of Marlborough)</i>	830

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Seven o'clock, till Tomorrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 21ST APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz :—Richard Jaeger's Patent. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 832

Apr. 21.]

Page

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow — 833

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill.—Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill, of the Session 1902, be referred to the Committee on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill of this session.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) 833

Cheshire Electricity and Power Gas Bill.—Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table.. .. . 833

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, “An Act to empower the Corporation of Barrow-in-Furness to construct an opening bridge across Walney Channel; to make certain street works; to lay down additional tramways, and to execute works in connection with their water undertaking; and for other purposes.”—[Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, “An Act to extend the time for taking certain lands and for the construction of certain authorised works by the Southport and Lytham Tramroad Company, and the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the borough of Southport, to authorise the raising of further capital and for other purposes.” [Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords] 833

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords]; Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 834

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petitions for alteration: from Orkney; Caithness; and Breadalbane; to lie upon the Table 834

INCOME-TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.—Petition from Croydon, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 834

LICENCES (RENEWAL).—Petitions against alteration of Law: from Middlesbrough; Hirnant; Creiglwyn; Cefn-canol; Llawrycwm; Birmingham; Machynlleth; Siloh; Cynrybwch; Esgairgertieg; Horeb; Leeds; Llangyniew; Saron; Somersham; Tonbridge; Welling; Kennington; Ilford; Dumfries; Chipping Norton; Tunbridge Wells; Denbigh; Woolwich; North Kent; Llangadfan (two); Manchester; Goshen; Meifod; Llanidloes; Neuadd; Llanbrynmair; Ysgangciliog; Llangadfan; Elim; Maengwynedd; Guilden Morden; Ney and; Pembroke; Denbigh; Sketty Glasgow; Watford; Slough; Aldershot; and Colnbrook; to lie upon the Table 834

Apr. 21.]

Page

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING).—Petition from Islington, for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table	834
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition of the Scottish Poor Law Medical Officers' Association, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	834
RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.—Petition from Middlesbrough, against ; to lie upon the Table	834
RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Kensington in favour ; to lie upon the Table	834
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petitions against : from Burton-on-Trent : and Woking ; to lie upon the Table	835
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petition from Kensington, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table	835
TRANSSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE).—Petition from Ponlar. for withdrawal ; to lie upon the Table	835

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Report of a Public Inquiry held under Sections 16 and 23 of The Education Act, 1902, and Section 73 of The Elementary Education Act, 1870, by A. T. Laurence, Esq., K.C., at Carmarthen on the 24th and 25th March, 1904 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table ..	835
TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3140 and 3141 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	835
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table, Manual of Procedure in the Public Business of the House of Commons, 1904	835

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

NEW VOLUNTARY SCHOOL AT HAYWARDS HEATH.—Question, Mr. James Hope (Fifeshire, W.) ; Answer, Sir William Anson	835
INQUIRY INTO EDUCATION ACT AT CARMARTHEN.—Question, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping) ; Answer, Sir William Anson	836
BOARDED OUT CHILDREN IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) ; Answer, Mr. Walter Long	836
TEA IMPORTS.—Question, Sir Edward Sassoon (Hythe) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	836
EXCHEQUER DEFICIT.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	836
NATIONAL DEBT.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	838

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lxxi

<i>Apr. 21.]</i>		<i>Page</i>
INCOME OF AVERAGE WORKING CLASS FAMILY.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour		839
POST OFFICE NIGHT MESSENGERS IN SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Lord Stanley		839
INDIAN COINAGE.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick		839
INDIAN POLICE COMMISSION—PUBLICATION OF REPORT.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick		841
NEW ARMY SCHEME—COST OF STAFF.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster		842
PROMOTION TO THE RANK OF COLONEL AND MAJOR-GENERAL.—Question, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster		843
IMPORT DUTIES ON AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton		843
BOER WAR COMPENSATION.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton		843
BIRMINGHAM AND SOUTHWARK BISHOPRICS BILL—SECOND READING.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.), and Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour		844

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

SIXTH VOLUNTEER BATTALION THE KING'S LIVERPOOL REGIMENT—LIEUTENANT GREEN'S CASE.—Question, Mr. Rea (Gloucester); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)		844
RAILWAY COUPLINGS.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)		845
IRISH LAND ACT FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)		847
NUMBER OF PEOPLE ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE IN SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. Eugene Wason (Clackmannan and Kinross); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey)		847
BOARD OF AGRICULTURE ASSISTANT INSPECTORS.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes		848
SHOP HOURS BILL.—Question, Mr. James Reid (Greenock); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)		848
EXPERIMENTS ON DOGS.—Question, Mr. Logan (Leicestershire, Harborough); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas		848

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Apr. 21.]</i>	
NURSING IN WORKHOUSES.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk)	849
CONGO FREE STATE—TRADE REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	849
BONAMARGY RUINS.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	850
BALLINASLOE LUNATIC ASYLUM—CHARGE AGAINST AN ATTENDANT.—Question Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	850
BALLINASLOE LUNATIC ASYLUM—RESIDENT MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENT.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	851
DOWN COUNTY COURT JUDGE AND THE NEWCASTLE VOTING REGISTER.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig and Mr. T. W. Russell (Tryone, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	852
SUNDAY HURLING MATCHES IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	852
DEFENCE COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET.—Questions, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean), and Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	854
BIRMINGHAM AND SOUTHWARK BISHOPRIC BILL.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	855
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	855
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.—Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to request that their Lordships will be pleased to give leave to Sir Henry Graham, K.C.B., the Clerk of the Parliaments, to attend to be examined as a Witness before the Committee of Public Accounts.—(<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon</i>)	855
SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—	
Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, in respect of the Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill: Mr. Broadhurst; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Batty Langley	
Report to lie upon the Table	856

NEW BILL.

Chartered Societies Bill.—“To provide for the further protection of Chartered Societies,” presented by Sir John Rolleston; supported by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Sir James Woodhouse, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Francis Evans, and Mr. Hunter Craig; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 160.]	856
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Apr. 21.]

Page

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Ordered, That the Committee of Ways and Means have precedence this day of the Business of Supply.—(<i>Mr. A. J. Balfour</i>)		856
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WAYS AND MEANS.—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

INCOME TAX.—

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That income tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.)

<i>Mr. Sydney Buxton</i> (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)	856
<i>Sir John Gorst</i> (Cambridge University)	863
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i> (Croydon)	865
<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon</i> (Norfolk, N.)	871
<i>Mr. Elliot</i> (Durham)	873
<i>Mr. Broadhurst</i> (Leicester)	877
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i> (Lynn Regis)	879
<i>Mr. Runciman</i> (Dewsbury)	888
<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer</i> (<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i> , Worcester-shire, E.)	891
<i>Mr. Channing</i> (Northamptonshire, E.)	900
<i>Mr. J. F. Hope</i> (Sheffield, Brightside)	905
<i>Mr. Joseph Walton</i> (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley)	910

And, being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

INCOME TAX.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Income Tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling.”—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.)

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Mr. Joseph Walton</i>	911
<i>Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough)</i>	916
<i>Mr. Stuart Samuel (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)</i>	918
<i>Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somerset, E.)</i>	920
<i>Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion)</i>	921
<i>Mr. Martin (Worcestershire, Droitwich)</i>	924
<i>Major Jameson (Clare, W.)</i>	925
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	927
<i>Mr. Cawley (Lancashire, Prestwich)</i>	934
<i>Mr. Bond (Nottingham, E.)</i>	935
<i>Mr. Whitley (Halifax)</i>	935

And, it being Midnight, the CHAIRMAN proceeded to interrupt the business.

Whereupon Sir FREDERICK BANBURY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee proceeded to a division, and the Chairman stated that he thought the Ayes had it; and on his decision being challenged, it appeared to him that the division was frivolously claimed, and he accordingly called upon the Members who supported and who challenged his decision successively to rise in their places, and he declared the Ayes had it, six Members only who challenged his decision having stood up.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 214; Noes, 16. (Division List No. 90.)

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjourned at twenty minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 22ND APRIL, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Ravensworth sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman 941

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Great Central and Midland Joint Railways. The same was ordered to lie on the Table 941

RICHARD JAEGER'S PATENT (PETITION FOR BILL).—Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Tuesday next 941

Apr. 22.]

Page

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL (FINANCE) BILL [H.L.].—Reported with Amendments 941

LANCASHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee with Amendments 941

CLYDE VALLEY ELECTRICAL POWER BILL [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 26th of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed for Thursday next 941

BELFAST AND NORTH-EAST IRELAND ELECTRICITY AND POWER GAS BILL [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 22nd of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed 9 1

BUXTON URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed 941

King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Mid-Cheshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz. :—D. Manchester, L. Zouche of Haryngworth, L. Clifford of Chudleigh (Chairman), L. Ravensworth, L. Rosmead; agreed to, and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next at eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills. 942

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 48.).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bath Rural District, Brynmawr, Chippenham, Eastleigh and Bishopstoke, Hanwell, Southgate Urban District, Tamworth, Walton-le-Dale, Watford, and Widnes (Amendment); and

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 49.).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead (Extension), Bishop Auckland (Amendment), Huddersfield (Extension to Golcar), Maidenhead (Extensions), Milford on-Sea, Newquay, Penzance, Ramsgate, Sunderland Districts, and Tavistock.

Were presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Wolverton); read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners 942

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES.)

No. 3140. Turkey (Constantinople and District.)

No. 3141. Tunis.

No. 3142. Russia (Poland and Lithuania.)

No. 3143. Siam (Chiengmai.) 943

WELLINGTON COLLEGE.—Report of the Governors for the year ended the 31st December, 1903 ; with accounts 943

TRADE.—Annual statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, 1903, compared with the four preceding years. Volume I. (Summaries, Abstract and Detailed Tables of Imports and Exports.) 943

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.—Report to the Board of Trade by the Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence with reference to their proceedings 943

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (RAILWAY RATES AND FACILITIES).

Correspondence between the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Railway Companies in Great Britain as to the carriage of agricultural produce and requisites ; with appendices.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 943

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF WALSALL).—Order, made by the council of the borough of Walsall, altering certain polling districts in the borough .. 943

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.—Order in Council, of 21st April, 1904, approving by-laws made by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board with respect to the contribution to be made towards the pilotage funds of the Liverpool districts by the masters and mates of vessels holding pilotage certificates .. 943

RAILWAYS COMPANIES' POWERS ACT, 1864.

Draft certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the London and South-Western Railway Company to raise additional capital.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table .. 944

IMPORTATION OF DOGS. —

The Earl of Lytton 944
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (The Earl of Onslow) 945

Apr. 22.]

Page

Army (Annual) Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 948

Moved, "That the Bill be read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Sea Fisheries Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next 949

House adjourned at ten minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 22ND APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY BILL) STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH.—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—London County Council (Money) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 949

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 949

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill.—To be read the third time upon Monday next 949

Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill [Lords].—To be read a second time upon Tuesday next (Evening Sitting) 949

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 950

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed 950

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 5).—Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Bradford (Yorkshire), Ealing, Eaton Bray (Rural), Glastonbury, Rhyl, and the Fylde Water Board District, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—"To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Bradford (Yorkshire), Ealing, Eaton Bray (Rural), Glastonbury, Rhyl, and the Fylde Water Board District," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 161.] 950

Apr. 22.]

Page

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).— Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group F of Private Bills ; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock. Report to lie upon the Table	950
Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. —Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	950
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. —Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next	950
Donegal Railway Bill. —Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	950
Ipswich Dock Commission Bill [Lords] ; Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]. —Reported, with Amendments ; Reports to lie upon the Table	950
Barry Railway (Extension of Time, Etc.) Bill [Lords]. —Reported, without Amendment ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	950
Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier Bill [Lords]. —Reported, without Amendment ; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time	951
New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [Lords]. —Reported, without Amendment ; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time	951
COMMONS (REGULATION OF OXSHOTT HEATH, IN THE PARISH OF COBHAM, SURREY, AND REGULATION OF MERROW DOWNS, IN THE PARISH OF MERROW, SURREY). —Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence relative thereto, brought up, and read. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 137.]	951
MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS. —That they have passed a Bill, intituled, “ An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Barnard Castle Gas Company.” [Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords.]	
Also, a Bill, intituled, “ An Act to incorporate the Preston and Blackburn Tramways Company, and to empower that Company to make and maintain a tramway and other works ; and for other purposes.” [Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords.]	
And, also, a Bill, intituled, “ An Act to authorise the Corporation of Chesterfield to construct and work tramways ; to execute further street works and improvements ; to extend their area for the supply of electricity ; to make further provision for the improvement, local government, and health of the borough of Chesterfield ; and for other purposes.” [Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [Lords.]	951
Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords] ; Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords] ; Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [Lords]. —Read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills	951
RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP No. 7).— Ordered, That George Edmund Shanahan do attend the Committee on Group No. 7 of Railway Bills on Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock	951

Apr. 22.]

*Page***PETITIONS.**

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL. —Petition from Islington, against (praying to be heard by counsel) ; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill ..	952
INCOME TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY. —Two Petitions from London, for alteration of law ; to lie upon the Table	952
LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law ; from Chester ; Laurieston ; Ipswich ; Leamington ; Glasgow ; Kingsland ; Allonby ; Carlisle ; Barrow-on-Soar ; Crossgar ; Prees ; Seaham Harbour ; Glossop (two) ; Leek ; Penybont ; Cricklewood ; Church ; and Norwich ; to lie upon the Table	952
RE-VACCINATION BILL. —Petition from Hanley, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	952
SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petitions against ; from Swansea ; Great Grimsby ; Loughborough ; and Harlesden ; to lie upon the Table	952
VACCINATION ACTS. —Petition from Reading, for repeal ; to lie upon the Table	952

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE. —Copy presented, of Report of the Governors of Wellington College for the year ending 31st December, 1903, with Accounts [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	953
POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF WALSALL). —Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Walsall, altering certain Polling Districts in the Borough [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	953
MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894. —Copy presented, of Order in Council of 21st April, 1904, approving Bye-laws made by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, with respect to the contribution to be made towards the pilotage funds of the Liverpool district by the masters and mates of vessels holding pilotage certificates [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	953
TRADE (FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS). —Copy presented, of Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign countries and British Possessions for 1903. Volume I. [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	953
COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE. —Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade by the Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence with reference to their proceedings [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table ..	953
RAILWAYS (CERTIFICATES) (LONDON AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY). —Copy presented, of Draft Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the London and South Western Railway Company to raise additional Capital [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	953
RAILWAY RATES AND FACILITIES. —Copy presented, of Correspondence between the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Railway Companies in Great Britain as to the Carriage of Agricultural Produce and Requisites ; with Appendices [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.	

Apr. 22.]

Page

FLEETS (GREAT BRITAIN AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES).—Return presented, relative thereto. [ordered 28th March ; *Sir Charles Dilke* ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 136.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

PAY OF CUSTOMS—WATCHERS.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 954

POOR PRISONERS DEFENCE ACT--RULES.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) ; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 954

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS AT RATHDANGAN, COUNTY WICKLOW.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley 955

POST OFFICE—MONEY FOUND ON PUBLIC COUNTERS.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor ; Answer, Lord Stanley 955

CARRIAGE OF GOODS—LIABILITY OF SHIPPING COMPANIES.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 956

CONSUMPTION OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN-MADE CIGARETTES.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) ; Mr. Austen Chamberlain 956

YIELD OF TAXES.—Question, Mr. Toulmin (Lancashire, Bury) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 957

TRAM CAR LICENCES IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 957

ARMY REGULATIONS IN CANADA.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 958

Trade Unions and Trades Disputes Bill—[SECOND READING].—Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. Paulton (Durham, Bishop Auckland) 958

Mr. Johnson (Gateshead) 962

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be now read a second time.”

Colonel Pilkington (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 966

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the word ‘ now,’ and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘ upon this day six months.’ ”—(*Colonel Pilkington.*)

Question proposed, “ That the word ‘ now ’ stand part of the Question.”

Apr. 25.]

Page

<i>The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i>	974
<i>Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs)</i>	979
<i>Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford)</i>	984
<i>Mr. Bell (Derby)</i>	990
<i>Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam)</i>	996
<i>Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.)</i>	997
<i>Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham)</i>	998
<i>Mr. Robson (South Shields)</i>	1001
<i>The Attorney-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs)</i>	1002

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 238 ; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 91.)

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Bill be committed to the Standing Committee on Law, etc.”—(*Mr. Paulton.*)

And it being after half-past Five of the clock, and objection being taken to Further Proceeding, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Friday next.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 25TH APRIL, 1904.

A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE.—The LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of Halsbury).. 1013

Moved, “That the entry in the Journals of Thursday last, stating that Lord Hartismere (*L. Henniker*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father, be vacated. That the entry of the name of the Lord Hartismere among the Lords present on Thursday last be vacated. That the signature on the Test Roll be vacated.”—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Agreed to ; and ordered accordingly.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Bishop's Stortford and District Gas ; Brixham Gas ; St. Marylebone Electric Lighting ; Colney Hatch Gas ; London and North Western Railway ; Midland Railway ; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway ; Felixstowe Gas ; Birkdale Improvement ; Acton Improvement ; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways ; Southend-on-Sea Gas. The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1014

DE TRAFFORD ESTATE.—Petition for a Private Bill ; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto ; read and referred to two English Judges .. 1014

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.] f

LORD TREDGAR'S SUPPLEMENTAL ESTATE.—Petition for a Private Bill ; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto ; read, and referred to two English Judges 1014

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—A petition of Messrs. Batten Proffitt, and Scott, of 32, Great George Street, London, praying for leave to present a petition of the East Ham Urban District Council, praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 93 for presenting such petition has expired ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ; and Standing Order No. 93 to be considered To-morrow in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition .. . 1014

Holywood Tramways Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee 1014

Chippenham Gas Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1015

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill.—Read 2^a and committed .. 1015

Sheppy Gas Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1015

Wellington (Somerset) Gas Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed 1015

North Staffordshire Railway Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1015

Norwich Water Bill.—Sutton Gas Bill ; Croydon Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed 1015

Great Northern Railway Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1015

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Read 2^a 1015

Ryde Gas Bill.—Read 2^a, and committed 1015

Amersham, Beaconsfield and District Water Bill.—Brought from the Commons ; read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners 1015

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Committee to meet on Tuesday, the 3rd of May next 1015

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Wexford, was presented by the Lord Wolverton ; read 1^a, to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 50.) .. 1015

PETITIONS.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS.—Petition against the sale of, on Sundays ; of inhabitants of Plymouth ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1016

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H. L.].—Petition in favour of ; of Parliamentary and Police Boroughs of Scotland ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1016

Apr. 25.]

Page

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**SUPERANNUATION.**

Treasury Minute, dated 16th April, 1904, declaring Chengtu to be an unhealthy place within the meaning of the Superannuation Act, 1876

Treasury minute, dated 19th April, 1904, granting a retired allowance to Herbert C. Steeds, counter clerk and telegraphist, London Post Office, under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act, 1887 1016

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.—Account showing receipts and expenditure on account of proceedings under the companying (Winding-up) Act, 1890, during the year ended 31st March, 1904 1016

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PROCEEDINGS).—Account showing the receipts and expenditure on account of bankruptcy proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904 1016

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.

Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (A) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland), 1899

Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (A) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland), 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1016

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).—Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 25th April, 1904, providing for the distribution of the general aid grant 1017

INDIA (CENSUS).—General Report of the Census of India, 1901... .. 1017

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Long-leat, Wiltshire. Vol. I.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1017

Army (Annual) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported, without amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow 1017

NEW BILL.

Merchant Shipping Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1894 to 1900, was presented by the Lord Wolverton; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Thursday next. (No. 51.) 1017

MARINERS AND INCOME-TAX.

Lord Muskerry 1017.
The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 1019

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 25TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 1020

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time to-morrow 1020

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time to-morrow 1021

Southend Water Bill.—Lords Amendment considered, amended, and agreed to 1021

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1021

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1021

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1021

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill (BY ORDER.)—Read the third time, and passed 1021

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [LORDS].—Ordered, That in the case of the Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 204 and 235 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read a second time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*).

Bill accordingly read a second time, and committed 1021

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1021

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed .. 1021

Apr. 25.]

Page

PETITIONS.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL. —Petition from Salisbury, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	1021
CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL. —Petition from Salisbury, against ; to lie upon the Table	1022
EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petitions for alterations ; from Brechin ; and Fife and Angus ; to lie upon the Table	1022
HOUSE-LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Glasgow, against ; to lie upon the Table	1022
LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law ; from Matlock ; Sheffield ; Stratford ; Aberdeen ; Tollerton ; Wandsworth Common ; Islington ; Epping ; Pencainewydd Denbigh ; Barnsley ; Cleator Moor ; Gravesend ; and Wigan ; to lie upon the Table	1022
MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL. —Petition from Salisbury, against ; to lie upon the Table	1022
MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL. —Petition from Greenock, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	1022
MERCHANT SHIPPING (LIGHTHOUSES) BILL. —Petition from Greenock, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	1022
RE-VACCINATION BILL. —Two Petitions from St. Pancras, against ; to lie upon the Table	1022
RE-VACCINATION BILL. —Petitions in favour ; from Scarborough ; and Finsbury ; to lie upon the Table	1022
SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petition from Peterborough, against ; to lie upon the Table	1022
SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL. —Petition from Evesham, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	1022

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND). —Copy presented, of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 25th April, 1904, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table ..	1023
EAST INDIA (CENSUS). —Copy presented, of General Report of the Census of India, 1901 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	1023
EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS). —Return presented, relative thereto [Address 20th April ; <i>Mr. Price</i>] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 138.]	1023
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION). —Copy presented, of Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	1023

Apr. 25.]

Page

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.—Account presented, showing Receipts and Expenditure on account of Proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 139.] .. 1023

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PROCEEDINGS).—Account presented, showing the Receipt and Expenditure on account of Bankruptcy Proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 140.] 1023

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.—Copy presented, of Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (a) of the Elementary School Teachers' Superannuation Rules, 1899 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1023

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.—Copy presented of Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (a) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland) 1899 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1023

SUPERANNUATION ACTS, 1859 AND 1876.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th April, 1904, declaring Chengtu to be an unhealthy place within the meaning of the Superannuation Act, 1876 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1024

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 19th April, 1904, granting to Herbert C. Steeds, Counter Clerk and Telegraphist, London Post Office, a Retired Allowance under the Act [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1024

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3142 to 3145 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 1024

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIGHTSHIP KEEPERS.—Question, Major Jameson (Clare, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1024

ACTION OF AN IRISH RESIDENT MAGISTRATE.—Question, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1025

IRELAND—ARBITRATOR'S AWARDS FOR LAND TAKEN FOR LABOURER'S COTTAGES.—Question, Mr. William Redmond ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1025

BREAD CONTRACTS FOR THE NAVY.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) ; Answer, Mr. Pretyma 1026

NAVAL DISCHARGES—CASE OF BOY ORMSBY WEBB.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) ; Answer, Mr. Pretyma 1026

NAVAL DEFENCES AND FOREIGN VISITORS.—Question, Mr. Yerburgh (Chester) ; Answer, Mr. Pretyma 1026

VOLUNTEER LONG SERVICE MEDAL—TRANSFERS FROM MILITARY TO NAVAL CORPS.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport) ; Mr. Pretyma 1027

ENGINEER COMMANDERS AND LIEUTENANTS.—Question, Mr. Kearley ; Answer, Mr. Pretyma 1027

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lxxxviii

<i>Apr. 25.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
NAVAL SHIPBUILDING AT HOME AND ON THE CONTINENT.—Question, Mr. Yerburch ; Answer, Mr. Pretymen	1028
CEOMORE-GRAVIR ROAD, ISLE OF LEWIS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) ; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	1029
EDUCATION OF DEFECTIVE AND EPILEPTIC SCOTCH CHILDREN.—Question, Mr. Weir ; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	1029
SCOTCH EQUIVALENT GRANTS.—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire) ; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	1030
FEES OF MEDICAL WITNESSES IN SCOTCH SHERIFF COURTS.—Question, Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercromby) ; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson	1030
LEARNERS IN LEEDS POSTAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Lawson Walton (Leeds, S.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley	1030
PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL—DATE OF INTRODUCTION.—Question, Sir Alfred Hickman (Wolverhampton, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Walter Long	1031
IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.—Question, Major Jameson ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour	1031
THE NATIONAL DEBT.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1032
METROPOLITAN POLICE—PENSIONS FOR GOOD SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton) ; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	1033
ALE AND BEERHOUSES—ESTIMATED FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR COMPENSATION.—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse ; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	1033
ALIENS IN BRITISH PRISONS.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) ; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	1033
BOARD OF EDUCATION AND PLANS OF PROPOSED NEW SCHOOLS AND ALTERATIONS TO SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton) ; Answer, Sir William Anson	1034
AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABROAD.—Question, Mr. Lambert ; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	1034
BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND REDUCED RAILWAY RATES.—Question, Mr. Lambert ; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	103
BOMBAY-SCINDE RAILWAY—OBJECTION OF THE RAO OF CUTCH.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1036
INDIA AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GARRISON.—Question, Mr. Eugene Wason (Clackmanhan and Kinross) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1036
GRIEVANCES OF THE BURMA POLICE FORCE.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1036
IRISH LAND ACT—QUIT, CROWN, AND TITHE RENT REDEMPTIONS.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1037

Apr. 25.]

SUPPLY OF NEWRY GRANITE FOR FOUNDATIONS OF DUBLIN COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.— —Question, Mr. Clancy (Dublin Co., N.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	1038
LEGAL PROCEEDINGS BY LANDLORDS AGAINST TENANTS IN KING'S COUNTY.— Question, Mr. Haviland Burke (King's County, Tullamore) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1038
TROOPS IN BELFAST—ALLEGED MONOPOLY FOR SUPPLY OF STORES.—Question, Mr. Sloan ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1038
REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Buchanan ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1039
OUTPUT OF GOLD FROM, AND PERSONS EMPLOYED IN TRANSVAAL MINES.— Question, Major Seely ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1040

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE NAVY.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.) ; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham)	1039
LABOURERS' WAGES ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Arthur Lee	1041
OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Mr. Charles Hob- house (Bristol, E.) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold Forster, Belfast, W.)	1041
MILITARY RIOT AT SOUTHAMPTON.—Question, Captain Norton ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1042
AUSTRALIA AND THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE.—Question, Major Seely (Isle of Wight) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	1043
REPATRIATION OF, AND COMPENSATION PAID TO, THE BOERS.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1043
DEPARTMENTAL SUPPLIES FOR THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland) and Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) ; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton	1044
THE TIBETAN MISSION.—Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	1045
REGULATIONS FOR INDIAN LABOUR IN THE COLONIES.—Question, Major Seely ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1046
THE SOMALILAND OPERATIONS.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse ; Answers, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	1046
THE MACEDONIAN GENDARMERIE.—Questions, Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) ; Answers, Earl Percy	1047

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

lxxxix

<i>Apr. 25.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
GRADUATION OF THE INCOME TAX.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.)	1048
NATIONAL DEBT STATISTICS.—Question, Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1048
ALLEGED FRAUDULENT PRACTICES IN BONDED WAREHOUSES.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	1049
ANTI-VACCINATION PROSECUTION AT THAMES POLICE COURT.—Question, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	1049
VAGRANTS IN HYDE PARK.—Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-on-Trent); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	1050
RAILWAY LEVEL CROSSING AT HALBEATH.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)	1050
COST OF SMALL-POX OUTBREAK.—Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.)	1051
PAUPER ALIENS.—Question, Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	1052
MOTORS IN HYDE PARK.—Question, Mr. Bull (Hammersmith); Answer, Lord Balcarras (Lancashire, Chorley)	1052
INSTRUCTIONS IN COOKERY IN SCOTCH SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton)	1053
ISLAND OF LEWIS CEMETERIES.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson	1053
TEACHERS IN THE HIGHLAND CROFTING COUNTIES.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson	1054
LLOYD'S ESTATE, KING'S COUNTY.—Question, Mr. Reddy (King's County, Birr); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	1054
INSTRUCTION IN THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1054
IRISH LEGISLATION.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) and Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answers, Mr. Wyndham	1055
EPIDEMICS IN SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Samuel Young (Cavan, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1055
CUSACK ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1056
DRUMMEL BOG, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1056

<i>Apr. 25.]</i>	<i>Page</i>
REVENUE COLLECTIONS IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Nannetti ; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	1057
CROWN AND QUIT RENTS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. William McKillop (Sligo, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1057
IRISH EX-CONSTABLE IN LIVERPOOL CUSTOMS.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1057
POPULATION, REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE RETURN.—Question, Mr. John Ellis, Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1058
IRISH BANKS AND GOVERNMENT MONEY.—Question, Mr. John Redmond ; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1058
DUBLIN TELEGRAPH MESSENGERS.—Question, Mr. Nannetti ; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	1059
TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION WITH KILLARNEY.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley	1060
COTTON MANUFACTURES—PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.—Question, Mr. Harcourt (Lancashire, Rossendale) ; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	1060
LAND VALUES ASSESSMENT AND RATING BILL.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	1061
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.), and Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	1061

NEW BILL.

Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Act, 1900," presented by Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland ; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 162] 1062

Aliens Bill.—[SECOND READING].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

<i>Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean)</i>	1062
<i>Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland)</i>	1075

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'That' in order to add the words 'this House, holding that the veils of low-priced alien labour can best be met by legislation to prevent sweating, desires to assure itself before assenting to the Aliens Bill that sufficient regard is had in the proposed measure to the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Apr. 25.]

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

<i>Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney)</i>	1083
<i>Mr. Hayes Fisher (Fulham)</i>	1091
<i>Mr. Asquith (Fifehire, E.)</i>	1094
<i>The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.)</i>	1099
<i>Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, S.)</i>	1106
<i>Mr. Cohen (Islington, E.)</i>	1113
<i>Mr. Stuart Samuel (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)</i>	1117
<i>Mr. Forde Ridley (Bethnal Green, S.W.)</i>	1118
<i>Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)</i>	1124
<i>Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.)</i>	1129

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

Aliens Bill.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [25th April] to Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'That,' in order to add the words 'this House, holding that the evils of low-priced alien labour can best be met by legislation to prevent sweating, desires to assure itself before assenting to the Aliens Bill, that sufficient regard is had in the proposed measure to the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

<i>Mr. Peel</i>	1131
<i>Mr. Atherley-Jones (Durham, N.W.)</i>	1133
<i>Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central)</i>	1135
<i>Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.)</i>	1137
<i>The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)</i>	1143
<i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i>	1149
<i>Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford)</i>	1159

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 241 ; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 92.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for this day.

SAVINGS BANK ACTS AMENDMENT [DEFICIENCY ANNUITY].

Resolution reported, "That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts."

Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

And, it being after Midnight, and objection being taken to further Proceeding, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed this day 1163

On the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

The Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington) 1164

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 26TH APRIL, 1904.**PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.**

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of Richard Jaeger's Patent—(Petition for Bill) ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to introduce the Bill. Read, and agreed to 1165

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 1165

Great Northern and City Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—Corbridge Gas Bill. Reported, without Amendment 1165

South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [H.L.]—Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Reported with Amendments 1165

Shipley Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]—Hampton-in-Arden Gas Bill; Great Eastern Railway (Steamboats) Bill; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments 11 6

Mid-Cheshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]—The Lord BALFOUR informed the House that the Promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. The Orders made on the 26th of February and Friday last discharged. Ordered that the Bill be not further proceeded with 1165

MOTHERWELL AND BELLSHILL RAILWAY (ABANDONMENT) PROVISIONAL ORDER.—Ordered, That the evidence taken before the Committee of this House on the Bill for the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway Act, 1900, be referred to the Commissioners appointed under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to inquire into the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Draft Provisional Order, 1904 1165

Apr. 26.]

Page

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 4th and 24th of March last discharged, and Bill committed 1165

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.—Brought from the Commons 1166

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill;—Wolverhampton Corporation Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners 1166

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 1166

Southend Water Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 1166

King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.];—Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Ellenborough be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Rosmead; read, and agreed to 1166

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.];—Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz., E. Romney, E. Lytton, L. Bateman, L. Hamilton of Dalzell, L. Glanusk (Chairman); agreed to, and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Wednesday the 4th of May next at eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills 1166

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 53.) 1167

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—The ACTING CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) 1167

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 93 be considered in order to its being dispensed with, with respect to a Petition of the East Ham Urban District Council."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*.)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Leave given to present the said petition.

NEW BILL.

Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, Amendment Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend Section 82 of the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882. Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 52.) 1167

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Committed; The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1167

. RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES.)

No. 3144. United States (Texas.)

No. 3145. Germany (Chemnitz.)

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1168

Prevention of Corruption Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) 1168

Moved, "That the Bill now be read 2^a."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Lord James of Hereford. 1169

The Lord Chancellor 1170

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

WARSHIP TRIALS.

Lord Tweedmouth 1170

The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Earl of Selborne) 1173

Army (Annual) Bill.—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed 1174

Sale of Intoxicants to Children Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment 1174

House adjourned at Five o'clock to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 26TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Central Railway Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1174

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill.—As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 1174

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xov

Apr. 26.]

Page

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. —As amended, considered ; to be read the third time	1175
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. —Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed	1175
COMMONS REGULATION (MERROW) PROVISIONAL ORDER. —Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Merrow Downs, in the parish of Merrow, in the county of Surrey, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes and Mr. Victor Cavendish	1175
COMMONS REGULATION (OXSHOTT) PROVISIONAL ORDER. —Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Oxshott Heath, in the parish of Cobham, in the county of Surrey, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes and Mr. Victor Cavendish	1175
Commons Regulation (Marrow) Provisional Order Bill. —"To confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Merrow Downs, in the parish of Merrow, in the county of Surrey," presented and read the first time ; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 163.]	1175
Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill. —"To confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Oxshott Heath, in the parish of Cobham, in the county of Surrey," presented, and read the first time ; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 164.]	1175
Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Provisional Order Bill. —Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway Bill, in Session 1900, be referred to the Commissioners appointed under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to inquire into the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Draft Provisional Order.—(<i>The Chairman of Ways and Means.</i>)	1175
Municipal Corporation Bill. —Second Reading deferred from Monday next till Friday, 6th May	1176
London Camberwell, and Dulwich Tramways Bill. —Reported [Preamble not proved] ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	1176
Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill. —Reported with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	1176
Doncaster Corporation Bill. —Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	1176

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Auchterarder, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table	1176
LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL. —Petition from Middleton in favour ; to lie upon the Table	1176

Apr. 26.]

Page

LICENCES (RENEWAL).—Petitions against alteration of Law ; from Builth Wells (two) ; Northumberland Heath ; Toynton St. Peter ; Rugely ; Lower Edmonton ; Turvey ; Sale (nine) ; Enfield ; Bowes Park ; Ashton-on-Mersey (three) ; Sawtey ; Brighton ; Bradfield ; Hackney ; Deptford ; Radcliffe ; Southsea ; Southwark ; (two) ; Stafford ; Paignton ; Wood Green ; Portslade ; and Hammersmith ; to lie upon the Table	1176
LICENSING BILL.—Petition from Galashiels, against ; to lie upon the Table ..	1176
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Paisley, against ; to lie upon the Table	1176
RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.—Petition from Croydon, against ; to lie upon the Table	1177
RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Seedley, against ; to lie upon the Table	1177
SALE OF BUTTER BILL.—Petition from Taunton, against ; to lie upon the Table	1177

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.—Paper [presented 25th April] to be printed. [No. 141.]	1177
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898 (SCOTLAND), 1899.—Paper [presented 25th April] to be printed. [No. 142.]	1177
BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.—Copy presented, of List of Agricultural Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, with a Copy of their Instructions as to Procedure and a Prefatory Memorandum [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	1177
PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—County Courts Act, 1888, and Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879. Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 26th April, 1904, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court [by Act]	1177
EXCHEQUER BALANCES.—Return ordered, “ showing how the Exchequer Balance has been strengthened or depleted in each of the five years ending the 31st day of March, 1904.”—(<i>Mr. McCrae.</i>)	1177

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

LONDON TELEGRAPHISTS—HOURS OF DUTY.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley	1178
PATENT OFFICE—PROPOSED BRANCH IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour	1178
BOARD OF TRADE—PROPOSED BRANCH IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour	1179

Apr. 26.]

Page

DEALING IN "FUTURES"—SUGGESTED STAMP DUTY.—Question, Mr. Field ;	
Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1179
LEGAL EXPENSES OF ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS.—Question, Mr.	
Humphreys Owen (Montgomeryshire) ; Answer, Sir Lees Knowles ..	1180
PAYMENT OF GRANT TO EVENING SCHOOL TEACHERS IN QUEEN'S COUNTY.—	
Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	1179
WAR OFFICE AND COTTAGES IN WILTSHIRE.—Question, Lord Edmund Fitz-	
maurice (Wiltshire, Cricklade) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster ..	1181

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

RAILWAY COMPANIES LIABILITY.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) ; Answer,	
The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) ..	1181
SWANWICK COLLIERY ACCIDENT.—Question, Mr. Jacoby (Derbyshire, Mid.) ;	
Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr.	
Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.)	1182
SCOTTISH BOARD OF MANUFACTURERS.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire,	
E.) ; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire)	1183
MULLINGAR RESIDENT MAGISTRATE AND LUNACY CASES.—Question, Mr. Hayden	
(Roscommon, S.) ; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson,	
Londonderry, N.)	1183
PRESIDENT OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.—Questions, Mr. Hayden, Mr. John Red-	
mond (Waterford), and Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.) ; Answers, The	
Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)	1184
LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY FERMANAGH.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell (Fer-	
managh, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1185
ARMS ACT IN COUNTY FERMANAGH.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell ; Answer,	
Mr. Wyndham	1185
GRANTS TO IRISH FISHERIES.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell ; Answer, Mr.	
Wyndham	1186
PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN LIMERICK.—Question, Sir John Kennaway	
(Devonshire, Honiton) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1186
IRISH ESTATE COMMISSIONERS.—Question, Mr. Leamy (Kildare, N.) ; Answer,	
Mr. Wyndham	1187
GOVERNMENT BUILDING CONTRACTS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Nannetti	
(Dublin, College Green) ; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury	
(Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	1187
RAILWAY SEASON TICKETS AND INCOME TAX DEDUCTIONS.—Question, Mr. Slack	
(Hertfordshire, St. Albans) ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr.	
Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.)	1189
VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]	g

Apr. 26.]

Page

TEA DUTY IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1189
EVASIONS OF STAMP DUTY BY RAILWAY AND SHIPPING COMPANIES.—Questions, Mr. Pirie; Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1189
WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS FOR ARMS AND WAR MATERIAL.—Question, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	1190
MACHINERY STANDING IDLE IN GOVERNMENT WORKSHOPS.—Questions, Mr. Crooks; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1190
YEOMANRY INSPECTION.—Questions, Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1191
THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S VISIT TO GIBRALTAR.—Questions, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1192
THE DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1192
NORTHERN NIGERIA.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	1193
GOLD OUTPUT OF, AND NATIVE LABOUR AVAILABLE FOR, THE RANDS.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1193
EDUCATION IN CEYLON.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1193
PROSECUTION OF MR. TILAK.—Question, Mr. Schwann; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	1194
CONGO FREE STATE—TRADE DIFFICULTIES.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.)	1195
BRITISH TRADERS IN THE FRENCH CONGO.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Earl Percy	1195
EAST AFRICA—JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason; Answer, Earl Percy	1196
IRISH SUB-POSTMASTER'S RENUMERATION.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) ..	1196
PORT OF LONDON BILL.—Question, Mr. Peel; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	1196
THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ESHER COMMITTEE.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour	1197

Apr. 26.]

Page

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lough, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson (Cornwall, Camborne); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour and Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1198
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SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Weights and Measures Bill; Mr. Gerald Balfour, Mr. Bousfield, Sir John Brunner, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Sir Walter Foster, Sir Michael Foster, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Mr. Kearley, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Mr. McCrae, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Herbert Robertson, Mr. Spear, Mr. Stuart Samuel, and Mr. Toulmin.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had nominated the following Member to serve on the Standing Committee for the consideration of all Bills relating to Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, which may, by Order of the House, be committed to such Standing Committee: Mr. Hunter Craig.

Report to lie upon the Table 1199

NEW BILLS.

Shop Hours Bill.—“To provide for the Early Closing of Shops,” presented by Mr. Cochrane; supported by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas and Mr. Bonar Law; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 165.]	1199
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VALUATION BILL.

<i>The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.)</i>	1199
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Motion made, and Question proposed, “That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the law with respect to Valuation Authorities and the effect of, and procedure for, making Valuation Lists, and for making certain Amendments in the Law relating to Valuation, which are necessary for the purpose of promoting uniformity of Valuation as between Valuation Authorities.”—(Mr. Walter Long.)

<i>Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E)</i>	1203
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Question, put and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Attorney-General, and Mr. Grant Lawson.

Valuation Bill.—“To amend the Law with respect to Valuation Authorities, and the effect of, and procedure for, making Valuation Lists and for making certain Amendments in the Law relating to Valuation, which are necessary for the purpose of promoting uniformity of Valuation as between Valuation Authorities; presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 166.]

Apr. 26.]

Page

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 1203

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to make provision for the case of default on the part of Local Authorities in the performance of their duties as respects Elementary Schools."—(*Sir William Anson.*)

Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 1206

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 262 ; Noes, 110. (Division List, No. 93.)

Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Anson, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Attorney-General.

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill.—"To make provision for the case of default on the part of the Local Authorities in the performance of their duties as respects Elementary Schools," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 167.]

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith)* in the Chair.]

Continuance of additional customs duties on tobacco, beer and spirits.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the additional customs duties on tobacco, beer, and spirits imposed by sections two, three, four and five of the Finance Act, 1900 (including any increased duties imposed by section 5 of that Act), shall continue to be charged until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

<i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i>	1213
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	1214
<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee)</i>	1216
<i>Mr. M'Crae (Edinburgh, E.)</i>	1219
<i>Mr. Ainsworth (Argyll)</i>	1220
<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcester-shire, E.)</i>	1221
<i>Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.)</i>	1225
<i>Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield)</i>	1226
<i>Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion)</i>	1227
<i>Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester)</i>	1228
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	1229
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	1229
<i>Mr. Lough</i>	1230
<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	1231

Apr. 26.]

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 249 ; Noes, 119. (Division List, No. 94.)

Continuance of Additional Excise Duties on Beer and Spirits.

2. Motion made, and Question put, " That the additional Excise duties on beer and spirits imposed by sections six and seven of the Finance Act, 1900, shall continue to be charged until the first day of August, 1905."
—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 255 ; Noes, 116.—(Division List No. 95.)

AMENDMENT OF LAW.—Moved to Resolve, " That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Debt, Customs, and Inland Revenue."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1241
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1241
<i>Mr. Lough</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1242
<i>Mr. Buchanan</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1242
<i>Mr. McCrae</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1243
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1243
<i>Mr. McKenna</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1243

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Debt Customs, and Inland Revenue.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS [21st APRIL].

Resolution reported.

INCOME-TAX.—" That Income-Tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling."

Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

<i>Mr. Dalziel</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1244
<i>Mr. McKenna</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1245
<i>Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1246
<i>Mr. George Whiteley (Yorkshire W.R., Pudsey)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1249
<i>Mr. Labouchere (Northampton)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1249
<i>Major Jameson (Clare, W.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1252
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1253
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1254
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1255
<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1256
<i>Mr. Lough</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1257

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill [LORDS] (By ORDER.)—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be now read a second time.”

Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.) 1258

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the word ‘ now,’ and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘ upon this day six months.’ ”—(*Sir George Bartley.*)

Question proposed, “ That the word ‘ now ’ stand part of the Question.”

Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth) 1259

The Chairman of the Committee (Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith) 1261

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed.

WAYS AND MEANS [21ST APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [26th April], “ That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, ‘ That Income-Tax shall be charged for the year beginning the sixth day of April nineteen hundred and four, at the rate of one shilling.’ ”

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 121 ; Noes, 83. (Division List No. 96.)

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Victor Cavendish.

WAYS AND MEANS [19TH APRIL].

Resolutions reported.

CUSTOMS—TEA.

1. “ That in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on Tea, there shall be charged on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five, the following duty (that is to say) :—

“ Tea, the pound . . . Eightpence.”

Apr. 26.]

CUSTOMS—TOBACCO.

2. "That the duties of Customs payable under Section I. of the Finance Act, 1898, on manufactured tobacco shall, on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, be increased, in the case of cigars, by sixpence per pound, and in the case of cigarettes by one shilling per pound, and the duties payable under the same section on unmanufactured tobacco shall, on and after the same date, be increased, in the case of stripped tobacco, by threepence per pound."

Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution.

Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) 1264

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the words 'Eight pence,' and insert the words 'Six pence'—(*Mr. Lough*) instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words 'Eight pence' stand part of the said Resolution."

<i>Mr. Swift Macneill (Donegal, S.)</i>	1268
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	1270
<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i>	1271
<i>Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley)</i>	1272
<i>Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland)</i>	1273
<i>Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden)</i>	1274
<i>Mr. Tomkinson (Cheshire, Crewe)</i>	1275
<i>Mr. Hugh Laro (Donegal, W.)</i>	1275
<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	1276
<i>Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)</i>	1280
<i>Mr. Crooks (Woolwich)</i>	1281
<i>Mr. O'Malley (Galway, Connemara)</i>	1282
<i>Mr. Hunt (Shropshire, Ludlow)</i>	1283
<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	1283

And, it being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (WALES) BILL (SELECT COMMITTEE).—
Ordered, That the Select Committee on the Private Legislation Procedure (Wales) Bill do consist of Eleven Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of Mr. Cripps, Mr. Vaughan-Davies, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. Worsley-Taylor, and Colonel Wyndham-Quin.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That five be the quorum.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that (before going through the Bill) they shall inquire and report upon the working in Scotland, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, of the scheme proposed in the Bill, and upon the expediency of extending the provisions of the Bill, with or without modifications, to other parts of the United Kingdom.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*) .. 1284

Adjourned at seven minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 27TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [LORDS].—
Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 1285

Barry Railway (Extension of Time, Etc.) Bill [LORDS].—Considered ; to be read the third time 1285

London County Council (Money) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed 1285

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1285

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).—Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group F of Private Bills ; That Mr. Platt-Higgins, one of the members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table 1285

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill.—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time to-morrow 1285

Plymouth Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1285

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill.—Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments ; Reports to lie upon the Table 1285

Apr. 27.]

PETITIONS.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).—Petitions against alteration of Law; from Killyleagh; Carlisle (two); Nantwich; Teddington; Croydon; Southampton; Bolton; Reading; Stockton-on-Tees; Haslingden; Windsor; Nantyllynlon Maesteg (two); Garth; Banbury; Southall; Port Tennant; Westminster; Wandsworth; Dover; Newbury; and Lewisham (two); to lie upon the Table 1285

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against; from Patricroft (two); Southend-on-Sea; Farnworth; Pontyberem; Eccles; and Gwynfe; to lie upon the Table 1286

PUBLIC LIBRARIES BILL.—Petition from Croydon, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1286

RE-VACCINATION BILL.—Petition from Bury, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1286

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Copy presented, of Return showing (1) the proposed new School Board Districts, the existing School Board Districts comprised therein, with the Population, the number of Public and Voluntary Schools on the Annual Grant List, and the Average Attendance of Scholars in these Schools; and (2) the Area, Population, and Valuation of proposed new School Board Districts [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1286

EXCHEQUER BALANCES.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered, 26th April; *Mr. McCrae*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 143] 1286

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.—Account presented, of the Gross Public Income and Expenditure in the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Balances in the Exchequer at the commencement and at the termination of the year, and the amounts received into or issued from the Exchequer in respect of Funded and Unfunded Debt created or redeemed in the said year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 144] .. 1286

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3146 and 3147 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1287

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).—Return ordered, “of the amount of all Public Revenue derived from Taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty’s Exchequer, for the years 1901–2, 1902–3, 1903–4, with the totals in each case (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 148, of Session 1902).”—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles*) .. 1287

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.—Copy ordered, “of Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1903, and Report to the Board of Trade thereon.”—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour*) 1287

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

SUPPLY OF STATIONERY FOR IRISH PUBLIC OFFICES.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish	1287
UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS AND BALANCES.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1288
JOINT STOCK BANKS—UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS AND BALANCES.—Question, Sir John Leng; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain.. .. .	1288
YIELD OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.—Question, Mr. Toulmin (Lancashire, Bury); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1289
CUSTOMS AND EXCISE DUTIES.—Question, Major Coates (Lewisham); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1289
RETURN IN CONTINUATION OF WHITE PAPER No. 155 OF 1902.—Question, Mr. Humphreys-Owen (Montgomeryshire); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1290
POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK—TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT STOCK TO BANK OF IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Lord Stanley	1290
CORPORAL PUNISHMENTS IN POOR LAW INSTITUTIONS.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	1291
METROPOLITAN POLICE—EXTRA PENSIONS FOR SPECIAL SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas	1292
IMPERIAL YEOMANRY TRAINING—USE OF MOTOR CYCLES.—Question, Mr. Allhusen (Hackney, Central); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1292

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

SOUTHAMPTON MILITARY DISTURBANCE.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	1293
BRITISH INDIAN TRADERS IN EAST LONDON, SOUTH AFRICA.—Questions, Sir Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee (Bethnal Green, N.E.), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis), and Captain Norton; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	1293
THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1294
GILBERT ISLANDS.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1295
CROWN AGENTS' COMMISSION.—Questions, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, E. Toxteth); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton	1295
SMUGGLING OF ARMS ON THE ARABIAN COAST.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)	1295

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

cvii

Page

Apr. 27.]

COOPER'S HILL ENGINEERING COLLEGE.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick.. .. .	1296
TWEDMOUTH COMMITTEE AND SORTERS' DUTIES.—Question, Captain Norton ; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	1297
POST OFFICE WINDOWS—OBJECTIONABLE PUBLICATIONS.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley	1297
TRANSIT FACILITIES AT NORTH WALL STATION, DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell ; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)	1298
GLYN-TRAIAN NATIONAL SCHOOL, DENBIGHSHIRE.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.) ; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University)	1298
LONDON VOLUNTARY SCHOOL MANAGERS.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) ; Answer, Sir William Anson	1299
LONDON EDUCATION ACT—SECTION 2.—Question, Dr. Macnamara ; Answer, Sir William Anson	1299
LONDON EDUCATION ACT—SECTION 7.—Question, Dr. Macnamara ; Answer, Sir William Anson	1300
LONDON EDUCATION ACT—GROUPING OF PROVIDED SCHOOLS.—Question, Dr. Macnamara ; Answer, Sir William Anson	1300
THE LICENSING BILL.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara and Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) ; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)	1301
ENGLISH TRAWLERS UNDER THE NORWEGIAN FLAG.—Question, Captain Ellice (St. Andrews Burghs) ; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton)	1302
TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DUBLIN AND GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway) ; Answer, Lord Stanley	1302
COST OF EXTRA POLICE IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory), Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid), and Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.) ; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.)	1303
CURACK ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell ; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1304
GALWAY DOCKS.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin ; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1304
TERDENNICK ESTATE, COUNTY DONEGAL.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill ; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1305
YOUGHAL BAY SALMON FISHERIES.—Questions, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.) ; Answers, Mr. Atkinson	1306
LOUGH CORRIE TOLL COLLECTOR.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin ; Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	1307

Apr. 27.]

Page

IRISH BILLS.—Question, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) ; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1307

CIVIL SERVANTS AND PARTY POLITICS.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.), and Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) ; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1307

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1309

WAYS AND MEANS [19TH APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment proposed [26th April] to First Resolution, “ That, in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on tea, there shall be charged, on and after the 20th day of April, 1904, until the 1st day of August, 1905, the following duty (that is to say) :—“ Tea, the pound . . . Eight pence.”

Which Amendment was—]

“ To leave out the words ‘ Eight pence,’ and insert the words ‘ Six pence.’ ”—(Mr. Lough.)

Question again proposed, “ That the words ‘ Eightpence ’ stand part of the said Resolution.”

<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	1310
<i>Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie)</i>	1313
<i>Mr. Emmott (Oldham)</i>	1314
<i>Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent)</i>	1317
<i>Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs)</i>	1318
<i>Mr. Wylie (Dumbartonshire)</i>	1321
<i>Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Mid)</i>	1322
<i>Major Seely (Isle of Wight)</i>	1325
<i>Mr. Black (Banffshire)</i>	1326
<i>Mr. Murnaghan (Tyrone, Mid)</i>	1328
<i>Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.)</i>	1330
<i>Mr. Barran (Leeds, N.)</i>	1335
<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	1336
<i>Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.)</i>	1339
<i>Mr. Labouchere (Northampton)</i>	1340
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)</i>	1343
<i>Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.)</i>	1345
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	1349
<i>Mr. Whitley (Halifax)</i>	1351
<i>Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.)</i>	1352
<i>Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire)</i>	1354
<i>Mr. Harwood (Bolton)</i>	1355

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 239 ; Noes, 202. (Division List No. 97.)

Question put. “ That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 236 ; Noes, 192. (Division List No. 98.)

Apr. 27.]

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to bring in a Bill upon the Resolution reported from the Committee of Ways and Means on the 26th day of April last, and then agreed to by the House that they do make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Further consideration of Second Resolution deferred till To-morrow.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT (DEFICIENCY ANNUITY).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [25th April], “That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, ‘That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts.’”

Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1365
<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcester-shire, E.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1366
<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1366

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

COTTON GROWING (AFRICA).

<i>Mr. Rutherford (Lancashire. Darwen)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1367
<i>Mr. Fielden (Lancashire, Middleton)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1373

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That, in the opinion of this House, it is incumbent upon His Majesty's Government to use every endeavour to encourage the growth of cotton in those districts in Africa which are under British Government or British influence, and to co-operate as far as possible with such commercial associations as may be organised to secure this end.”—(*Mr. J. Rutherford*)

<i>Mr. Emmott (Oldham)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1379
<i>Mr. Samuel Smith (Flintshire)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1385
<i>Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1386

Amendment made—

“In line 3, by inserting after the word ‘Africa,’ the words ‘and in other portions of the British Empire, and to establish or aid in the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton growing districts.’”—(*Mr. Peel.*)

<i>Mr. Harwood (Bolton)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1389
<i>The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1391
<i>Mr. Herbert Whiteley (Ashton-under-Lyne)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1398
<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1399
<i>Mr. White Ridley (Stalybridge)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	1400

Apr. 28.]

Page

<i>Mr. Cawley (Lancashire, Prestwich)</i>	1401
<i>Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange)</i>	1402
<i>Mr. Helme (Lancashire, Lancaster)</i>	1402
<i>Mr. Hunt (Shropshire, Ludlow)</i>	1403
<i>Colonel Pilkington (Lancashire, Newton)</i>	1403
<i>Sir William Tomlinson (Preston)</i>	1404

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is incumbent upon His Majesty's Government to use every endeavour to encourage the growth of cotton in those districts in Africa and in other portions of the British Empire, and to establish or aid in the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton-growing districts which are under British Government or British influence, and to co-operate as far as possible with such commercial associations as may be organised to secure this end.

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : THURSDAY, 28TH APRIL, 1904.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent :

1. Army (Annual).
2. Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment.
3. London, Chatham, and Dover Railway.
4. Young and Bell's Patents.
5. Appleby Corporation Gas.
6. Southend Water 1405

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Metropolitan Police Provisional Order.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 1405

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [H.L.].—Presented (pursuant to leave given on Tuesday last), and read 1^a 1405

Hollywood Tramways Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee 1405

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.].—Witnesses ordered to attend the Select Committee, and to produce documents 1405

Apr. 28.]

Page

Oakengates, Dawley, and Districts Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.] .—The order made on Friday last appointing certain Lords the Select Committee to consider the Bill, discharged...	1405
Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.] .—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kinnaird be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Duke of Manchester; read, and agreed to	1405
Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [H.L.] .—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1405
Maidenhead Bridge Bill [H.L.] .—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1466
Glyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [H.L.] .—Reported, with Amendments	1406
Wellington (Somerset) Gas Bill .—Reported, with Amendments	1406
Norwich Water Bill .—Reported, without Amendment	1406
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	1406
Felixstowe Gas Bill; Birkdale Improvement Bill; Acton Improvement Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed	1406
Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	1406
Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Bishop's Stortford and District Gas Bill; Brixham Gas Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed.	1406
St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill .—Read 2, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	1406
Colney Hatch Gas Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed	1406
London and North-Western Railway Bill; Midland Railway Bill .—Read 2 ^a , and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	1406
Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.] .—Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons	1406
New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [H.L.] .—Returned from the Commons agreed to	1406
Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.] .—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Yarborough be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Bateman; read, and agreed to	1406

West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Napier be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Duke of Manchester; read, and agreed to	1406
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PETITIONS.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H.L.].—Petition in favour of; of the Corporation of Liverpool; read, and ordered to lie on the Table	1407
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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES. —List of agricultural correspondents of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, with a copy of their instructions as to procedure and a prefatory memorandum	1407
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Education (Scotland) Bill.—

Return showing—

Proposed new school board districts, existing school board districts comprised therein, with population, number of public and voluntary schools on the annual grant list, and the average attendance of scholars in these schools; and

Area, population, and valuation of proposed new school board districts 1407

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—

No. 3146. France (Calais).

No. 3147. France (Pondicherry and Karikal) 1407

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (HOISTS AND TEAGLES). —Report by W. S. Smith, Esq., one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, on the construction, arrangement, and fencing of hoists and teagles. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table	1408
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COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888 (WAKEFIELD REGISTRY).—

Order made by the Lord Chancellor that Frederick Mason, the Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield, shall, so long as he holds his office as such registrar, be excluded from private practice as a solicitor;

Order made by the Lord Chancellor (with the concurrence of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury) that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Frederick Mason as such Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield 1408

METROPOLITAN POLICE (ACCOUNTS). —Accounts showing the sums received and expended for the purposes of the Metropolitan Police and Police Pension Funds, between the 1st April, 1903, and the 31st March, 1904.	
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Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1408

Apr. 28.]

Page

THAMES CONSERVANCY.—General Report of the proceedings of the Conservators of the River Thames during the year ended 31st December, 1903; with a statement of the accounts of the Conservators for that year. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1408

NEW BILL.

Supply of Electricity Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Acts relating to Electric Lighting, was presented by the Lord Wolverton; read 1^a, and to be printed. (No. 54.) 1408

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies Bill) [H.L.].—

House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill reported without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

<i>Viscount Cross</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1418
<i>Lord Avebury</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1419

Bill, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, till Tomorrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 28TH APRIL, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to—

1. Army (Annual) Act, 1904.
2. Wild Birds Protection Act, 1904.
3. London, Chatham and Dover Railway Act, 1904.
4. Young and Bell's Patents Act, 1904.
5. Appleby Corporation Gas Act, 1904.
6. Southend Waterworks Act, 1904 1421

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

h

Apr. 28.]

Page

Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [H.L.]— Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time	1422
Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. —Read the third time, and passed	1422
Weston-Super-Mare Grand Pier Bill [H.L.]—To be read the third time To-morrow	1422
Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. —Read the third time, and passed	1422
RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP NO. 5). —Mr. COMPTON RICKETT reported from the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Monday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.	
Report to lie upon the Table	1422
Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. —Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	1422
Thames Steamboat Trust Bill. —Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	1422
MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS. —They have agreed to—Amendments to Amend- ment to Southend Water Bill; Amendments to Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords], without Amendment	
	1422

PETITIONS.

LICENCES (RENEWAL). —Petitions against alteration of Law; from Hornsey; Rhosbeirio; Leytonstone; Ilford; Reading; Crouch Hill; North Finch- ley; Clapham; Birmingham; Glasgow; Islington; Hucknall Torkard; and North Kensington; to lie upon the Table	1423
LICENSING BILL. —Petitions against; from Lower Cross; Carlisle; Sunderland; and Barnsbury; to lie upon the Table	1423
LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table	1423
MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL. —Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table	1423
PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS AND ELECTIONS BILL. —Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table	1423
RATING OF MACHINERY BILL. —Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table	1423
RE-VACCINATION BILL. —Petitions in favour; from Chatham; and Sunderland; to lie upon the Table	1423
SALE OF BUTTER BILL. —Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table	1423

Apr. 28.]

Page

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th April; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 145.] 1423

LABOURERS' COTTAGES (IRELAND.)—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 9th February; *Mr. O'Shaughnessy*]; to lie upon the Table. 1423

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (HOISTS AND TEAGLES.)—Copy presented, of Report by W. S. Smith, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, on the construction, arrangement, and fencing of Hoists and Teagles [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1423

METROPOLITAN POLICE.—Accounts presented, of the Metropolitan Police and the Police Pension Funds for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 146.] 1424

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—Thames Conservancy, General Report and Accounts of the Conservators for 1903 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 147.] 1424

ROYAL COMMISSIONS.—Address for "Return of all Royal Commissions issued in each year from 1896 to 1903, inclusive, specifying the objects of each Commission, the name of each Commissioner and Secretary, the date of each Report, or if still sitting, and the cost of each up to the 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of and in the same form as Parliamentary Paper, No. 338, of Session 1896)." —(*Mr. John Ellis.*) 1424

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

REPAIRS TO TRINITY AND IRISH LIGHTS YACHTS.—Question, Mr. Plummer (New-castle-on-Tyne); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1424

ACCIDENT TO DOVER PIER WORKS LIGHTSHIPS.—Question, Mr. Plummer; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1425

QUALIFICATIONS OF EXAMINERS TO CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1426

EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT OFFICIALS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1426

REPORT OF VISIT OF H.M.S. "ODIN" TO TRISTAN DA CUNHA.—Question, Mr. Loder (Brighton); Answer, Mr. Pretymann 1427

PROMOTIONS IN CORK POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien (Cork); Answer, Lord Stanley 1427

POSTAL SERVICE BETWEEN LONDON AND PARIS.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1428

LICENCES REFUSED ON THE GROUND OF THEIR NOT BEING WANTED.—Question, Mr. Henderson (Durham, Barnard Castle); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1429

Apr. 28.]

Page

WORKHOUSE NURSING—REPORT OF COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	1431
VALUATION AND POPULATION OF PROPOSED SCOTCH SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICTS.—Question, Mr. Crombie, (Kincardineshire); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray	1431
NAVAL SPEED TRIALS OFF THE CORNISH COAST—DAMAGE TO FISHERIES.—Question, Sir Lewis Molesworth (Cornwall, Bodmin); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes	1431
DOG TAX IN SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1432
PROPOSED ALTERATION IN DRAWBACK ON TOBACCO.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1432
AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1432
MAHONY ESTATES.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1433
IRISH CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1433
DISCONTENT AMONG MARYBOROUGH PRISON WARDERS.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell (Mayo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1434
INSPECTORS OF VETERINARY BRANCH OF IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham ..	1435
COMMISSION ON IRISH WORKHOUSES—PUBLICATION OF EVIDENCE.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1435
INCREASED PENSIONS FOR CRIMEAN VETERANS.—Question, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1435
JAPANESE SYSTEM OF ARMY LAND TRANSPORT.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1436
WILLIAM DAVIES OF DOMINICA v. THE CROWN—DELAY IN SETTLEMENT.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1436
ESTATE SCHOOLS IN CEYLON.—Question, Mr. Schwann; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1436
BRITISH INDIAN TRADERS AT EAST LONDON, SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1437
THE LICENSING BILL.—Question, Colonel Lockwood; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour	1437

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

BIRCHING BOYS IN THE NAVY.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffolk, Wood-bridge)	1438
THE CAPTURE OF FORT ILLIG.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Pretyma	1439

Apr. 28.]

Page

CLAIM AGAINST THE WAR OFFICE BY AN IMPERIAL YEOMAN.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)	1439
DIRECTOR OF SUPPLIES AND TRANSPORT.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1440
THE NEW RIFLE.—Question, Mr. Hunt (Shropshire, Ludlow); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1441
TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington)	1441
KAFFIR MORTALITY IN THE WITWATERSRAND GOLD MINES.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) and Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1442
MISSING PROPERTY OF THE LATE JAMES MURRAY.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton	1443
INCOME TAX—COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.—Question, Mr. Ainsworth (Argyll); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.)	1443
LICENSED HOUSES AND THE DEATH DUTY.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain	1444
EDUCATION ACT—DEFAULTING AUTHORITIES.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University)	1444
EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL, FINANCE.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Sir William Anson	1444
POWERS OF DEFAULTING EDUCATION AUTHORITY.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Sir William Anson	1445
DEFAULTING EDUCATION AUTHORITIES IN WALES.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs); Answer, Sir William Anson	1445
ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN WALES.—Questions, Mr. Alfred Davies and Mr. D. A. Thomas; Answers, Sir William Anson	1446
GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO WELSH SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies; Answer, Sir William Anson	1446
WHITE ESTATE, NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland Mr. Atkinson (Londonderry, N.)	1447
DOPPING ESTATE, NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1447
CATHOLIC CLERKS IN THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1448

Apr. 28.]

Page

MARYBOROUGH PRISON WARDERS AND INSANE CONVICT.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell (Mayo, S.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1448
ELY ESTATE, COUNTY FERMANAGH.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell (Fermanagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1449
BALLINA BOOT MANUFACTURING COMPANY.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1450
DRUMMEEL BOG, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1450
USE OF URLINGFORD UNION BOARD ROOM FOR MEETINGS.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1451
BUTSON ESTATE, COUNTY GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Roche (Galway E.); Mr. Atkinson	1451
NEW COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.)	1452
DUBLIN TELEGRAPH SCHOOL.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton)	1453
DUAL WORKING IN THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, Lord Stanley	1453
DUTIES OF THE IRISH POSTMEN.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Lord Stanley	1454
RAILWAY DELAYS IN DUBLIN.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)	1455
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Mr. Edward Mitchell; Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.); and Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	1455
MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Army (Annual) Bill ..	1456

SUPPLY [7TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in the Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS I.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,300, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Houses of Parliament Buildings."

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

cix

Apr. 28.]

Page

<i>Mr. Wylie (Dumbartonshire)</i>	1457
<i>Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid)</i>	1459
<i>Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney)</i>	1461

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,200 be granted for the said Service."—(*Major Evans Gordon.*)

<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i>	1461
<i>Sir Michael Foster (London University)</i>	1464
<i>Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping)</i>	1466
<i>Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.)</i>	1467
<i>Mr. H. C. Richards (Finsbury, E.)</i>	1467
<i>Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.)</i>	1468
<i>Mr. Mildmay (Devonshire, Totnes)</i>	1470
<i>Mr. Goddard (Ipswich)</i>	1471
<i>Colonel Stopford Sackville (Northamptonshire, N.)</i>	1471
<i>Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton)</i>	1472
<i>Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.)</i>	1472
<i>Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston)</i>	1473
<i>Lord Balcarras (Lancashire, Chorley)</i>	1474
<i>Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe)</i>	1479
<i>Sir Henry Seton-Karr (St. Helens)</i>	1480
<i>Mr. Mooney (Dublin County, S.)</i>	1480
<i>Lord Hugh Cecil (Greenwich)</i>	1482
<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	1482
<i>Mr. Ritchie (Croydon)</i>	1483
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)</i>	1484
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	1484
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i>	1486
<i>Captain Norton (Newington, W.)</i>	1488
<i>Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.)</i>	1489
<i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i>	1489
<i>Lord Balcarras</i>	1490
<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	1491
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyronne, S.)</i>	1492
<i>Mr. Courtney Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield)</i>	1493
<i>Mr. Jacoby (Derbyshire, Mid)</i>	1494

Question put.

The Committee divided : Ayes, 158 ; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 99.)

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.)</i>	1497
<i>Lord Balcarras</i>	1498

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,930, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for maintaining certain Harbours under the Board of Trade, and for Grants in aid of Harbours."

<i>Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple)</i>	1499
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Apr. 28.]

Page

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,830, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Soares.*)

<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	1503
<i>Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton)</i>	1506

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report; Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (BY ORDER) KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED [THIRD READING].

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the Bill be now read a third time."

<i>Mr. Causton (Southwark, W.)</i>	1506
<i>The Chairman of Committees (Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith)</i>	1507

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

SUPPLY (7TH ALLOTTED DAY).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith)* in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,930, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for maintaining certain Harbours under the Board of Trade, and for Grants in Aid of Harbours."

<i>Mr. Lambert</i>	1503
<i>Mr. Duke (Plymouth)</i>	1509
<i>Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham)</i>	1511
<i>Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey)</i>	1511
<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	1512
<i>Mr. Spear (Devonshire, Tavistock)</i>	1514
<i>Mr. Moulton (Cornwall, Launceston)</i>	1516
<i>Sir John Kennaway (Devonshire, Honiton)</i>	1516

Apr. 28.]

Page

<i>Mr. William McArthur (Cornwall, St. Austell)</i>	.. .. .	1517
<i>Mr. William Jones (Carnarvonshire, Arfon)</i>	.. .. .	1517
<i>The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central)</i>	.. .. .	1518
<i>Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston)</i>	.. .. .	1524
<i>Sir John Brunner (Cheshire, Northwich)</i>	.. .. .	1525
<i>Mr. Lambert</i>	.. .. .	1526
<i>Mr. Soares</i>	.. .. .	1527
<i>Sir Robert Ropner (Stockton)</i>	.. .. .	1527
<i>Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury)</i>	.. .. .	1527
<i>Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire)</i>	.. .. .	1528
<i>Mr. Humphreys-Owen (Montgomeryshire)</i>	.. .. .	1529

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 164 ; Noes, 105. (Division List No. 100.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That a sum, not exceeding £35,500, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for Expenditure in respect of Royal Palaces.”

<i>Mr. Whitley (Hali-fax)</i>		1533
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Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That a sum, not exceeding £30,500, be granted for the said service.”—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

<i>Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs)</i>	.. .. .	1534
<i>Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley)</i>	.. .. .	1535

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next ; Committee also report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES REFUSED).—Address for “ Return of the number of victuallers’, beerhouse, and other Licences for the sale of Intoxicating Liquors the renewal of which has been refused at the general annual licensing meetings and adjournments thereof held in England and Wales during February and March, 1904, showing in each case the ground of the refusal, especially where such ground was in any instance that the Licence was not required ; with the number of cases in which notice of appeal was given, and the result of such appeal (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 194, of session 1903).”—(*Mr. Cochrane.*).. .. . 1535

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT [DEFICIENCY ANNUITY].—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [25th April], “ That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, “ That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts.’ ”

Apr. 28.]

Page

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

Question put, and agreed to 1536

MOTOR CARS (LICENCES).—Address for “Return showing the number of Motor Cars (distinguishing Motor Cycles from other Motor Cars) registered by each registering authority in the United Kingdom under the Motor Car Act, 1903, up to the 1st day of January, 1904, and the 1st day of April, 1904, respectively ; together with the number of licences under the Act granted to drivers of Motor Cars by each authority at the same dates, distinguishing between licences limited to the driving of Motor Cycles and licences not so limited.”—(*Mr. Scott Montagu.*) 1536

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

END OF TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOL. CXXXIII.

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
 (AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

*FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE
 UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN THE
 FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF*

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 12th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

**UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
 BUSINESS.**

Birkdale Improvement Bill. Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]

Brixham Gas Bill; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill; Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Acton Improvement Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Colney Hatch Gas Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) Bill [Lords]; Ipswich Dock Commission Bill [Lords]; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [Lords]; New Zealand Loan

and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Electric Power Bill. Order [12th February], that the Bill be committed, read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Tottenham Improvement Bill. Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP No. 5).

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS informed the House that the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills not being appointed to meet until Thursday, 14th April, the parties opposing the London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill had appeared before him and proved that the evidence of William Nisbet Blair, Borough Engineer and Surveyor of St. Pancras, Town Hall, St.

A

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Pancras Road, Horace Bantick, Superintendent D Division Metropolitan Police, and John Monk, Sub-Divisional Inspector D Division Metropolitan Police, was essential to their case, and that their attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House.

Ordered, That William Nisbet Blair, Horace Bantick, and John Monk do attend the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills on Thursday, 14th April, at Twelve of the clock.

PETITIONS.

BEER HOUSES.

Petition from Newport (Monmouthshire), for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, against (praying to be heard by Counsel): referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Iver; Eastbourne; Carlisle; Gillingham; Buxton; Idle; Cable Street; Cheadle Hulme; Arbroath; Market Lavington; Exeter; Kirkburton; Brighton (two); Skelmanthorpe; Broadway; Portsmouth; Preston; Aspull; Middlesborough; Westbourne Park; Dundee; Kilmarnock (two); Fallowfield; Crumlin; Abercam; Crawley; Bispham; Stenhousemuir; Lennoxton; Grangemouth; Flimby (four); Maryport; and Paddington; to lie upon the Table.

MISRA, PANDIT ADYA PRASADA.

Petition of Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Handsworth; and Manchester; to lie upon the Table.

THACKER, K. G.

Petition of K. G. Thacker, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of His Majesty during the Easter Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896: (1.) Judicial Statistics (England and Wales).—Copy of Judicial Statistics, Part I., relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for England and Wales for 1902. (2.) Board of Education (Public Elementary Schools, etc.).—Copy of Lists of Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges under the Administration of the Board, 1903-4. (3.) Local Government Board (Ireland).—Copy of Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, for the year ended 31st March, 1903. (4.) Prisons (Scotland).—Copy of Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, being the Sixty-fifth Annual Report on Prisons in Scotland, 1903. (5.) Trinidad.—Copy of Further Papers relating to the disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, in March, 1903. (6.) Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3133 to 3135. (7.) Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 604 to 607. (8.) Egypt (No. 1, 1904).—Copy of Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1903.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AGRARIAN OFFENCES (PROVINCES) (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return by Provinces of Agrarian Offences in Ireland for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INDENTURED COOLIE LABOUR.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 2nd March; *Sir Howard Vincent*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 118.]

TRINIDAD.

Copy presented, of Amended Prison Rule relating to Indentured Immigrants sentenced to hard labour [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (WELSH INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION ACT, 1889).

Copy presented, of Report of the Board of Education on the Administration of Schools, under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 119.]

FRANCE (No. 1, 1904).

Copy presented, of Despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, forwarding Agreements between Great Britain and France of 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CROWN'S NOMINEE ACCOUNT.

Abstract Account presented, of Receipts and Payments of the Treasury Solicitor, in the year ended 31st December, 1903, in the Administration of Estates on behalf the Crown, and Alphabetical List of Intestates' Estates in respect of which Letters of Administration were granted to the Treasury Solicitor as Crown's Nominee, and of other cases (partial Intestacies, etc.) in which accounts were opened in the Books of the Treasury Solicitor in the same year in respect of moneys received by him as Crown's Nominee [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 120.]

GREEK LOAN OF 1898.

Account presented, up to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EGYPTIAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1885.

Account presented, up to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT INSURANCES AND ANNUITIES.

Account presented, of all moneys received and of the disposal thereof, and of

all Contracts for the grant of Deferred Life Annuities and for Payments on Death made, during the year 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 121.]

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade up to the 31st December, 1903, and of the Proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 122.]

EAST INDIA (LAND REVENUE).

Copy presented, of Statement showing the number of Processes issued against Land Revenue Defaulters during the year 1901-2 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 123.]

BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES, AND VACCINATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of the Forty-ninth Annual Report on the Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland for 1903, and Thirty-ninth Annual Report on Vaccination [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Tables showing the constitution of County, District, and Burgh Licensing Courts in Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL OBSERVATORY (EDINBURGH).

Copy presented, of Fourteenth Annual Report of the Astronomer Royal for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LUNACY (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Forty-sixth Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of the Motor Car Registration and Licensing (Scotland) Order, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of the Motor Cars (Use and Construction) (Scotland) Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.

Copy presented, of the Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Order of 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).

Return ordered, "showing for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, (1) the Amount contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, to the Revenue collected by Imperial officers; (2) the Expenditure on English, Scottish, and Irish Services met out of such Revenue; and (3) the Balances of Revenue contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, which are available for Imperial Expenditure (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 248, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Lough.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Supply of Raw Cotton—Gambling in "Futures."

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to the statement made at the recent meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, that Continental cotton mills situated in countries where gambling in "futures" and cotton is prohibited, were better supplied with raw material; and whether he will make inquiries upon the effect of gambling in "futures," with a view to introducing safeguarding international legislation.

MR. FIELD: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the disorganisation of the produce exchange, the distress of cotton operatives, and the shortage of supply to manufacturers being further diminished by gamblers in "futures," he will correspond with President Roosevelt, suggesting a conference regarding international co-operation to prevent, by prohibitive legislation, the evil effects arising from corners in raw materials and foodstuffs.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) With regard to these Questions I can only say that such a statement may have been made, though, I understand, nothing to that effect appears in any reports of the meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce which have been consulted, nor, as I am informed, is dealing in "futures," so far as cotton is concerned, forbidden in any cotton manufacturing country. I gather that the Royal Commission on Food Supplies in time of War is taking evidence on the question of gambling in "futures."

Civil Rights of Slaves in Pemba.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Commissioner in Pemba has ruled in the Court that all property acquired by a slave, by purchase out of his own money or by gift, belongs to the slave's master; and, if so, whether, in view of Article 2 of the decree dated 1st Zilkada 1314, which states that from that date the district Court shall decline to enforce any alleged rights over the body, service, or property of any person on the ground that such person is a slave, he will say what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government have no Commissioner in Pemba. The officer referred to is probably the Commissioner for Pemba appointed by the Zanzibar Government. No official information has reached us of the ruling referred to in the Question, but an inquiry will be addressed to His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar.

Yield of Coal Tax.

MR. PLUMMER (Newcastle-on-Tyne): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state the net amount of coal tax paid (after allowance of deductions in respect of contracts before the 19th April, 1901) at each shipping port in the United Kingdom in each year ending 31st December, from and including 1901

to and including the year ending 31st December, 1903, and the total quantity exported in each of the above named years from each of such ports of coal on which tax was remitted on the ground that its value was less than 6s. per ton.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Port.	Net amount of Coal Tax paid after deductions in respect of Contracts before the 19th April, 1901.	Total quantity of Exported Coal on which Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
London - - - 1901	3,239	—
1902	2,272	—
1903	2,485	—
Liverpool - - - 1901	13,872	5,285
1902	22,354	45,674
1903	22,434	49,131
Barrow - - - 1901	1	—
1902	19	—
1903	16	—
Blyth - - - 1901	58,187	232,809
1902	141,335	737,644
1903	151,579	744,611
Boston - - - 1901	3,578	—
1902	2,930	—
1903	4,918	—
Bristol - - - 1901	159	—
1902	711	—
1903	973	—
Cardiff - - - 1901	335,146	25,899
1902	613,769	689,889
1903	716,115	1,504,591
Carlisle - - - 1901	—	—
1902	20	—
1903	5	—
Chester - - - 1901	12	—
1902	39	—
1903	10	—
Dartmouth - - - 1901	—	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—

Port.	Net amount of Coal Tax paid after deductions in respect of Contracts before the 19th of April, 1901.	Total quantity of Exported Coal on which Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
Dover - - - 1901	—	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—
Exeter - - - 1901	—	—
1902	5	—
1903	—	—
Fleetwood - - 1901	134	—
1902	21	—
1903	68	—
Gloucester - - 1901	7	—
1902	10	—
1903	—	—
Goole - - - 1901	13,193	6,442
1902	31,740	86,862
1903	34,015	135,868
Grimsby - - - 1901	14,211	—
1902	49,062	5,816
1903	46,538	17,021
Hartlepool - - 1901	7,994	—
1902	24,978	1,497
1903	26,944	1,357
Harwich - - - 1901	—	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—
Hull - - - 1901	36,263	2,783
1902	67,517	104,868
1903	79,672	164,041
Llanelly - - - 1901	5,942	210
1902	9,453	1,688
1903	11,356	33,408
Lynn - - - 1901	2,634	—
1902	4,256	912
1903	3,105	839
Manchester - - 1901	3,261	295
1902	2,953	10,044
1903	7,799	30,449
Maryport - - - 1901	3	—
1902	49	—
1903	57	—

Port.	Net amount of Coal Tax paid after deductions in respect of Contracts before the 19th April, 1901.	Total quantity of Exported Coal on which Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
Middlesbrough - 1901	1,863	—
1902	2,679	—
1903	2,117	101
Milford - - - 1901	45	—
1902	45	—
1903	11	—
Newport - - - 1901	69,003	6,708
1902	130,913	67,874
1903	149,934	145,343
Plymouth - - - 1901	22	—
1902	107	—
1903	61	—
Poole - - - - 1901	4	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—
Portsmouth - - 1901	10	—
1902	5	—
1903	—	—
Preston - - - - 1901	106	—
1902	46	—
1903	36	—
Runcorn - - - - 1901	702	—
1902	261	—
1903	120	—
Scarborough - - 1901	2	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—
Southampton - - 1901	13	—
1902	2	—
1903	17	—
Stockton - - - - 1901	12	—
1902	72	236
1903	19	—
Sunderland - - - 1901	31,173	14,123
1902	90,849	108,035
1903	107,477	123,659
Swansea - - - - 1901	69,761	—
1902	131,555	524,543
1903	141,826	859,177

Port.	Net amount of Coal Tax paid after deductions in respect of Contracts before the 19th April, 1901.	Total quantity of Exported Coal on which Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
Tyne Ports - - 1901	146,962	122,165
1902	354,552	516,034
1903	431,804	573,423
Weymouth - - 1901	4	—
1902	14	—
1903	—	—
Whitehaven - - 1901	7	—
1902	4	—
1903	—	—
Wisbech - - 1901	201	—
1902	145	—
1903	96	—
Workington - - 1901	4	—
1902	—	—
1903	7	—
Yarmouth - - 1901	8	—
1902	2	—
1903	—	—
Alloa - - - 1901	8,161	—
1902	11,575	—
1903	10,064	—
Ardrossan - - 1901	2,576	1,112
1902	3,752	—
1903	2,627	2,049
Ayr - - - 1901	490	—
1902	1,318	4,647
1903	418	—
Borrowstounness - 1901	10,691	1,116
1902	24,529	30,224
1903	24,410	37,761
Dundee - - - 1901	116	—
1902	80	—
1903	10	—
Glasgow - - - 1901	36,783	7,282
1902	36,127	39,649
1903	30,587	79,923
Grangemouth - - 1901	38,005	1,353
1902	51,567	30,429
1903	58,873	57,540

Port.	Net amount of Coal Tax paid after deductions in respect of Contracts before the 19th April, 1901.	Total quantity of Exported Coal on which Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
Granton - - - 1901	3,184	—
1902	4,961	2,313
1903	5,751	5,804
Greenock - - - 1901	1,465	—
1902	1,994	—
1903	1,805	—
Irvine - - - 1901	471	—
1902	115	—
1903	19	—
Kirkcaldy - - - 1901	62,172	5,668
1902	137,281	207,466
1903	141,955	324,647
Kirkwall - - - 1901	2	—
1902	2	—
1903	4	—
Leith - - - 1901	13,965	3,599
1902	24,595	24,845
1903	29,301	64,680
Peterhead - - - 1901	1	—
1902	1	—
1903	2	—
Stornoway - - - 1901	—	—
1902	—	—
1903	—	—
Troon - - - 1901	3,499	—
1902	7,454	34,388
1903	5,971	6,397
United Kingdom 1901	999,319	436,849
1902	2,020,095	3,275,607
1903	2,303,411	4,961,820

Commission of Crown Agents.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the total sum on which any commission was charged by the Crown Agents in 1903 on behalf of the forty-four colonies and protectorates for whose commercial and financial business they are respon-

sible; what was the total amount of commission so charged; and what was the separate total debited and commission charged to each colony and protectorate.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I shall be prepared to give this information, but it has not been found possible

to complete the compilation of the details. In the meantime I may mention that the total receipts of the Crown Agents' Office, derived partly from commissions and partly from other authorised charges against all the Governments for which they act, amounted in the year 1903 to £46,783 12s.

Mortality in South African Mines.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is yet in a position to issue the Return promised of the mortality in the South African mines.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.)
No, Sir.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Statistics—New Construction.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can give an estimate of the tonnage added by new construction to the British, French, Russian, and German navies in the nine years ending 31st March, 1904.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (MR. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The information asked for by the hon. Member is as follows: Great Britain, 933,147 tons; France, 344,484 tons; Russia, 263,111 tons; Germany, 239,927 tons.

Witwatersrand Gold Mines—Mortality Among Kaffir Labourers.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will now lay Papers upon the Table giving the communications which have passed between himself and the High Commissioner, and the High Commissioner and the owners of the Witwatersrand gold mines, respecting the grievous mortality among the Kaffirs working underground in the mines.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I will lay Papers at an early date.

Chinese Labourers' Wages.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has any information that advertisements are being circulated in China offering to Coolies contracting for the Transvaal mines the wages of 25s. per month; and if the present rate of wages paid to South African natives is 45s. per month.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I am in communication with Lord Milner as to the rate of wages to be inserted in the contract. I have no information as to the advertisements referred to. The average rate of wages paid to South African natives for thirty working days is at present £2 10s.

Land Settlement in the Transvaal.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has now received the Return furnishing details as to the sum spent on the scheme of land settlement in the Transvaal, the number of settlers in actual occupation of holdings, the total acreage so allotted, and the acreage in arable cultivation.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I have ascertained that the number of settlers under the Land Settlement Scheme in the Transvaal is 508. The total area allocated is 620,423 acres, of which 292,871 acres are old Government land, and 328,552 land purchased for settlement purposes. The cost of the latter is £193,136. The loans to settlers amount to £130,300 and the total recoverable from settlers with interest under Land Settlement Ordinance is therefore £323,436. In addition to the land above mentioned about 550,000 acres have been bought for settlement purposes but not yet allotted to settlers. The cost of this is £323,804. 16,621 acres are under crop by settlers.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: Up to what date are these figures? Are they quite recent?

*MR. LYTTELTON: Quite recent.

Transvaal Magistracy.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether

he can now lay upon the Table the promised Return giving the names, ages, salaries, and previous careers, qualifications, and experience of the persons who have been appointed to the post of magistrate in the Transvaal.

***MR. LYTTTELTON:** I have not yet received the Return.

***MR. JOHN ELLIS:** Is the House to infer then that the right hon. Gentleman has not informed himself as to these matters after so many months in his office?

[No answer was returned.]

Ireland and the Public Libraries Act.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Agriculture has decided on any scheme to assist such rural district councils as may adopt the Public Libraries Act; and, if so, can he give the details of the scheme.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNNDHAM, Dover): The Department will consider the application of each district council for assistance on its merits. In suitable cases it will be prepared to make small grants of books on subjects relating to agriculture and technical instruction.

Mahony Estate, Gap of Dunloe.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the sale of the Mahony Estate, situate at the Gap of Dunloe, is just being concluded, and that there is included in the sale a farm at Coolmagort from which one Florence Doherty was evicted in 1893, and which farm was subsequently rented by another tenant; and, if so, whether, seeing that Doherty laid her case before the Estates Commissioners, pursuant to the Irish Land Act of 1903, he will say if the Estates Commissioners have taken any action in the matter, and if the sale to the subsequent occupier will be now sanctioned without an effort being made to put into effect the beneficial provisions of the Act with regard to evicted tenants.

MR. WYNNDHAM: No proceedings for the sale of this estate have yet been brought before the Estates Commissioners. An application for reinstatement has been received on behalf of the representatives of Florence Doherty and will be duly considered.

Public Libraries in Irish Rural Districts.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to state how many rural district councils have adopted the Public Libraries Act, and can he give their names.

MR. WYNNDHAM: Resolutions adopting the Act have been passed by nineteen councils—Ballymena, Balrothery, Cahirciveen, Clonegowan, Cork, Dingle, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Dunmanway, Kenmare, Killarney, Kinsale, Mallow, Naas No. 1, Navan, Rathdown No. 1, Rathdown No. 2, Rathkeale, and Tralee. In some of these cases, however, the statutory requirements in respect of notices have not been complied with, and the Local Government Board is in communication with the councils concerned on the subject.

County Down Grand Jury.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that no Roman Catholic was summoned to serve on the grand jury at the recent County Down Assizes; and whether steps will be taken to prevent a repetition of the incident.

MR. WYNNDHAM: The Executive Government has no cognisance of the religious denominations of persons summoned to serve on the grand juries. These bodies are summoned by the High Sheriffs, and their composition and the mode of selection are regulated by the provisions of the Grand Jury Acts, as adapted by the Local Government Act, 1898. The qualification is based on property.

Irish Loan Fund Board.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the Government intends to promote any

legislation this session on the subject of the Loan Fund Board in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: It has already been stated that the Government is prepared to reintroduce the Bill of last session provided an assurance is received, as I should hope, that the measure will be treated as non-contentious.

Belleek and Fintona Loan Fund Societies.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the present condition of the loan fund societies of Belleek and Fintona, including in each case the amount in hand, the amount outstanding, and the cost of collection; whether he can state why no reports on the subject have been furnished to the debenture holders living at a distance; and whether, in view of the hardships inflicted on those concerned, he will see that steps are taken to expedite a settlement.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Loan Fund Board has no knowledge of the present financial position of the Belleek loan fund. The Receiver over the affairs of that society was appointed by the Court of Chancery. In the case of the Fintona loan fund the Receiver was appointed by the Board in 1900. The amount then outstanding was £2,129. £961 has since been collected, leaving £1,168 still outstanding. The Receiver's remuneration is 10 per cent. upon the sums collected. A dividend of 5s. in the £ has been paid to debenture holders, and a further dividend will shortly be paid. It is not the practice of the Board to supply debenture holders with the reports of the Receivers. Expedition in the completion of the collection of the outstanding debts due to this and other societies would be largely promoted by the passage of the Bill to which I have already referred.

War Office (Re-constitution) Committee's Report.

SIR MICHAEL FOSLER (London University): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether opportunity will be given to discuss in the House, before action is taken, the portion of the Report

of the War Office (Re-constitution) Committee which bears on the health of the Army.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am afraid I cannot answer that Question yet.

Private Bill Procedure—Parliamentary Fees.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that Private Bill legislation costs the promoters of Private Bills and Provisional Orders in fees paid to the Houses of Parliament about £45,000 a year more than the cost to the country of private bill legislation, and having regard to the burden on small urban districts caused by the necessity of obtaining Parliamentary powers for the supply of gas, water, electricity, and other public services, the Government will propose a revision of the Standing Order regulating the scale of House fees charged to public authorities in respect of Bills and Provisional Orders introduced by them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman asks if it is proposed to revise the scale of House fees charged on private bill legislation. I by no means look at one side of this matter, but I hope we may carry further the reforms already initiated. I may remind the hon. Gentleman that, as was found by the Committee on Private Bill Procedure, the fees actually charged form a very small fraction of the total cost of those Bills.

MR. J. H. LEWIS: Is it not a fact that these fees come to something like £45,000 a year.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That may be so, but whether any material relief could be given in the matter of fees to local authorities which insist on coming to this House for legislation when their object could be obtained at less cost by Provisional Order procedure is another matter. After all, fees are a small fraction of the cost, as I have said.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Has the Leader of the House anything to say as to business. What Supply will be taken on Thursday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As regards Thursday next we shall take the Army Estimates, and I think the Vote for the War Office will be first as the most convenient course. In regard to the business generally, the House is aware that during the recess there has been action in Tibet which, in our opinion, makes it necessary, in accordance with the Statute, to ask the House to sanction the employment of Indian troops beyond the Indian frontier. I do not think that any delay should take place in discussing that question, and I shall propose that my right hon. friend the Secretary for India should put it down for to-morrow. This will render necessary the postponement of the introduction of the Licensing Bill, but I shall take the first available day for its introduction next week. As the House is aware Monday is pledged to the Irish Members opposite, who have an Amendment to the Motion "That the Speaker leave the Chair." I am bound to adhere to that pledge, though I should prefer to introduce the Licensing Bill on Monday. The Budget will be taken on Tuesday.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Is it not the usual practice to delay taking the War Office Vote till later in the session, so as to enable us, so to speak, to pick up dropped stitches. And can the right hon. Gentleman give us the terms of the Resolution on Tibet?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The terms of the Resolution in reference to Tibet are practically settled by the statute. It simply asks the House to give the sanction required by statutory enactment. As to the War Office Vote, I will take the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion into careful consideration, and the House shall have our decision in the course of the afternoon.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said that any alteration of the day for the Irish Motion, now down for Monday,

would be impossible from the point of view of his hon. friends, and he must ask the Leader of the House to adhere to the arrangement.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne): In view of the great interest excited by the intimation that the Licensing Bill would be introduced to-morrow, and the arrangements which have been made in consequence, up and down the country, would it not be possible to bring in the Bill after the Tibet debate to-morrow?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Does the hon. Baronet wish it to be brought in without debate?

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Oh no.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Members of this House have not yet received the text of the Convention with France, although it has been issued to the French electorate?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Government have had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the publication in the newspapers of the French text of the Agreement between this country and France. The English text has not been published, but both texts will be in the Vote Office in the course of the sitting, and I hope in the hands of Members to-morrow.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will any Papers be laid giving the House further information as to the policy of the Government in regard to Tibet?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have ordered Papers to be prepared with reference to Tibet; but no despatch of any importance has been sent to Lord Curzon since the publication of the ample volume of Papers already issued, and which include the despatch of 6th November, authorising the advance.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Are we at war with Tibet or are we not? I see the Viceroy speaks of "the enemy."

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Lawrence Ambrose Waldron, esquire,
for the Parliamentary Borough of Dublin
(St. Stephen's Green Division).

NEW BILL.

INDIAN COUNCILS BILL.

"To amend the Indian Councils Act, 1874," presented by Mr. Secretary Brodriek; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 148.]

SUPPLY [5TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

1. £3,646,000, Naval Armaments.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he wished to call attention to the question of the gunning of the new armoured cruisers. No doubt any considerable alteration in naval gunning would involve an alteration in the designs of the vessels. On this question he very much regretted the absence of the Secretary for War, who had always been his leader in that matter. It was of the utmost importance that armoured cruisers should be amply gunned, but, as a matter of fact, every one of our armoured cruisers, and our unarmoured cruisers too, had been, and was still, absurdly under-gunned. In his opinion gunning was of greater importance to armoured cruisers than even to battleships. A cruiser was able to maintain its distance from a battleship, and, if provided with a very heavy gun, would be capable of engaging and perhaps defeating many of the battleships afloat. If a cruiser was under-gunned it could only make use of its speed for the purpose of getting away. The recent experience of Japan showed the enormous effect that heavy guns might produce upon a fortress when they were handled with the very great skill which the Japanese had shown in their naval engagements; and in the bombardment

of Port Arthur it would have been immaterial whether cruisers or battleships were employed, provided the cruisers were fitted with sufficiently heavy guns. No one at the Admiralty now denied the importance of putting in our cruisers the heaviest possible guns consistent with their other requirements. Of course, he was not unaware of the conditions of shipping, and the necessity for making provision for coal and ammunition. But in regard to our armoured cruisers we were further behind the Japanese than we were in respect of our battleships, of which our two best were those we had recently bought from Chili. He was specially alluding to the "Argyll" class of cruisers, which were originally designed for 6-inch guns. It was now proposed to add four 7.5 guns, one forward on the centre line, one aft on the centre line, and one on each side. That was altogether an inadequate provision. He suggested that they should leave the 6-inch guns, but should substitute 9.2 guns for the 7.5 guns. He trusted that before any further progress was made with these cruisers, Mr. Watt, the present Constructor and Designer of the Navy, would be let loose to revolutionise, if need be, the whole of the designs of Sir William White.

* MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty what the Admiralty were doing or intended to do with regard to the encouragement of efficiency in the use of torpedoes. A great deal had been said of the necessity of improving the shooting of the Navy, and during the last year or two great improvement had been made, on which they could congratulate themselves. There was to-day in the papers a very interesting letter describing what took place at Chemulpho, where two Russian ships were destroyed, and he had received a letter from the Far East supplementing the information which was given. In the late war between Japan and China five ships were sunk by torpedoes, and none, so far as known, by gun fire. In the present war five ships had already been sunk by torpedoes, but none so far as known by gun fire. It followed from this that, however necessary it might be to have our shooting effective, it was not less necessary to have the management

of torpedoes in the highest possible state of efficiency. The question which suggested itself to him was whether persons of the various ratings of the Navy received sufficient encouragement in studying and perfecting themselves in the use of torpedoes. The two points which he thought arose out of the naval engagements in the Far East were (1) the very great interest those who considered naval matters ought to take in perfecting as far as they could the use of torpedoes among our ships; (2) whether anything could be done to increase the protection afforded to those fighting on the upper decks. Another very notable point which he thought ought to be borne in mind was that the officers on Russian ships became so deaf that the voice tubes for giving orders were useless. These were points which directly affected the arming of our ships, and it would be gratifying if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give him some information upon them.

* **SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the point raised by the hon. Member for King's Lynn was one which had been raised by the present Secretary for War year after year, and some increase in the gun power of our cruisers had recently been made, no doubt in consequence of the presence of the right hon. Gentleman at the Admiralty. With regard to the gunning of battleships, there was no tendency, so far as the account showed, to increase the calibre of the guns. We were spending more money on guns this financial year than we spent last year, but the increase was almost entirely upon 6-inch guns. That was a fact that required some explanation.

* **THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY** (Mr. PRETYMAN) said these were partly for the Mercantile Cruisers.

* **SIR CHARLES DILKE** said there was no building of 7·5-inch guns, which were the guns which, in the case of foreign Governments, were very rapidly taking the place of the 6-inch guns. We had only four 7·5-inch guns to be completed in this year, but there was nothing shown with regard to the future. It would be gratifying if the Secretary to the Admiralty could make any statement on this

point. We ought to be able to gain a good deal of experience as to gunnery and gunpowder from the Russo-Japanese War. We were, at this moment, introducing an improved cordite. It was impossible for the House of Commons to say what that improved cordite might be worth, but it made them a little uneasy when they read, year after year, the comments upon our gunpowder of foreign Governments, all of whom thought they had a better gunpowder than we had. He hoped the Admiralty might be able to gain information as to what was the value, in practice, of the Japanese high explosive for the contents of shells, which was a new powder and one which was not used by any other Power. An enormous sum of money was being spent—rightly, as he thought—upon sending British generals to watch the Japanese military operations; but, so far as they knew, nothing of a corresponding nature had been done in order to inform the House and the country as to the character of the Japanese naval operations, which were of far greater importance to us and which might have a much closer bearing on our future policy than the military operations. No doubt the Admiralty had taken such steps, but they had not heard of them. He thought the Committee would be specially interested to learn that the Admiralty were taking, or had taken, steps to acquaint themselves with this new Japanese high explosive and its action in war.

* **SIR JOHN COLOMB** (Great Yarmouth) referring to the observations of the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean with regard to the estimate for military attachés to the Japanese Army, and to his comments as to the absence of a similar provision on the part of the Navy, said he thought the Committee should have more information as to what the Admiralty had done, or was doing, to gather up all the knowledge necessary to guide us, from the practical experience of the Japanese. It must be plain to everyone that our policy was to retain superiority at sea, and, that being so, it was of the utmost importance that any war in which we might be engaged should be brought to a conclusion as speedily as possible. The logical result of our policy was that we should maintain a Navy

sufficient to bottle up in their harbours the ships of our enemy, but we must also reach them in their hiding-places; and unless we developed high angle fire it was impossible to reach ships when in hiding. He thought his hon. friend should give some information as to what the Admiralty were doing in the way of investigating the possibilities of increasing high angle fire. So far as he could see, this Vote must increase with the increase of the Navy and increased cost of production; but there was one thing with regard to which he had never been quite clear, and that was whether the Admiralty were providing sufficient reserve of ordnance and fittings for our Fleet at the different stations. A good deal had no doubt been done, but he would be glad to know to what extent the reserve of guns, naval armaments generally, and necessary fittings had been increased. Had there been any definite standard to work to? because it must be remembered that the shortness of the life of our guns was unavoidable. With regard to the lessons which might be drawn from the Japanese War, he did not think the time had yet arrived to be dogmatic on the subject, although it was quite certain there had been some most valuable proofs which would, and must, dispose of many vague theories. Any hon. Member who wished to be informed upon this point should read that most valuable book, "The Surgical and Medical History of the Naval War between Japan and China." The hon. Member for Portsmouth had asked for increased protection for the *personnel*, and both he and the hon. Member for King's Lynn proposed to increase weights. Something must be given up, and, inasmuch as the probable loss of life in proportion to the *matériel* was steadily decreasing, our real difficulty was not loss of life, but damage to ships, and paralysis of ships through damage: and although reasonable protection ought to be given to the *personnel* where possible, he (Sir John) would sacrifice nothing in ships' efficiency in *matériel* to try and secure what was an impossibility, namely immunity from loss of life on board ship in time of war. He would have an ample reserve of guns and fittings.

Sir John Colomb.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport) said there was one direction in which the Admiralty had been very culpable with regard to the efficiency of guns. There were, according to his information, many of our best ships with quick-firing guns fitted with the old, slow breech movement of three-lever action, whereas in the modern quick-firing guns there was only a one-lever action, and the speed was consequently increased. But what was worse, was, that in ships that had been recently refitted, the "Endymion" and the "Theseus," this old, obsolete breech action was still being used, necessitating a great sacrifice of gun-power which might be remedied with a very small outlay. Another thing which affected the efficiency of our gunnery was that many ships still carried the old muzzle-loading 9-pounder guns instead of 12-pounder breech-loading guns. That was a question which had been raised many times, and the House had frequently been assured of the deletion of these guns; nevertheless some of our ships were still carrying them. The sighting of the guns was the most vital part of gunnery efficiency. He was told that the sights of most of the ships' guns were hopelessly wrong, and that it was impossible to work with the present sights with any degree of certainty. He understood that the matter of sighting wanted a thorough overhauling, and it had been suggested to him that there should be a Committee appointed of the very best gunnery experts in the Navy. The results on the "Majestic," for instance, were the outcome of the energy of the gunnery instructor and gunnery lieutenant. The Admiralty were quite aware of these deficiencies, but he thought the House would be interested to know what the Admiralty were doing to improve the sighting of the guns.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said this was an exceedingly large Vote, amounting this year to £3,646,000, an increase on last year of about £500,000. That was a matter which the Committee at large could appreciate far better than the technical questions of gunnery which were relevant to the Vote. He did not propose to oppose the Government in this matter; he merely wished to call attention to this fact to prove the truth

of the generalisation that everything depended on the Shipbuilding Vote. If the Committee compared that Vote with what it was ten years ago, they would find that it had risen from £1,500,000 to nearly £4,000,000, while the cost of new construction had risen by £1,250,000 in the same period. Every increase of the Shipbuilding Vote must of necessity increase all other Votes, because, having increased the ships, the Admiralty must increase the crews and find money to pay them. The Secretary to the Admiralty would be bound to say that the enormous figures he was now asking for in respect of armaments were purely consequential on the enormous Shipbuilding Vote of last year. If it was true that this Armaments Vote was consequential on the other, what was the use of the Committee criticising any Vote except that for shipbuilding? How could they challenge the details of any Vote of this kind before they had challenged the Shipbuilding Vote, which was the only one which could be effectively criticised. The question of depôts for stores came up year after year, and it would be satisfactory to the Committee if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give some explanation on that subject. Another point to which he wished to draw attention was the item called "Appropriations in Aid," which included the contributions from India, Australia, and South Africa. These contributions were very small—so small, in fact, that it might be said that the Empire outside the United Kingdom had paid only 1 per cent. of the whole cost of the Navy. He should like to know on what principle these contributions were apportioned in the different Votes. Cape Colony contributed £60,000, and of that £200 was included in the Armaments Vote, while of the Australian contributions, supposed to be specially applicable to the maintenance of the Australian squadron, only £60 went into that Vote. He had been struck by the extreme difference between the proportions of the Australian and South African contributions, and would like to have some explanation in regard to it.

*MR. PRETYMAN said he welcomed the discussion which had taken place upon this Vote, which was really one of the most important items in the Navy

Estimates. Captain Mahan had described a ship of war as merely an exaggerated gun-carriage; in other words, the ship existed to carry the guns, and therefore a discussion on the guns provided for the Navy was of the first importance, and overrode every other subject in this Vote. It was a highly technical subject, but he would point out that the question of under-gunning raised what was, after all, the real question—namely, the relative importance of the different factors which had to be considered in the construction of a ship of war. It was true, as a general principle, that when two cruisers met in combat the cruiser which had the most guns and the heaviest guns would win; but that could not always be held to be true, because there were other factors besides the number, calibre, and even range of the guns which had great influence in determining the issue of the conflict, and these factors had to be taken into account in the construction of the ship which was meant to fight at a high rate of speed, and it was necessary that the guns of a cruiser should be such as would enable it to be fought properly at a high rate of speed. He admitted that the gunning of our cruisers, especially cruisers of the improved "County" class, required explanation. The "County" class included ships of two distinct periods, namely, ten ships of the "Kent" class, carrying fourteen 6-inch guns, also the "Devonshire" class, consisting of the "Devonshire," the "Hampshire," the "Argyll," the "Roxburgh," the "Antrim," and the "Carnarvon," of which the armament was two 7.5 guns and ten 6-inch guns, and the more modern and powerful "Warrior" class, consisting of the "Duke of Edinburgh," the "Black Prince," the "Warrior," the "Achilles," the "Natal," and the "Cochrane," the armament for which, as originally designed, was six 9.2 guns and ten 6-inch guns. There was also the "Drake" class from which a certain amount of experience had been derived. While referring to that experience, combined with the experience derived from long-range practice in the Mediterranean, he might say that there were at present two Committees on gunnery sitting, but they were not Admiralty Committees. One Committee was sitting with the Mediterranean Fleet

and the other with the Channel Fleet, and they were composed of sailors actually serving with the squadrons. It was obviously better that the Committee should consist of practical sailors who were able to judge from personal experience the results of the daily firing rather than of theoretical experts assisted by naval authorities who could not view or take part in the experiments, and these Committees, so composed, were sitting to consider the questions on gunnery which the Admiralty were constantly referring to them. Long-range firing, which was one of the subjects actually under consideration, required great command of the gun. The command of the main-deck guns of the improved "County" and "Duke of Edinburgh" classes, like that of the original "County" and "Drake" classes, was only about ten feet, which, in practice, was not found to be sufficient for thoroughly effective long-range firing. Moreover, on cruisers where it was necessary to use the guns while travelling at high speeds, the insufficient command of the guns rendered their effective use impossible if there was any sea on, by reason of the great volume of water thrown over the gun ports. As to the calibre of the guns, the Admiralty thoroughly recognised the desirability of having, wherever possible, 7·5 rather than 6-inch guns, and, taking all these matters into consideration, they had decided, after consultation with gunnery experts, and prolonged discussion, to make certain alterations in the armaments of the ships. In the "Devonshire" class, the two 7·5 guns would remain, but the four forward 6-inch guns would be replaced by two 7·5 guns in gun houses on the upper deck, one on each side, with a command of 19 feet instead of 10 feet.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether there would be three 7·5 guns capable of being fired on the same broadside—three and no more?

*MR. PRETYMAN said that that was the case. The two new 7·5 guns would have a great angle fire—from ahead to well abaft the beam, but not across ship. The six 6-inch guns would be left three on each side, so that there would be three 6-inch and three 7·5 guns on each broadside. Changes were pro-

jected also in the "Warrior" class. The "Duke of Edinburgh" and the "Black Prince" were so far advanced that the cost of the alterations would be prohibitive; consequently they would retain the armament for which they were designed, except that the projection forward would be abolished, and the guns would be able to fire only on the broadside. It was considered more advantageous to do away with the projection than to retain the ahead fire of the forward 6-inch guns. In the remaining four ships of this class, the ten 6-inch guns would be replaced by four 7·5 guns. There would be no main-deck armament at all; the guns would all be mounted on the upper deck with a command of 19 feet instead of 10 feet. The number of guns was largely reduced, but the Committee would realise that the stability of a ship was greatly affected by the guns being placed in a much higher position. Moreover, the weight of the mounting of the 7·5 guns was considerably greater than that of the 6-inch guns, and it was not possible to secure the advantages which the proposed alterations would afford, and, at the same time, retain the larger number of guns.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) asked whether the guns would be protected.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the guns would be in gun houses or turrets, with complete protection.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE pointed out that no provision for 7·5 guns was made in the Estimates.

*MR. PRETYMAN said that that was accounted for by the fact that the change had only just been decided upon. There would be a much larger proportion of 7·5 guns in the Navy, as a considerable number of 6-inch guns were being replaced by the 7·5 guns. No loss would accrue, however, as the 6-inch guns designed for the "Devonshire" class would come in for other purposes, mainly for the arming of the large mercantile cruisers.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked whether the Admiralty would not require to begin making any 7·5 guns before next March.

Mr. Pretyman.

*MR. PRETYMAN understood that the guns necessary this year were included in the Estimates.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said there was no provision at all in the Estimates.

*MR. PRETYMAN said he could not explain the non-inclusion off-hand; it was a technical point, and he would obtain exact information if the right hon. Baronet placed a Question on the Paper. Under the new arrangements for training, the same encouragements were given to skill in the use of torpedoes as in the use of guns. The war in the Far East had demonstrated the great value of the torpedo as a naval weapon, and it was just as important that an award should be given for skill in its use as for skill in the use of guns. He was not personally aware that any special attention had been paid to the question of high angle fire from the point of view put forward by the hon. Member for Great Yarmouth. It should be borne in mind that such high angle fire would require a specialised ship. He pointed out that high angle firing necessarily implied specialisation, and it was undesirable, in principle, to specialise ships for one particular fighting purpose. The ships must be utilised as cruisers or battleships. The armoured cruisers and battleships were close together now, and it was undesirable, as a principle, to specialise ships if it could be avoided. He would take care, however, to see that the suggestion of the hon. Member received every consideration. No subject had received more attention from the Admiralty than the reserve of ordnance. The House had been asked to sanction a large expenditure to make up the reserve of ordnance to its full strength. The definite standard for 9·2 guns and above was one gun per ship. When the ships were built the reserve gun was constructed in all its parts at the same time as the guns which were to be placed in the ship. In respect of the 7·5 guns, one gun in reserve was provided for every four guns shown in the Estimates as belonging to the ships, and for the 6-inch guns one for every five. This standard had been worked out, and all the guns were available when wanted. As to the calibre of the guns, it was

suggested that, in the past, the length of the gun had been sacrificed to the requirements of construction. That, again, was a question of rival factors contending for weight. The important point as to the length of the gun was the weight which that gun entailed on the ship to carry. The size of the turret or casemate necessarily varied with the length of the gun which was to be inside. There must be room to contain the gun from the face of the breech, and in addition there must be room behind the face of the breech to work the gun. The size of the casemate or turret was therefore the governing factor. The Admiralty were now constructing 6-inch guns which were all to be 50 calibre, as well as 50 calibre 7·5 guns. They were experimenting with the 50 calibre, and the experiments had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion for the 9·2 guns. It was now necessary with the 45 calibre 12-inch gun to add a dead weight of no less than seven tons to the breech of the gun in order that the pivoting point of the gun might be further in rear, thus saving a large amount of weight in the mounting. In the past, possibly, we might not have advanced to the same extent as some other countries in the length of the guns. The guns in use now were 45 calibre, but they used to be 40 calibre. In all these matters the most careful experiments were necessary. It was clear that with the 50 calibre gun, giving an increase of velocity and pressure, new problems and difficulties would arise, and it would not be safe to imperil the existence of the gun by embarking on experiments which might not be fully justified before it was adopted in the Navy. The question of sighting had also been raised, but on this point there was a great deal of misapprehension. When hon. Members spoke of sighting a gun it appeared to be thought that they were speaking in the same way as of the sighting of a rifle. It was not a question of sighting at all; it was purely and solely a question of gearing. The guns in ships were enclosed in turrets, and in order that two guns in a turret should work together the turret sight from which they were fired was automatic. This meant that the sighting was worked from the outside of the

turret, and it automatically regulated the direction of the gun within. In order to obtain that automatic action the most complicated and difficult gearing was necessary. The hon. Member for Devonport had suggested that, although there were other systems, only one system had been adopted by the Admiralty.

Mr. KEARLEY said that what he stated was that there were two different sighting arrangements, the old and the obsolete, and the new system, and both of them were defective.

*Mr. PRETYMAN said that was the misapprehension of which he complained. There was a different system of sighting for almost every gun in the Navy. Every gun introduced had some modification which necessitated a different system of gearing which had to be worked out and applied for every gun. There were no two systems of sighting prevailing, and no reform was needed in the sense that the Navy was wrong in the system of sighting which it had adopted. Different guns entailed different systems of gearing, and a system of attachment had to be carried out which had to be invented *ad hoc*. The Admiralty and the contractors deliberated together and considered how this system of gearing could be perfected to the best advantage. But absolute perfection was unattainable. There was always some danger of pinions and gearings not being absolutely locked; and it might happen that there would be some slight play which would cause the gun in being fired to communicate a slight motion to the pinions and gearing, and thus cause what was known as "back lash." But the Admiralty were always working to get as near perfection as they could. In the case of the "Centurion" and "Parfleur" experiments had been carried out, and here was a case in point where the sighting was worked from the turret. A considerable increase of accuracy almost approaching to the absolute had been attained. A great improvement in attachment was now being added, which would not entail a great cost, for the "Centurion." When complaint was made of the expense, hon. Members should remember that the main factor in the increase of every Vote was due to the increase in new construction.

Mr. Pretyman.

If they built more ships they would have to provide more money in every Vote, and on each particular Vote they had to consider how far it was necessary to provide for those requirements. Taking the discussion on this particular Vote into review, all the points which were brought forward were points involving increased expenditure. It was perfectly evident that, the ships having been built, they must be fitted with the most modern and efficient armament that could be supplied. In stating this he was only pointing out what was self-evident, and both the Committee and the Admiralty would fail in their duty if they did not provide the ships with the best armaments obtainable. That expenditure must be faced if we desired to have the best Navy. As long as this House desired to have a Navy of the standard and the number which were now demanded and required by the country neither the Admiralty nor any Committee of the House could reduce Vote 9 which they were now discussing.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he might congratulate himself on having elicited from the hon. Gentleman the very important statement he had just made. When he drew attention to the important matter of the gunning of the ships he did not know that the Admiralty had been devoting their attention to it. The changes which were being made showed a proper frame of mind on the part of the Admiralty, but he was inclined to think the hon. Gentleman might have given a little more. The hon. Gentleman said 7.5 guns, but he himself would prefer 9.2. The hon. Gentleman need not tell them that the vessels would not carry 9.2 guns. He held that they could. The "St. George," which was smaller than the "Argyll" and "Devonshire," had two 9.2 guns, and ten 6-inch guns. He claimed, therefore, that this fact alone showed that ships of the "Argyll" and "Devonshire" class were perfectly capable of carrying 9.2 guns. There were also examples in the Japanese fleet which could be cited in support of this contention. Now that the hon. Gentleman had entered on the path of reform, in what he thought was a proper spirit, with regard to the gunning of the ships, he earnestly begged him to consult

the gunnery authorities, and to replace the four big guns by four bigger ones. The arrangement was to have four 7·5 guns, three of which could fire from either beam and one ahead. He suggested that these should be 9·2 instead of 7·5 guns. The hon. Gentleman should remember that guns were growing in calibre day by day, and in this case he should not make two bites of a cherry. The hon. Gentleman had stated that the sighting of the "Centurion" could be made right at Hong-Kong. He did not believe that. The House had already received an explanation from the hon. Gentleman of the complicated nature of the gearing on which sighting now depended. He did not know whether, when the hon. Gentleman stated that it was automatic, he meant that the man who set the sight also pulled the trigger.

*MR. PRETYMAN: No, they may fire automatically or not as they like.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said his point was that when the complicated gearing got loose the gun did not automatically follow the sighting. The sighting of the "Centurion" undoubtedly was not satisfactory, and he did not think it could be made satisfactory at Hong-Kong. In order that so complicated a piece of gearing might be properly adjusted, it was absolutely necessary to bring the vessel back to England.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the Admiralty were informed by the authorities that the work could be done at Hong-Kong.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said the hon. Gentleman was no doubt a great civil authority, but there were specialists in gunnery who were better entitled to express an opinion on a subject like this. He was not at liberty to give the name of his authority, but he had good authority for saying that it was hopeless to expect that the work could be done at Hong-Kong. He congratulated the Committee on the fact having been elicited that the Admiralty recognised the necessity for providing guns of larger calibre. He trusted they would take further steps in replacing 7·5 by 9·2 guns.

MR. KEARLEY reminded the Secretary to the Admiralty that such experts as Vickers, Maxim, and Co. and Armstrong had been given free hands, and yet had failed to make the sighting of the "Centurion" satisfactory.

*MR. PRETYMAN said he had explained that the endeavour had been to work the gear for the two guns together, but, having given up the attempt, by working the guns independently the difficulties arising from complicated cross gearing would be eliminated.

MR. KEARLEY said some sacrifice was made by not laying and firing the guns automatically.

*MR. PRETYMAN assented.

MR. KEARLEY asked if in refitting ships the old breech action had been adopted, as in the case of the "Endymion."

*MR. PRETYMAN said he was not aware of the facts in the instance mentioned. He could not off-hand give details, but the fitting with improved breech action was governed in each case by such conditions as the age of the ship, her future destination, whether the guns were to be replaced by others, and many questions of detail. In giving his previous answer he omitted to refer to the question why naval as well as military expenditure had not been incurred for watching events in the Far East. It was not necessary to do this, for we had a naval force in the China seas, and naval officers upon whom the Admiralty could rely. Every possible step was being taken to obtain the fullest information. It was evident that it was not quite the same thing for an officer to accompany an army in the field and for an officer to be on board a ship going into action.

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,044,200, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the *Personnel* for Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc., including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and

Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON thought it was desirable that at this point there should be some general understanding as to the further progress of the discussion of these Estimates. An unusually large proportion of time had already been spent on them, which was perhaps a little unfair for those who did not take an interest in naval matters, but he supposed the real fact was that the Admiralty was the only Department that was always ready. It was most important that the shipbuilding programme of the Government should not be allowed to pass out of the control of the House at so early a period of the session. That principle had been recognised for a great many years, the basis of it being that they should delay as long as possible the final seal to the Government's proposals in order to see what the developments might be. This year the principle was more important than usual. By the month of July, if the Russo-Japanese war lasted so long, they would be better able to say whether it was reasonable that this large Vote for new construction should be granted by Parliament or not. As he understood, the Government had no objection to that delay, but he wanted the understanding to be made publicly. He understood that the third section of Vote 8, which was the important one, would not be taken that day, but would be withheld to a comparatively late period of the session. It was essential that Vote 12, which was a sort of key Vote, should also be postponed to the latest possible period of the session; and to that he also understood the Government assented. He did not wish to anticipate the discussion on the shipbuilding programme of the present year, but he wished to point out the significance of certain figures which the hon. Gentleman had given the House in answer to a Question he had put on the Paper.

*MR. PRETYMAN said that when the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of a general discussion on the third section of Vote 8, did he mean on the principle of the Vote, and not on small details, like dockyard wages?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Perfectly. He quite understood that all the important naval questions would be raised better on Section 3 than on any other section. He had asked the hon. Gentleman what had been the addition by way of new construction, as measured by tonnage, to the British, French, Russian, and German Navies in the period of the last nine years; and the result was this: that while the three next European navies to our own had added to their tonnage 847,000 tons, the Navy of Great Britain had added to its tonnage 933,000, or 100,000 tons more than all these three nations combined. He was not going to draw any inference from that now. He did not, of course, contend that tonnage alone was a conclusive criterion; but neither was it an irrelevant criterion. And, in the end, if proper qualifications were made, it was a real method of comparison. It was, therefore, worth while keeping in mind when considering the two or the three-Power standard, that we had exceeded by 100,000 tons the combined tonnage of France, Russia, and Germany. There was another fact in connection with that which was important, not from the naval but the economic point of view. The hon. Gentleman the Civil Lord of the Admiralty had told the House that in the last nine years we had spent £70,000,000 on new construction, as compared with £82,000,000 spent by France, Germany, and Russia. Now for £70,000,000 we had produced 100,000 more tonnage in new construction than £82,000,000 spent by the three great Continental Powers. In other words, in nine years we had spent in adding to our Navy £70,000,000, what was equivalent to £90,000,000 of expenditure by the three next great naval Powers. Now, that advantage was due—nobody disputed it—to the fact that we were a free-trade country. Every £70,000,000 we spent was as good as £90,000,000 spent by these foreign countries. That was an element of strength well worthy of being taken into account when comparing our position with that of other Powers.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he would like to say a word, not so much by way of dissent as by way of caution, as to what

had fallen from his hon. and learned friend in regard to naval expenditure during the past nine years. These nine years went back considerably before the date at which the very rapid augmentation of the German shipbuilding programme began. He fully agreed with his hon. and learned friend that at this moment naval questions were in a transitory state, and that shipbuilding must go on in the immediate future less rapidly than in the recent past. He did not think, however, that it was too much to say that the German shipbuilding, which began considerably after the nine-year period referred to by his hon. and learned friend, had been directed against this country. In 1897 the German Emperor stated publicly—

“I will never rest until I have raised my navy to a position similar to that occupied by my army.”

and in 1899 the Emperor said that—

“It was his desire that the Germans should be in a position to dictate peace on water as well as on land.”

These were very remarkable statements on the part of so great a ruler and one so strong. And when they remembered that only this week there had appeared officially in Germany a document in which it was stated that—

“War in the future must be waged in such a way as to destroy not only the naval and military forces of the enemy, but the whole of their material and moral resources.”

He thought they were very far away from the general admission of those principles of peace which had been enunciated at the Hague Conference. He was as prepared as any one to go a long way in the direction of Army economy, but as long as such declarations as these were made, it was impossible that any great reductions should be made in our naval expenditure. He admitted, with his hon. and learned friend, that naval matters were in a transitory state and that France was going less rapidly in her shipbuilding programme than a few years ago; but until it was known what Russia and Germany were going to do in the future in that direction no decision on the question could be pronounced.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he agreed with the right hon. Baronet

that the figures quoted by the hon. and learned Member for Dundee should be received with caution. They did not cover the whole problem, although, no doubt, they were an important element. The only use of producing figures like these seemed to him to be to prove that we were spending too much on the Navy; but the two-Power standard was only a rule-of-thumb standard and nothing more. There was, for instance, no basis of comparison between our sea duties and responsibilities all over the world and those of France or Germany. It ought to be remembered that war took longer to prepare for and was swifter in its result. It also should be remembered that certain Powers which were mentioned usually were not the only Powers. As an indication of how careful the Admiralty ought to be, he would mention that the United States had thirteen battleships under construction.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Would the hon. and gallant Gentleman build against those?

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that this country should build against any nation for the reason that it was a sea Empire. The fact he had stated showed how careful they ought to be in drawing general conclusions.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he wished to ask a Question with reference to the boilers. It was whether the House would be put in possession of a list of the boiler accidents and boiler repairs which had occurred since the first Report of the Boiler Committee, distinguishing between the various classes of boilers. The House was not aware of the information which was in the possession of the Admiralty with regard to the working of the various classes of boilers. Then as regarded the explosion on board the “Good Hope” it was stated at the time that it was due to Belleville boilers; but he was informed that the inquiry showed that that was not the case. He also wished to ask whether any report would be made to the House with reference to the “Spartiate” and “Europa” class. He himself had never expressed any view in the House in

favour of any particular class of boiler, but, undoubtedly, it was the fact that boilers which were found to be unsatisfactory in this country were being put into new ships abroad. That went to support the contention that the real fault was not with the boilers, but with the training of the stokers, and that stokers who were competent to work one class of boiler were not competent to work another.

*MR. PRETYMAN said he would take care that the right hon. Gentleman was furnished with the information as to the accidents for which he asked. Perhaps he might say generally that he entirely agreed with what the right hon. Gentleman said as to the main difficulty of water-tube boilers being due to want of knowledge on the part of the stokers. The experiment was undertaken on too large a scale in the first instance, and the experience the Admiralty had now gained went to strengthen that impression, because at present they were finding that the water-tube boilers were giving much greater satisfaction than they gave in the first instance. The Committee were still conducting experiments and reporting at intervals, but they had not yet presented their final Report, and therefore the Admiralty were not yet in a position to come to a final conclusion; but all the steps which had been taken with reference to boilers in new ships were taken on the advice of the Committee. Every possible step was being taken to perfect the training of the stokers. Each type of boiler had been set up in hulks at different ports in order that the stokers might be trained in the use of the particular boiler with which the ship to which they were appointed was fitted.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) said he wished to call attention to the treatment of labour generally by the Admiralty. When the Resolution of his hon. friend the Member for the Clitheroe Division was discussed, the Government gave the House to understand that they were prepared to do what was asked—namely, to pay the standard rate of wages in the locality. Now, the opportunity was given to the Government to show that they were prepared to carry out what must be regarded as a pledge. When the Resolution was under discussion

he urged that it should be made clearer by the addition of a sentence from the contract of the London County Council, making it clear that what was intended was not what might be called a current wage or a living wage, but the standard wage as arranged between employer and employed in each particular locality. He would not deal with the different classes of artificers on the Navy, regarding which his hon. friend the Member for Devonport had more accurate and precise knowledge, but he would venture to deal with the joiners who had brought their grievance specially to his notice. They complained that the Government, taking advantage of their position, used shipwrights to do joiners' work. Hon. Members would be aware that a joiner was regarded as a superior tradesman as compared with a shipwright, but it was difficult to say where the exact line of demarcation occurred. It might be said that economy was effected in getting the smartest and the nattiest shipwrights to do joiners' work, but that was an injustice to the joiners. The joiners also complained that they were paid some eight shillings a week less than other employers paid, but of that he was not in a position to speak. It might be that it paid a man with regular employment in one place to accept a lower rate of wages, but it was false economy on the part of the Government, because, if men were wanted, only the men out of work would accept the terms. The great grievance of the joiners was in connection with inspection. They maintained that the inspection was carried out by men who were not efficient tradesmen. This was especially the case in connection with official residences throughout the country. It might be urged that this was a very narrow and difficult matter, but he ventured to propose a Committee to inquire into the question of inspection. His contention was that no man could inspect work who was not brought up to the trade or occupation. That was a very great grievance of which the joiners complained. But a matter in which he took a still deeper interest was the way in which unskilled labour was dealt with. The House upon a previous occasion was given to understand that the Government were prepared

to meet them in the Resolution brought forward by the hon. Member for Clitheroe, and the opportunity had now arisen when the Government could show the country at large whether, when they accepted that Resolution, they were throwing dust in the eyes of labour; whether it was their intention to carry out the Resolution or whether its acceptance on their part was the mere expression of a pious opinion to avoid a division at an inconvenient moment. When that Resolution was before the House he pointed out that at the Royal Victoria Victualling Yard the work given to the unskilled labourer was not only of an exhausting character but that it also entailed some responsibility, yet these men were only paid 21s. a week. These men were working side by side with men in the employ of contractors who received from 24s. to 30s. a week and knew perfectly well that the contractors were compelled by the Government to pay the current rate of wages, with the result that their men were receiving 7½d. an hour whereas they themselves only received 5d. and a fraction. It was grossly unfair that the Government should take advantage of the labour market in this way and pay so miserable a wage as 21s. a week. From every point of view the action of the Government stood condemned. Over and over again the Government had declined to deal with this matter lest the whole question should be opened up, but now there was an opportunity for them to declare their intention to ascertain what was the standard rate of wage for all classes of labour in the various towns where the Government employed labour. So far as London was concerned, the case was clear. This Victualling Yard was situated in Deptford, where no lower rate of wages than 24s. a week was paid, and unless there was a distinct promise that the wages paid by the Government should not be lower than that he should move a reduction of the Vote by £100.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does that question arise on this Vote? That should surely come on the Victualling Vote and not on this.

MR. KEARLEY submitted that the question of labour did arise on Vote 8, and therefore the Amendment would be

in order. He disclaimed any intention of going into any elaborate discussion affecting the conditions of labour in the Government service, but thought that in view of the acceptance of the Motion of the Member for Clitheroe by the Government, the Committee were entitled to ask what interpretation the Government put on that acceptance. When the Fair Wages Resolution was brought forward twelve years ago, the interpretation of the Government was that they should be model employers, not in advance of everybody else, but in the first flight. That interpretation had resulted in the payment of a wage of 21s. a week for skilled labour whilst the scavengers of London streets got 24s. and the County Council gave 30s. a week. That was certainly not carrying out the interpretation of model employment. The wage for unskilled labour throughout the Admiralty establishments amounted to the munificent sum of 20s. a week, and at Devonport the rental conditions were higher than in London and the overcrowding was greater. He was convinced that there was no intention on the part of the Government to look into this matter, but he submitted that an obligation lay upon the Government as a great employer of labour to set a standard, and if they depreciated wages contractors followed suit. He remembered the time when the wages in Devonport were only 15s. a week, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they had finally got them up to 20s., which was not a living wage, when the labourers had to pay 3s. 6d. a week for house accommodation. What they asked for was a living wage. The Admiralty had promised to inquire into this matter, but so far as the Committee knew no such inquiry had been made. In regard to the classification of labour, the Government followed a system which private employers would not tolerate for a moment. Men who in private yards did work similar to that of the so-called "unskilled" labourer in Government employ were members of skilled trades and received 30s. a week, but by this classification the Government got the work done "on the cheap," and that was probably the object of the classification. As to the skilled labour proper, the one request of the shipwrights and others was that their wages should

be based on the average paid in private yards where Government work was done, with a proper deduction for the so-called privileges of Government employees. That was surely a reasonable demand. The Admiralty claimed to be a model employer, but how could that position be maintained when, in places where the rental conditions and the consequent overcrowding were as bad as, or even worse than, in London, the Department paid a huge army of unskilled labour the utterly inadequate wage of 20s. a week?

CAPTAIN NORTON explained that if he had gone somewhat beyond the Chairman's ruling in dealing with the Deptford Victualling Yard it was because it happened to be the best illustration available in connection with this question. The men at Deptford, many of whom worked for less than the current wage, were the only men in the county of London who did work for the Admiralty, and in their case there had been a gross failure on the part of the Government to carry out the undertaking of a few weeks ago.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS said he did not intend to detain the Committee at any length, as he and other Representatives of dockyard constituencies had recently had an opportunity of stating fully their views to the Board of Admiralty. It was much to the advantage of all concerned that such private conferences should be held, and he had no desire to jeopardise, by any action in Committee, the concession which had been made therein. He would only ask whether any decision had been arrived at with regard to the matters then discussed, or whether any steps were in contemplation by the Admiralty.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) asked when the designs for the new cruisers in the present year's programme would be issued, and when the orders for the balance of the armament required for the battleships of last year's programme would be placed.

*MR. PRETYMAN said that as the matter referred to by the last speaker did not really rise on this section of the Vote, he had not armed himself with the

Mr. Kearley.

information asked for. The probability was that the designs for the new programme would be issued about the end of August, but if the hon. Member would place on the Paper Questions dealing with the two points he had raised, he would obtain the required information. The dockyard question was discussed shortly before the recess, and he was unable to add much to the statement then made. The hon. Member for Newington had given the Admiralty very little credit for anything that had been done. Only last year the wages of joiners were raised from 31s. to 32s. 6d., hired men from 29s. 6d. to 31s., while joiners working at dangerous machines were paid an extra 2s. 9d. per week. The hon. Member for Devonport had used the friendly threat that, unless the Admiralty made certain concessions, this question would be constantly raised in the House. But, whatever wages were paid by Government Departments, the representatives of constituencies concerned would still ask that those wages should be increased.

MR. KEARLEY: Oh, no! That is absurd.

*MR. PRETYMAN: The hon. Member had characterised the Board of Admiralty as "sweaters." That was an unnecessarily offensive term. It was eminently desirable that the Department should be able to transfer labour from one yard to another, and, the character of Admiralty work being practically uniform, the principle adopted was that the wages for particular kinds of work should be uniform throughout Admiralty establishments, with the exception that in the case of the London establishments an extra 1s. should be given in consequence of the increased cost of living. There were no skilled tradesmen employed by the Admiralty at either Deptford or Woolwich, so that the question arose only in the matter of unskilled labour. It had also to be borne in mind that the wages were so finely graduated, from the unskilled labourer at 20s. a week up to the highest paid branches of work, that a rise in the lowest scale must carry with it an increase over the whole area of wages. The cost of giving ordinary Admiralty labourers an additional shilling a week

would be about £10,000 a year, but to give an additional shilling a week to all the workmen would cost £104,000 a year, and that would add very appreciably to the Estimates. The Admiralty could not approach this question from the point of view of rental or Parliamentary pressure, but only from the point of view that they should give a uniform wage rather in advance of the general wage paid by private employers for similar work. He did not think the Admiralty would be justified in paying higher wages than private employers paid for similar work, and such a proposal, he felt sure, would not receive the approval of the House. The hon. Member for Devonport said the Admiralty were not model employers, and were, in fact, sweaters paying lower wages than other people, and he argued that if the Admiralty paid better wages private employers would follow suit. As a matter of fact the Admiralty were paying higher wages than those paid in general employment in the same district for the same class of labour. He agreed that at the large naval ports the Admiralty monopolised dockyard work and the standard there applicable to private employment was not therefore of any great value. He had in his possession the particulars of the rates of wages paid in private employment in all the great dockyards and shipbuilding centres. The rate paid by the Admiralty for unskilled labour was 5d. per hour, and that was higher than the rate paid by private employers. It was true that in London dockers received 6d. per hour, but that was for casual employment. At the Thames Ironworks the contractors paid 6d. per hour, and at Hull the wages were slightly above the Admiralty rate, but in the Mersey, and at Barrow, Belfast, on the Clyde and the Forth, Tyne, Tees, the Wear, and at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Devonport the Admiralty standard was higher than that of private employment for unskilled labour. On the Tees it was 4·75d. per hour in private employment; on the Wear 4½d. to 6d.; Portsmouth 4d. to 5d.; on the Forth 3·7d.; the Clyde 3·75d. to 4·5d.; Hull 5·43d. to 5·66d.; the Mersey 4½d. to 5d.; Barrow 4d.; and Belfast 4½d. and 4·88d. Those were the actual wages paid in private employment in those districts. It was impossible for the Admiralty to fix the uni-

form rate at a point higher than it was in one particular place where the Admiralty employed only a minimum amount of labour. It should not be imagined that he did not sympathise with those upon whose behalf hon. Members opposite had spoken. He was sure they all sympathised with the difficulties of a man who had to work for 21s. a week and live in a crowded district like London or Devonport, and they would all like to see that wage increased. He did not, however, think that they would be justified in spending the taxpayers' money in giving more than a slight increase on the general rate of wages paid in private employment. This question could only be considered from the point of view of what was just and fair to the taxpayers. Both last year and this year members of the Admiralty Board had visited the various naval establishments and received deputations of all classes of workmen, and individual workmen, upon any points they desired to lay before them. The question of the rate of wages was a matter which was under constant consideration and the needs and position of the labourer were always being considered. It was, however, a large question, and it would be easy, convenient, and pleasant to be able to increase the wages from 21s. to 24s., but in view of the general rate of wages paid throughout the country by private employers and the duty the Admiralty owed to the taxpayers of the country they could not accede to this demand.

CAPTAIN NORTON said he had not made any demand for a uniform rate of wages, but he maintained that it was a gross injustice and monstrously unfair to pay a man at Haulbowline in Ireland the same rate as in a crowded district like London. The basis of the whole thing depended upon the house rent. If a man could get a cottage and a piece of land in one district for 2s. or 3s. a week he would have 17s. a week to live upon; but if a man had to pay 8s. or 9s. for similar accommodation in another district he had only 13s. or 14s. left to support his family. This was a gross injustice to the men themselves and also to the ratepayers, because the other workmen in the district had in the end to support the widows and children of such men who did not

receive sufficient wages to make proper provision for their families. He begged to move that this Vote be reduced by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £3,044,100, be granted for the said Service."—*(Captain Norton.)*

Mr. KEARLEY said the hon. Member had read out a list of the wages paid for unskilled labour in various dockyards throughout the country and he had claimed that the Admiralty paid a higher rate for unskilled labour in their dockyards than was being paid by the great private shipbuilding yards throughout the country. He felt positive that the figures quoted were not reliable, and if the hon. Member would supply him with the list of the wages he had read out he would investigate them. He wished to

know if the Secretary to the Admiralty was prepared to grant the request which had been made in case he was able to show, after investigation, that the rate now being paid to unskilled labour was not an equivalent of what was being paid in private yards? All he asked was that the men should be treated in accordance with the pledge already given by the Government. He based the request which had been made upon what was paid in private yards where Government work was done and the Government were not paying those wages. He would have those figures investigated and he should be very disappointed if he found them correct.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 90; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 74.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E)
Ambrose, Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland.
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Fenwick, Charles
French, Peter
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)

Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr Charles Fredk.
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Joyce, Michael
Kitson, Sir James
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Joseph F (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
London, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mooney, John J.
Moulton John Fletcher
Murphy, John
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Rigg, Richard
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Runciman Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spencer, Rt Hn C.R. (Northants)
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Waldron, Lawrence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk Mid.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York W R.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Captain Norton and Mr. Kearley.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert

Captain Norton.

Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W Leeds
Banbury Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.

Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T Gibson (King's Lynn)

Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V C W. (Derbyshire)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim S.
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley-
 Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
 Denny, Colonel
 Dewar, Sir T R (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants. W.)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Mane'r
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
 Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'r H'mlets
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Gretton, John

Groves, James Grimbale
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nerry
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
 Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh.
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
 Kerr, John
 Kimber, Henry
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monmouth
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. NR.
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
 Loyd, Archie Kirkham
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Montague, G. (Huntingdon)
 Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt Higgins, Frederick

Plummer, Walter R.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seeley, Charles Hilton
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Smith, Able H. (Hertford East
 Smith, H. C. North'mb. Tyneside
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stroyan, John
 Talbot, Lord (Chichester)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburch, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. WHITLEY said he wished to ask a Question in regard to the pay of the police on duty at the dockyards. The amount in this Vote was £46,450, but that was by no means the total. There were items for police in other Votes which brought the total up to at least £84,000 a year. That seemed to him to be a very extravagant sum to pay for the police services at the dockyards. He could not help thinking that there was room for some economy in this matter. He asked the hon. Gentleman to look into this and see whether it was not possible to do with a smaller force.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the hon. Member had raised a point which had already

been anticipated. The present dockyard police force was a branch of the Metropolitan Police, and it was a very expensive and efficient force. This matter had engaged the attention of the Admiralty, and the present arrangements in regard to foreign yards was not considered altogether satisfactory. The whole matter was now under the most careful consideration of the Admiralty, and Sir Charles Havard had visited the dockyards at Gibraltar, Malta and elsewhere. They hoped shortly to receive his Report and to be able to deal with the question.

MR. KEARLEY said a concession was recently made to the Metropolitan Police in the shape of rent-pay where the rent conditions were above the average. That

concession had given great satisfaction to the members of the force. The amount was 1s. 6d. per week. He had asked the Home Secretary whether he would make inquiry as to the rent conditions in Devonport, and if they were found to be as onerous as in London whether a similar concession would be granted. Could the hon. Gentleman give him a satisfactory answer on that point?

CAPTAIN NORTON said that in London the Home Office recognised the fact that in consequence of the increased rentals which the working classes were obliged to pay, it was their duty to give an increase of pay to the constables in the Metropolitan area in the shape of rent-aid. That was 2s. 6d. in the four central districts, 2s. in certain other districts, and 1s. 6d. in the rest of the area. He was anxious to see equal justice dealt out to the members of the Metropolitan Police Force who were on duty in the various dockyard towns.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said he was quite aware that a promise had been made in regard to this matter, and that promise had not been forgotten. By his instructions the Commissioner of Police was making a special inquiry into the conditions at Devonport and other dockyards; and when the report was presented he should give it his most careful consideration. He quite agreed that, if the conditions were the same, similar treatment should be accorded to all the members of the force, whether they were employed at Devonport or any other place.

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,062,800, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of the *Matériel* for Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc., including the cost of Establishments of Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said they were spending large sums of money, and
Mr. Kearley.

rapidly increasing sums, on the construction of submarine boats, and very little information had been given to the House—ininitely less information than in regard to any other class of ship-building. He should be the last person to desire to check this expenditure, or to ask for information which it was necessary to keep secret. But he had very great doubt whether it was necessary to keep the designs of submarines secret to the extent to which they had been kept secret up to the present time. Information on the subject was freely given at the dockyards to Members of the House, and to foreign naval attachés, and designs and photographs were freely published in the engineering newspapers. There was a considerable body of information as to the lines on which improvements in submarines were proceeding; but there was an official secrecy, so far as the House was concerned, which was unnecessary. He appealed to the Admiralty to give the House such information as they could reasonably be expected to afford. A special reason for that appeal was supplied by the unfortunate accident of which they were all aware. A most absurd description of what happened had appeared in the newspapers. Anyone who knew anything about submarine construction was aware that that story must be untrue. It was quite clear that the men were drowned at once. The fact that these stories could get about and obtain credence, showed that there was some necessity for reassuring the country and the House by giving all the information as to the construction of submarines that could reasonably be given.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that although he entirely approved of the Admiralty making experiments with submarines, he did not think they should go on with a very largely increased expenditure on submarine construction. The sphere of action of these boats was limited. He had no doubt of the courage and resource of the men employed in the submarines. Some of them were the best men in the Navy. A very large amount of experience had already been gained by the Admiralty which should enable them to come to something like a settled policy in regard to submarines. His own impression was that the use of submarines

for a great naval country like this was altogether doubtful; their sphere of action was so restricted, and the difficulty of their management was so great. There was an enormous danger connected with submarines when they were manoeuvring in a fairway, as was the case in the deplorable accident which had recently taken place. He was sure the Admiralty would feel it to be their duty to protect the men in these boats from vessels using the fairway without being aware that there were submarines in the vicinity. He was unable to see that submarines would be of any great value to a great naval country, and he thought the defence of our ports should be secured by over-water boats. He hoped the Admiralty would give the House some assurance that they had information not possessed by the House which justified their belief that they were right in continuing the construction of submarines.

THE EARL OF DALKEITH (Roxburgh) said he thought that the large item for coal should appear under some other heading than that of shipbuilding.

***MR. PRETYMAN** said that the point raised by the right hon. Baronet as to submarines was a very important one. He hoped the Committee would allow him to defer giving any detailed information until Section 3 of this Vote came under discussion. With regard to the unfortunate rumour to which the right hon. Baronet had referred, these boats or submarines immersed themselves not dynamically, not by their own weight, and could only be submerged by their own motion. Supposing any accident which only stopped the engines and did not admit large quantities of water immediately, the submarine would automatically rise to the surface. If she sank, and water rushed in rapidly, there would be no possibility of life on board. The original type of submarine cost about £35,000. The type which was now being constructed cost from £40,000 to £42,000, all told. There were some modifications now being made in the engines which might slightly increase the cost, but he thought they might assume that, roughly speaking, the cost of a submarine was about £40,000. With regard to the observations of his hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn, he would say that the experience which

had been gained by those officers who had devoted themselves to this submarine work, and had shown such skill and gallantry, very much encouraged them to believe in the weapon they were using. At the same time those who had been opposing submarines were equally encouraged to believe that their opposition would be successful. It was not yet possible really to form a true opinion as to what the value of the submarine would eventually prove to be in war. The question was still experimental, and he thought the Admiralty might, to some extent, congratulate themselves that they were criticised from both points of view—first, that they were not building a sufficient number of submarines; and, secondly, that they were building too many. The Admiralty were building only half the number that France was building at the present moment, so that they were certainly not taking the lead. That was really due to the fact that the position of the submarine in war was not yet absolutely defined. But it was a weapon so far developed that it could not be left out of account. It would certainly be used, and he did not think, in view of the commitments and naval necessities of the country, the Admiralty would be safe in making a smaller provision than they were now asking the Committee to sanction. That was the position of the Admiralty. As to the coaling boats which were referred to by his noble friend his information was that the coal was used for dockyard purposes as well as for the Fleet. Of course, the item could be put under a separate Vote but that would involve a very considerable increase in the accounting work at the Admiralty. It was really a matter for the Committee to decide whether the charge should be a separate Vote or remain under a separate sub-head as it was at present. A separate Vote would, however, involve an increased cost without any equivalent advantage.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he quite concurred with the hon. Gentleman regarding the propriety of postponing the discussion of the submarine question. With reference to the terrible accident to Submarine A1 he had deliberately refrained from discussing it at that stage because he understood the matter would

be the subject of inquiry by the proper authorities. Question put.

*MR. PRETYMAN : Hear, hear!

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 210; Noes, 39. (Division List No. 75.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manchester)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Rigwood, James
 Black, Alexander William
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Boulnois, Edmund
 Bousfield, William Robert
 Bowles, Lt.-Col. H.F. (Middlesex)
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Bull, William James
 Burt, Thomas
 Butcher, John George
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. J.A. (Glasgow)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dewar, Sir T.R. (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Elibank, Master of
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Emmott, Alfred
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Fenwick, Charles

Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manchester)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayce
 Fitzgerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hon. S.F. Ormsby- (Linc.)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of (London & Nderry)
 Harcourt, Louis V. (Rosendale)
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Harwood, George
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.)
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.)
 Kerr, John
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Kitson, Sir James
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monmouth)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Lege, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leng, Sir John
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol, S.)

Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Pretyma, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Rigg, Richard
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Rollet, Sir Albert Kaye
 Runciman, Walter
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
 Smith, H.C. (Northumb. Tyneside)
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Troyan, John
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C.E.H. (Sheffield)

Mr. Edmund Robertson.

Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)

Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcester, N.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Ambrose, Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Campbell, John, (Armagh S.)
Crean, Eugene
Doogan, P. C.
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
French, Peter
Griffith, Ellis J.

Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
Joyce, Michael
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Levy, Maurice
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McHugh, Patrick A.
Mooney, John, J.
Murphy, John
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)

O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Shackleton, David James
Sullivan, Donal
Waldron, Lawrence Ambrose
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Captain Donelan and Mr.
Patrick O'Brien.

4. £2,428,000, Victualling and Clothing for the Navy.

MR. KEARLEY pointed out that when this Vote was last under discussion he had called attention to the policy of the Government in manufacturing their own stores. The then representative of the Admiralty received his representations in a very friendly spirit, and promised a full investigation of the matter. He would now be glad to know the decision at which they had arrived as to the continuance of the manufacture of flour, oatmeal, etc. On the last occasion he had proved that both the flour and oatmeal were bad and the men would not take them up, and had shown that a better article could be produced by our leading millers at a cheaper rate. He understood it was the intention of the Government to cease the manufacture of these articles, but he would be glad to know what they proposed to do in the future with regard to the manufacture of biscuits. The cost to the Admiralty of manufacturing biscuits was 16s. for 100 lbs. and the same article could be manufactured by outside manufacturers at 40 per cent. less, and such a thing surely required reconsideration. He again desired to draw attention to the question of the canteen system on board ship. It must be remembered that the saving to the men out of the Victualling

Vote, by reason of their not taking up their full rations, but taking money in lieu thereof, was £548,000. A very large proportion of that money, if not the whole, was spent in the canteen. The canteens on board ship were not worked or carried on by the Government but by some irresponsible individual who was allowed to find a location on board, or by a committee of the lower deck which had its own idea of prices. His complaint against the canteen was that it was corrupt; the whole of its conduct was dependent on "squaring," and the result of the payment of so many commissions was that most exorbitant prices had to be charged to the men using the canteen for inferior articles. Such a scandal, he contended, ought not to be allowed to go on. Common sense ought to override naval prejudice, and the Government itself ought to be responsible for these canteens. The Admiralty should take over the whole business and be their own buyers and sellers, and in return they would be able to give to the seamen wholesome articles at the lowest prices. As to the question of naval victualling generally, the Admiralty appeared to have on the brain the victualling of the Fleet in time of war. Their idea was that if war broke out it would be impossible to obtain any provisions whatever from shore, and on that assumption they proceeded to lay down in the

victualling yards reserves of provisions sufficient to feed every man of the Fleet, every man in the Reserves, the whole of the Coastguards, the whole of the Naval Reserves, and the whole of the Victualling Establishment, with the result that provisions accumulated until they became positively ancient. According to the Report of the Committee of two years ago, the Admiralty had in stock beef thirty years old.

***MR. PRETYMAN** reminded the hon. Member that that referred to the condition of affairs two or three years ago.

MR. KEARLEY was glad to understand from the interruption that that state of things had been altered. Such a system was wasteful in the extreme; it entailed bad food, and it was altogether out of date. If the Navy was able to maintain its command of the sea—and that was the sole object of all this expenditure—none of the contingencies against which this reserve of food was directed would arise. Undoubtedly some reserve ought to be kept, but to lay in supplies for ten times the number of men who had to consume them was an ancient custom which ought to be abolished.

***MR. PRETYMAN** said that this question, which had been raised by the hon. Member on several previous occasions, had been carefully considered by the Admiralty. The description of two years ago could not be applied to the state of affairs to-day. It had been decided to cease the manufacture of oatmeal, salt, suet, and flour, but not of biscuits. The hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that the cost of manufacturing biscuits in the yards was greater than the cost at which they could be obtained from private manufacturers. The actual cost in the victualling yards, including direct and indirect charges, but excluding any charge for buildings, was 11s. 8d.

MR. KEARLEY said the cost was 16s. 1d. according to the Admiralty's own victualling accounts.

***MR. PRETYMAN** said that according to the figures worked out, the cost was

Mr. Kearley.

11s. 8d. at against 13s. 10d., the price for which a similar article could be obtained from private traders. These biscuits were not a trade article in general use, but they would be very necessary in time of war, and the introduction and possible development of bread-making plant in the new ships would not enable them to be dispensed with. The taunt that the Admiralty had the victualling of the Fleet in time of war on the brain was really the greatest compliment that could be paid to the Board, because the whole purpose of the Department and of the Fleet was preparation for war, and if the Admiralty laid their plans without reference to what would happen when the word "mobilise" flashed over the wires, they would be failing in their primary duty. Subject to that governing factor the criticisms of the hon. Member were deserving of, and had received, the careful attention of the Department, with the result that the manufacture of the three articles he had mentioned had been discontinued, and arrangements had been made by which private manufacturers undertook to keep in the trade a certain quantity of various provisions so that the Admiralty, while reducing their own stock, were still able to have at their disposal a quantity of meat which would be available in the event of the outbreak of war. Under the revised scale the preserved meat stocks would be turned over on an average in from two and a half to three years, and efforts were being made to reduce the period still further. The same remark applied to other kinds of stores. In regard to canteens, perhaps the men would derive some advantage in regard to the cost if the Admiralty supplied them with the various articles they required, but the men claimed the right to spend their own money exactly as they liked, and for the Admiralty to provide a general store under these circumstances would be going beyond what any Government ought to undertake. Although no doubt the criticism of the hon. Member opposite as to the high prices charged and the mismanagement of certain canteens was justified, still he thought he had drawn from them a very much too wide deduction. There were many canteens which were admirably managed, and he thought the Committee would agree with him

when he said that the general spirit of Englishmen was that they preferred to mismanage their own affairs rather than have them well managed for them by other people. The men liked to spend their own money in their own way. What the Admiralty could do was, as far as possible, to supervise the management of those canteens under a commissioned officer of the ship, and regulations had been issued drawing attention to this point, and directing that the canteen should be most thoroughly supervised and regulated in this way. While allowing the men to spend their own money as they liked, he thought this provision would minimise the evils which had been complained of.

MR. WHITLEY drew attention to the continued increase in the Vote itself. The Vote showed an increase of £135,000, and this came on the top of an increase of £260,000 last year, so that in two years this Vote had increased by £400,000, or more than 20 per cent. There were several extraordinary increases, about which he should like some explanation. The cost of rations to Royal Marines on shore had increased 150 per cent., and there was an increase of 100 per cent. on item K. Item M had also increased by £52,900. He understood that the increase in item G was due to the continuation of the improved feeding of the sailors which was sanctioned last year. He was sure they would all be in favour of that, and he did not desire to criticise it, but he should like to know whether this year's Estimate included the whole cost of the new arrangement in regard to the feeding of sailors. There was another important question in regard to payments for provisions not taken up, and he could not understand the continual increase in that item. There was a sum of £1,315,000 for provisions, and the next item was a sum of over £500,000 for provisions not taken up. He could not help thinking that there was something in this system which left an opening for a considerable reduction in expenditure. Why there should be such a large increase in the amount for seamen's clothing, soap, and tobacco he could not understand, because the cost of those articles had not gone up. He hoped the hon. Member would be able to give them some assurance that they were not to look forward

annually to such large increases, and that he might see his way next year to present them with that unusual thing, namely, a decrease in the Estimates.

* MR. PRETYMAN said the first cause in the general increase in the Estimates was the increase in the number of men by 3,000. There was in every case a particular reason for the special increase. The increase in the provisions for Marines was due to the decision that Marines on shore were to receive a free ration which they had not hitherto had. As to savings the men could take money instead of the rations, but he wished to point out that the money taken up as savings was an exact equivalent of the cost of the rations, and it did not affect the total, and there was no direct extra cost at all due to that system. He agreed that this system made it difficult to judge the stock they would require, but the system had existed for 100 years and it was one to which the men attached enormous value. Consequently the Admiralty did not see any reason why they should make a change. With regard to the increase in the cost of clothes this was due to the increase made in the Reserve.

MR. WHITLEY asked if it was open to a sailor to say that he would not take any dinner, but take the money instead. What we required in our sailors was health and strength. He could not agree with the hon. Gentleman that the present system was one which was desirable from the point of view of the taxpayer, whatever it might be from the point of view of the sailor. It seemed to him that it would in many ways lead to extravagance. There was, in this matter, an opening for a considerable amount of reform in the interest not only of the sailors but also of those who had to find the money. He asked the hon. Gentleman to consider whether it was not possible to make a change in the system which would remove the present temptation to extravagance.

Vote agreed to.

5. £293,000, Medical Establishments and Services.

6. £15,500, Martial Law, etc.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £154,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of Educational Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

7. £72,600, Scientific Services.

8. £404,500, Royal Naval Reserves.

9. £444,000, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

10. £796,200, Half-Pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,208,800, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

11. £353,300, Civil Pensions and Gratuities.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow; Committee to sit again To-morrow.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington), in moving the adjournment of the House, said that the business for to-morrow would be—first, the moving by the Secretary for India of the Resolution relating to the Tibet political mission; next the Army Annual Bill; and third, the Penal Servitude Bill. On Thursday the Army Estimates would be taken. The War Office Vote in Committee of Supply, in deference to the general desire of the House, would not be taken; but Votes 9 and 10 and other Votes would be proceeded with.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(Sir A. Acland-Hood.)

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON asked when the Licensing Bill would be brought in.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD said it would be preferable to defer any statement as to the Licensing Bill until to-morrow.

* SIR CHARLES DILKE expressed the hope that the Army Annual Bill would not be taken after eleven o'clock.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD said there was no desire to take it at an inconvenient hour. Whether the discussion was taken on the Second Reading or on the Committee stage of the Bill, it would be taken at a time to suit the convenience of the House.

* SIR CHARLES DILKE said it would be impossible to take the general discussion on the Committee stage, because that stage on this Bill was frittered away in matters of detail.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD said it would be possible to make arrangements to take the discussion at a convenient hour.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could now give the terms of the Motion to be proposed to-morrow with regard to the Tibet mission.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford,) said that the terms of the Resolution he would move were as follows—

"That this House consents to the revenues of India being applied to defray the expenses of any military operations which may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian possessions for the purpose of protecting the political mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government."

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twelve minutes after Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 13th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S INDISPOSITION.

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER, owing to indisposition; Whereupon Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy-Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London and North Western Railway Bill. As amended, to be considered to-morrow.

Midland Railway Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2). Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Brixham, Coventry, Liverpool, Ripon, and Southwark, and the Bromley and Beckenham Joint Hospital District, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long.

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law). Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Stourbridge Union, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. "To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Brixham, Coventry, Liverpool, Ripon, and Southwark, and the Bromley and Beckenham Joint Hospital District," presented, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 149.]

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Board relating to the Stourbridge Union," presented, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 150.]

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS informed the House that the Committee on Group F of Private Bills not being appointed to meet until Thursday, 14th April, the parties opposing the Thames River Steamboat Service Bill had appeared before him and proved that the evidence of Colonel R. T. H. Law, Royal Engineers, and Captain R. Owen, Mercantile Marine, was essential to their case, and that their attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House.

Ordered, That Colonel R. T. H. Law and Captain R. Owen do attend the Committee on Group F of Private Bills on Thursday, 14th April, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

CANAL TRAFFIC BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

FALSE STATEMENTS (COMPANIES) BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

D

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.

Petition from Aberdare, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alterations of Law: from Faringdon; Chelsea; Baillieston; Pontypool; Barton-upon-Irwell; Weston; Eccles (three); Crumlin; Wandsworth; Darwen; Worsley; Northampton; Leyton; Radstock; Battersea; Bolton; Kinross; Aspull; Penzance; Dollar; Denholme; Cowbridge; Cardiff; Brithdir (three); Barmouth; Hatherleigh; Buckie; and Grays; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH) BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY COUNCILS) BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, against; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against: from Waltham Cross; Stamford; Romford; Woolwich; and Plumstead; to lie upon the Table.

TRADES UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, against; to lie upon the Table.

TRADES UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES (No. 2) BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, against; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Wandsworth, against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ALIENS.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 15th March; *Mr. Cochrane*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 124.]

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, altering certain Polling Districts in the Clitheroe and Westhoughton Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Hertford altering certain Polling Districts in the Western or Watford Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BRITISH COTTON CULTIVATION.

Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on Cotton Cultivation in the British Empire and in Egypt, by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Medical Attendance on Paupers in the Highlands.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will say what system, if any, is adopted by parish councils in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to acquaint the medical officers of the sickness of paupers, more especially those situated at a considerable distance from his residence; are the rules as to medical relief of the poor strictly adhered to by parish councils in remote parishes in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or are these local bodies permitted by the Local Government Board to place limitations on them to suit the convenience of the general public, and, if so, will the

Board take steps to satisfy themselves that a laxity with regard to their rules is to the advantage of the paupers; are the medical officers required to visit the houses of paupers throughout the parish at short intervals to ascertain if the paupers are ill, or is it the duty of inspectors of poor to intimate to the medical officers when the paupers are requiring medical or surgical attention.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) The matters touched upon in the Question of the hon. Member are dealt with in the Report (already submitted to the House) of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland to inquire into the system of poor law medical relief, etc. That Report will shortly be available and I beg to refer the hon. Member to the recommendations contained in it.

Accommodation for Convalescent Officers at Osborne.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury how many convalescent military and naval officers respectively are now accommodated at Osborne; and for how many in all is accommodation provided.

(Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.) Fifteen convalescent military officers are now accommodated at Osborne. Two of them are accompanied by their wives. There are not as yet any naval officers at Osborne. The accommodation provided is for thirty-eight unmarried officers, and for five married officers accompanied by their wives.

Official History of the South African War.

MR. ELLIOT (Durham): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury what arrangements have been made, if any, for the completion of the Official History of the South African War, begun by the late Colonel Henderson.

(Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.) The Official History of the South African War is being compiled by Major-General Sir T. F. Maurice, with the assistance of a staff of officers. It is hoped that the work will be completed within three years' time.

Deaths from Plague in India Bombay, and Bengal.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary of State for India, whether he can give the number of deaths from plague in India and the Bombay and Bengal districts respectively for the four weeks ending 26th March.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) Except as regards the Bombay Presidency, the returns of plague deaths in India received up to to-day do not go beyond the week ended 19th March. The totals for the three weeks ended on that date are 13,187 for Bengal, 24,390 for the Bombay Presidency, and 102,962 for the whole of India, including the above. The number of plague deaths in the Bombay Presidency alone during the month of March was 35,416.

Irish Magistrates—Case of Dr. Tierney.

MR. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN (Kent, Tunbridge): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the action of Dr. Tierney, J.P., in adjudicating at Petty Sessions at Clones in cases where he had already acted as medical adviser to, and had accepted fees from, one of the parties; whether a specific case was brought before the Lord Chancellor on 2nd January last; and, if so, whether any notice has been taken of Dr. Tierney's conduct.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) This case was brought to the notice of the Lord Chancellor, who, upon consideration of all the circumstances, arrived at the conclusion that official action in the matter was not called for. Steps were taken, however, to convey to the Justice named an intimation that the Lord Chancellor considered he had been guilty of an error of judgment in adjudicating in the case in question.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Courts-Martial—Powers of Judge Advocate-General.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state whether, at present, the

quashing by the Judge Advocate-General on behalf of His Majesty of convictions by Courts-martial is obligatory upon military authorities and is final; and whether, under the proposal of the War Office Committee that a Judge Advocate should report to the Army Council, it will be competent to the Council to reject or disregard such report either wholly or in part; and whether the opinion of the present Judge Advocate-General has been, or will be, taken before the Report of the Committee is adopted as to the expediency of depriving soldiers of the legal protection afforded by the supervision of the administration of military law by a competent judicial authority independent of military and War Office control.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The quashing of the proceedings of a Court-martial by the Judge Advocate-General is at present final and obligatory on the military authorities. As the whole subject is receiving careful consideration, I am not now in a position to reply to the rest of the Question; but the views of the Judge Advocate-General will naturally be sought.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has the present Judge Advocate-General been consulted?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have been in communication with him.

South African War Rewards.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will ascertain if all Lord Kitchener's recommendations of rewards for services rendered in the South African War have been carried out; and, if not, whether he is prepared to give effect to the same.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: As far as I am aware all Lord Kitchener's recommendations with regard to rewards for services in the South African War have been carried out.

Chinese Labour in the Transvaal— Religious Observances.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether arrangements have

been made to provide for the Chinese indentured labourers during their stay in the Transvaal the ministrations of the priests of their religion and the due celebration of the ceremonial rites of that religion; and, if so, what is the nature of these arrangements and on whom will the expense necessary thereto fall; whether arrangements have been made for the proper observance in Chinese temples of the Chinese festivals of the New Year, the Dragon Boat, the Full Moon, or the Winter Solstice, which, under the provisions of the Ordinance, are declared to be holidays; and will suitable Chinese temples be erected in the compounds; and whether any, and, if so, what, provision has been made to secure that on the voyage between China and South Africa the Chinese indentured labourers shall have the means of celebrating their religious rites, and at whose expense will their idols be provided.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTLETON, Warwick and Leamington): With every desire to assist the hon. Member in his somewhat technical inquiry, I am not in a position as yet to add anything to my previous answer to this Question.†

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: But the right hon. Gentleman promised to procure the information.

MR. LYTTLETON: I promised to do so if the hon. Gentleman continued to take a very keen interest in Chinese ritual.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I do.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): In case of the provision of idols, will the right hon. Gentleman undertake that they shall be made in Birmingham?

[No answer was returned.]

Child Labour in Mines.

MR. FENWICK [(Northumberland, Wansbeck): On behalf of the hon. Member for Gateshead I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, having regard to Sections

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxii., 834.

3 and 9 of The Employment of Children Act, 1903, and the powers of variation by the inspectors of mines, he will state to what extent the inspectors can vary the provisions set forth in Section 3; and whether the hours therein mentioned can be changed to any other of the same duration.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I am advised that the inspectors of mines have no power under the Act in question to vary the hours during which the employment of children under fourteen is prohibited by Section 3. Nor can those hours be varied by any other authority in respect of employment in pursuance of the Mines Regulation Act.

Limerick Postal Staff.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that out of a staff of six officers employed in the postmaster inquiry office in Limerick three hold superior appointments, he will increase the superior appointments in the same proportion in the telegraph and sorting departments at that office.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The officers referred to by the hon. Member act as the personal assistants of the postmaster for all classes of work, and include the chief clerk, who is practically the deputy postmaster. They are in no sense limited to the work of inquiry. I have made inquiry as to the requirements of the office, and there appears to be no necessity at present for increasing the number of superior appointments.

Limerick Telegraphists.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why several telegraphists at Limerick who do duty on the postal side are invariably employed on minor duties in the sorting office; and whether he will arrange that these officers are afforded an opportunity of qualifying in counter and other duties, and of joining in the general rotation of duties.

LORD STANLEY: The officers referred to have been employed on such postal duties as they had qualified themselves to perform. The postmaster has been instructed to give them full opportunities to prove their willingness and ability to perform higher duties in turn with others.

Irish Estates Commissioners' Returns.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the promised six-monthly Return of the Estates Commissioners will contain particulars with reference to each county, giving the names of landlords and tenants, number of years purchase, and other details in each case.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The Return will give full information, by counties, in respect of estates sold; the number of tenants to whom advances have been made, distinguishing between judicial and non-judicial tenancies; the average percentages of reduction in each class; the average amounts advanced in terms of years purchase; and other particulars.

Evicted Tenants in Queen's County.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state how many applications have been received by the Estates Commissioners from evicted tenants in the Ossory Division (Queen's County), giving the names of landlords and tenants; and also details of the steps, if any, which have been taken for their reinstatement.

MR. WYNDHAM: Two such applications have been received and will be duly considered. The names of the parties have been communicated to the hon. Member.

War and Finance.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the bearing of the existing financial system of the country on efficient warlike preparation in times of crisis, and to

report whether, by the establishment of a money reserve or otherwise, any changes in that system are desirable.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have considered the question to which my hon. friend called my attention before the recess. I think I can convince him that nothing could be gained by the appointment of the Committee which he suggests. Perhaps my hon. friend will communicate with me, and if he is not satisfied with my answer privately he can then put another Question publicly.

Marine Insurance Bill.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will say when the Marine Insurance Bill will be re-introduced.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This Bill will, I hope, be introduced, either in this House or the other, at an early date, but at present I cannot fix a day.

Regulations for Foreign Ships

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state when it is proposed to proceed with the Motion standing in the name of the President of the Board of Trade for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire as to the application of British statutory requirements to foreign ships trading to and from ports in the United Kingdom.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am very anxious that this Committee should be appointed, but, as my hon. friend is aware, no opportunity has presented itself for doing so. I hope some evening I may be able to move the necessary Motion and to set the Committee to work.

Health of the Army.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): On behalf of the hon. Member for the University of London, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether opportunity will be given to discuss in the House, before action is taken, the portion of the Report of the War Office (Re-constitution) Com-

mittee which bears on the health of the Army.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Army Medical Vote is down for to-morrow and it might be possible to discuss this matter on it. I only throw that out as a suggestion.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I understood that the right hon. Gentleman had promised us distinctly a direct opportunity of debating this question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich): I desire to ask when the Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill will be taken for the Second Reading.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am anxious to proceed with the Bill. On its merits no opposition is offered to it, and it is desirable that it should be passed, but I cannot promise to fix a day for the Second Reading.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): What will be the course of business to-morrow, and when is it proposed to take the Licensing Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not propose to take the War Office Vote to-morrow. Votes for warlike stores and buildings will be taken first, and the other Votes to be taken in their order will be 10, 2 (Medical), 6 (Transport), 7 (Provisions and Forage), and 8 (Clothing). Votes 14, 15, and 16, which are non-effective Votes, will also be taken. If the preliminary stages of the Budget can be disposed of on Tuesday next, I shall propose to take the Licensing Bill on Wednesday.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): In one sitting?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I should have thought that sufficient for the introduction of the Bill.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

John Edward Bernard Seely, esquire, for the County of the Isle of Wight.

STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL).

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON reported from the Chairmen's Panel, That they had appointed Mr. Laurence Hardy to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, in the place of Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice; and Mr. Stuart Wortley to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, in the place of Sir Thomas Esmonde. Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILL.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TREASURY POWERS) BILL.

"To transfer to the Local Government Board the Powers of the Treasury under enactments relating to Local Authorities," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; supported by Mr. Grant Lawson; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 151.]

EAST INDIAN REVENUES (TIBET).

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I rise to move "That this House consents to the revenue of India being applied to defray the expenses of any military operations which may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian possessions for the purpose of protecting the Political Mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government." I rise to move the Motion standing in my name in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1858, which provides that "Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden or urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the sanction of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues." In some quarters the question has been addressed

to us, why, when this Mission, which is now in Tibet accompanied by an armed force, was first despatched from India, His Majesty's Government did not come to Parliament and ask under the statute for the authorisation to be given by this Motion. We carefully investigated that subject, and, under legal advice, we found that no such authorisation was necessary for the despatch of a Mission accompanied by an armed protecting force. I think it is obvious on the face of it that that decision will commend itself to laymen as well as to lawyers; for everyone who is aware of the circumstances of a region such as Tibet, or Bhutan, or any other place on the confines of our Indian possessions, knows that, when a Mission for conducting negotiations or for the demarcation of a boundary is sent out by the Indian Government, it is almost invariably accompanied by an armed force for protection in a region where protection could not otherwise be afforded. There is a precedent for such action even in the case of the suzerain Power; for the delegate of China, whose journey in our opinion, has been unduly prolonged, has been accompanied throughout, we understand, by an armed escort to ensure his safety in a country the suzerain of which he is the representative of. If there was no legal necessity for our asking for such support from Parliament, there was every reason from the point of view of Imperial politics why such a demand should not be made. To ask for authority to carry on military operations in a country in which we had had no desire to carry on any military operations, in support of a Mission which was above all things a peaceful Mission designed solely to secure peaceful intercourse between Tibet and those States for whose relations on the borders of Tibet we are responsible, a Mission which was to take no hostile action, a Mission which was to proceed with a view solely to negotiations—I say to ask for sanction to carry on military operations in such a case would have been to change the whole character of the Mission and to excite those very fears which we were most desirous to allay. The whole situation has recently been changed. The encounter which took place at Guru, on 31st March, on the day after Parliament

adjourned for the Easter recess, has changed the whole position and has undoubtedly brought about, to a limited extent, those military operations for which we are bound to ask the sanction of Parliament. We may all regret that it should have been necessary for the Indian troops, acting as they did under great provocation, to shed blood on that occasion. Whether it was right to send troops in support of the Mission, or whether it was right to send the Mission at all, are questions which we may discuss. But it must have been clearly understood by all those who read the telegrams that, under the circumstances of the attack by a large body of Tibetans, unless our own troops had used the arms that were in their hands there would have been no alternative to the entire annihilation of the Mission.

Those of us who have most desired to maintain throughout the peaceful character of the Mission can hardly have failed to be impressed both by the statements in the Blue-book and the accounts of the attitude of the Tibetan Government, between whom and the Tibetan people I venture to draw a wide distinction, in respect of the vehement feeling against foreigners, or at all events against the Indian representatives, by the Lamas of Lhasa, and the ignorance which was shown of the Power with which they had to deal. Unless some encounter which proved the superiority of modern arms took place, the indisposition to enter into negotiations, which has prevailed unfortunately for many years past, would have remained. I make that remark because I have it in my power to make an announcement to the House as to the present situation which will show that, lamentable though the loss of life on 31st March may seem, and undesirable as it was that there should have been any encounter at all, the result of that encounter has been that the further progress of the Mission has not been hindered, and that it has attained the goal which it desired to attain. I received an hour or two ago from the Viceroy the following telegram from Colonel Younghusband, who is himself at Chalu, dated 13th April—

“Gyangtse, 11th, by Chinese courier. General Macdonald has brought Mission here without the loss of a single man. Tibetans

who opposed us highly demoralised. This valley is covered with well-built hamlets; cultivation everywhere, numerous trees. Inhabitants mostly fled, but few who remain say this is on account of heavy demands of their own Government. News just arrived that Tibetans are fleeing from fort. Two Tibetan generals have left. Chinese delegate Ma has come in. Ma says Amban will come as soon as he can arrange with Dalai Lama, and four Tibetan delegates, of unknown position, are on their way. Jongpen is in great fear, and will doubtless surrender fort to-morrow.”

I think that telegram will be satisfactory to the House. As the result of previous events the Mission has reached the point to which the Government determined to send it in November last without further opposition; and what is of still greater importance is that the Chinese Amban, who has hitherto been so dilatory, is himself to meet the Mission, and the Dalai Lama is sending four Tibetan representatives to meet Colonel Younghusband and to carry on the negotiations.

¶ Such being the present position, I presume that the House will wish me to lay before them in some little detail the reasons for sending the Mission to Tibet. Those reasons are detailed in the Blue-book, which covers the negotiations with Tibet through a long series of years. The despatch of this Mission was not the sudden act of an impatient Government or of an aggressive Viceroy. For fifteen years past the difficulties with the Tibetan Government have been increasing. It is certainly an anachronism that we should have within 300 miles of British India the capital of a State which not only refuses us political relations and trading facilities, but with whom no written communications are possible on the subjects which must arise between neighbouring States on frontier and other questions. Such a condition of things is practically unknown anywhere in the civilised world; and we have exhausted every effort with the suzerain Power to obtain a settlement of the questions which have inevitably arisen between the two Governments. The Blue-book shows that the history of this question since 1890 is one in which for fourteen years the Indian Government have been endeavouring to arrive at a settlement of subjects which they could not neglect, and in which the Tibetan Government have attempted to circumscribe their relations

Mr. Brodrick.

with the Indian Government, while at the same time they have been attempting to open relations with another Power at a much greater distance. In 1890 there was concluded between Her late Majesty's Government and the suzerain Power a convention which laid down the boundaries between Sikkim and Tibet. That convention has been constantly violated by the Tibetans. Up to two years ago the Tibetans were in possession of, and were using as pasture, ground in the neighbourhood of Giongong, which was a recognised corner of Sikkim and was within the line of demarcation laid down by the Convention of 1890, to which the Tibetan Government, through the suzerain Power, were parties. The Indian Government endeavoured, with all the regard for the Tibetan Government which could be shown to any European Power, to arrange with them for the erection of pillars so that the boundary might be clearly defined and the opportunities of dispute reduced. But the Tibetan Government were unwilling to allow their officers to co-operate with our officers for that purpose, and when we had set up the pillars they were knocked down, even in the most unfrequented places, obviously by preconcerted action. In 1893 the Indian Government, during, I think, Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty, came to an agreement with the Tibetan Government on the question of trade. Free trade was practically established between India and Tibet except with regard to certain articles. A trade mart was agreed upon at Yatung, with free passage for our subjects to that mart. In addition to that, arrangements were made as to trade disputes. All those provisions were flagrantly violated by the Tibetans.

I cannot help calling as witness a gentleman whose name has been a good deal before the public in connection with the Tibetan question during the last few weeks—I mean Sir Henry Cotton. Sir Henry Cotton has written with great knowledge and with great resource on this subject, but with an entire want of sympathy, apparently, with the objects of the Viceroy and the Government of India. Sir Henry Cotton, when this commercial treaty was agreed upon, was Chief Secretary to the Govern-

ment of Bengal; and I find that on 25th June, 1894, he was the signatory of a very important despatch which is found in the Blue-book, and in which he points out that, although free trade as between Tibet and India had been guaranteed by the convention, the Tibetans had levied a 10 per cent. *ad valorem* tax—[OPPOSITION cheers]—I am glad to find that that fact is received with so much sympathy from the other side of the House, and that the Indian Government, which has hitherto been a free-trade Government in the efforts which they are making to prevent the door from being shut upon them, will have, at all events, the sympathy, if they do not have the support, of Members on the other side. But this 10 per cent. tax was not enough for the Tibetan Government. They went further and drew a cordon which prevented all Tibetan merchants passing through Phari. Consequently, as no Tibetan merchant could have reached Yatung, they might have spared themselves the trouble of putting on the tax. Sir Henry Cotton, in very pregnant language, points out that this was inconsistent with the terms of the treaty and was a matter for very serious consideration. Trade facilities are important, trade facilities are exceedingly desirable, for without them the whole of the long stretch of the northern frontier of India is closed to natural intercourse and commerce with foreign Powers. But, as a matter of sentiment, of feeling, and of authority, the next point in which the Tibetans violated the treaty is still more important. The privilege of entering the Chumbi Valley had been enjoyed by the inhabitants of Sikkim for many hundreds of years. No difficulties had been placed in their way in free intercourse with their neighbours in the Chumbi Valley. That has been arrested by the Tibetan Government, no one being allowed to enter the Chumbi Valley from Sikkim. That, again, Sir Henry Cotton characterises as a very serious matter in his despatch of 25th June, 1894. And no wonder, because to the people of Sikkim the effect of coming under the protection of Great Britain had been that they were debarred from privileges in regard to association and trade with their neighbours which they had enjoyed for many hundreds of years. I see that

in some of Sir Henry Cotton's writings now he finds fault with the Viceroy for ignoring the Chinese Government and going straight to the Tibetans themselves by letters to the Dalai Lama. But in this very despatch the Government of India is urged to consider the weakness of the Chinese authority in Tibet, and in a subsequent letter it is laid down under the authority of Sir Henry Cotton that Mr. White, who was then demarcating the frontier, should proceed to do so without regard to the Chinese representative. Therefore, although all weight should be given to the opinion of a distinguished public servant, we must realise that, so long as he was the man on the spot, the man who is now frequently engaged in impugning the action of the Viceroy—he was the man, perhaps, of all others, who was most engaged in calling the attention of the Government of India to the serious nature of the position at which matters had arrived.

What has happened since then? Very nearly ten years have passed, and I do not think it can be urged that during those ten years the Government of India and the Government of this country have shown anything but a desire for patient consideration and conciliation in their treatment of Tibet. During all this time no arrangement has been made for trade facilities, and the treaty has been rendered nugatory by the Tibetans. The Convention of 1890 has remained violated, the boundary pillars have been knocked down, and our protected subjects in Sikkim have been excluded from rights which they had previously enjoyed. The present Viceroy has made attempt after attempt to bring home to the Dalai Lama the serious nature of the complaints which we have to make. By letters, which have been returned, by invitations to negotiate, by every means which the representative of one State could bring to bear on the representative of another State, attempts have been made to secure some peaceful solution of this difficulty. But while the Tibetan Government, by ignoring their treaty obligations with us, by encroaching on our territory, thwarting our trade, destroying our pillars, and refusing to negotiate with regard to any one of these questions, were showing themselves more

difficult than they had ever been in regard to their neighbours, at that very time a deputation from the Dalai Lama was sent to St. Petersburg on a so-called religious mission, to which, it was perfectly clear from the statements in the Blue-book, the Tibetans attached very considerable political significance. I wish to deal as delicately as possible with this question, as it affects the relations between Great Britain and Russia. The whole subject was threshed out between Count Benckendorff and Lord Lansdowne, and the result is shown in the Blue-book. The representations which were first made by the Russian Government as to their interests in Tibet were subsequently placed in a different light, and assurances, which were regarded as satisfactory by His Majesty's Government, were received from the Russian Government with regard to their action in that country. We, on the other hand, put clearly before the Russian Government the limits which we had assigned to the action of the Government of India in Tibet.

I would have the House realise this question as regards the influence of the Russian Government. Lhasa is not a place in which we are moved by any jealousy of a foreign Government, or by the desire to establish anything at the expense of a foreign Government. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Lhasa is within 300 miles of the Indian frontier and that Tibet does not touch any portion of the Russian frontier at a distance of less than 1,000 miles, going over country which is, perhaps, the most inhospitable and inaccessible which could be found. And it is a historical fact that since British dominion has existed in India, Tibet has had relations with only three Powers—with the Chinese Government, which is her suzerain, with Nepal, which is largely politically connected with the Indian Government, and with the Indian Government itself—and His Majesty's Government could not acquiesce in any change that would result in a change in the political *status quo* in Tibet. If any Power were to establish, or attempt to establish, a predominant interest in Tibet; if any Power were to send a mission to Lhasa which enabled them to influence or to give advice to the Tibetan Government, or to control in any way

Mr. Brodrick.

the action of the Tibetan Government; still more, if any Power were to propose to establish a protectorate over Lhasa—all these operations are operations on which His Majesty's Government could not look without concern. Any one of them would accentuate in a high degree those border difficulties from which it is the object of every Indian administrator to free himself as far as possible. Any one of them would cause considerable unrest in Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim; and I cannot imagine anything that would be less desirable than that, in any portion of the Chinese Empire which abuts on British territory, we should be exposed to those negotiations through a more or less inanimate third party which have so far occupied the diplomatic mind of Europe in some other portions of the Chinese Empire during the last few years.

Therefore, a point arrived, in February of last year, when my predecessor intimated to the Viceroy that, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, everything having been tried in the way of patience and conciliation without effect it was now desirable to advance the Mission to Khambajong, and there endeavour to carry out the negotiations which we could not carry out within our own frontier. That advance was originally agreed to by the Chinese Government on 19th July. The Chinese Government accepted Khambajong, and the Dalai Lama named two delegates and sent credentials to enable them to meet the British delegates. On 13th August, after further negotiations, the Chinese Government acknowledged warmly the desirability of a meeting of delegates, which would be proceeded with at once. I think His Majesty's Government after that had real reason for complaint over the very ridiculous position in which our delegates were put at Khambajong. The Chinese Government had accepted the meeting and directed the Dalai Lama, as suzerain, to send delegates. He sent delegates, and the Chinese representative started early in December, 1902. He was within Chinese territory in July. The British officer who was with him in Chinese territory in June was at Colonel Younghusband's camp at Khambajong in July. The Chinese Amban, whether from his own fault, or, as there is reason

to think was the case, from being delayed by being refused transport by the Dalai Lama, having started in December, 1902, reached Lhasa in February of this year. We have every reason to suppose that, had it not been for the advance of Colonel Younghusband to Gyangtse, the Chinese Amban would still be pursuing his journey. On the other hand, the representatives of the Dalai Lama turned up with unflinching precision at the moment they were expected. They had credentials and they presented them, but, having paid a formal visit and received a visit in return, they declared that they were not there as Chinese envoys in any shape or way and that they would take no messages whatever to the Dalai Lama. They shut themselves up, and further proceedings were indefinitely postponed. In serious matters of this kind it is necessary for a Power to prove that its earnestness is not to be mistaken or trifled with in such a fashion. The Government, who were adverse to any advance, found that the position was getting worse instead of better. The Tibetan people showed themselves friendly and anxious to sell supplies, and declared that they would co-operate in every respect, but the Tibetan Government used force and prevented the provision of supplies or any intercourse with the people of the country. In the meanwhile two British subjects were arrested and imprisoned at Gyangtse, and a request to release them met with a refusal. The circumstances therefore pointed to its being absolutely necessary, if any answer was to be obtained at all to the numerous representations which had been made, that further steps should be taken. The Government of India most clearly showed the necessity of advancing to Gyangtse. His Majesty's Government considered that question; and on 1st, October while my noble friend was still Secretary of State, a message was sent authorising an advance to Gyangtse, if negotiations were broken off. On 6th November a further telegram was sent actually authorising the advance, but strictly limiting the objects for which we were going to make the advance. Those objects were to obtain by negotiations satisfaction for the past, and a *modus vivendi* for the future. I think it is conclusively shown that, reluctant as we might be to take strong measures, it was

absolutely necessary for both of these objects that some measures should be taken. I do not think that I could express the state of things better than it was expressed by the Government of India in the despatch written in November last, to which the right hon. Gentleman opposite thought we ought to have sent an answer. Their statement was that it was necessary to impress the Tibetan Government with a sense of our earnestness in these negotiations, and of our power to carry them through; that we had no quarrel whatever with the Tibetans, and no desire to occupy their country—and we have no such desire—that we had no wish to establish a permanent mission in Tibet—and we have no wish to do so. For fourteen years we have had to acquiesce in the denial of all those relations which exist between other civilised States or other neighbouring States in Asia, and last year, in addition to that, our accredited representatives were met by accredited representatives from the other side, who were not willing to do business with them. They have arrested two of our subjects, who are still not released. They made an attack on the transport supplied to us by Nepal. If we are to retain the confidence of the people of Nepal, of the people of Sikkim, of all those who cannot move without our authority, if we are to preserve our own authority and avoid a recurrence of these continual disputes, a settlement must be arrived at. That, and that only, is the object of our undertaking.

I have said, and I believe it would not be contested from the Blue-book, that His Majesty's Government have throughout shown the greatest reluctance to embark on any mission or expedition outside the frontiers of India. Nobody who has read the Blue-book could doubt that. But I have seen it suggested in various quarters that His Majesty's Government have been impelled forward and unduly hurried into action by the acquisitiveness of the Viceroy. The period of office of the present Viceroy has already exceeded the ordinary period. He has been, I think, five years and four months in the country. If it is to be alleged against Lord Curzon that he has in any respect shown a desire for expeditions, for foreign entanglements, for incitement to trouble in regard to our

Mr. Brodric.

neighbours, for the undue assertion of British interests at the expense of neighbouring States, I think that the record of the last five years with regard to expeditions on the Indian frontier, or beyond it, should be realised in Lord Curzon's favour. Dealing as we do with a number of tribes, who are not directly under the control of their rulers, on our frontier, and with States which are themselves not ruled with anything like European accuracy or consideration, it is inevitable that there should be from time to time small expeditions. It is also inevitable that at times there should be danger of much larger entanglements on the frontiers of India. I look back on the last four Viceroys. During Lord Dufferin's period of office, from 1884 to 1889, there were five considerable expeditions, including the annexation of Burma, and 43,500 troops were engaged on them. During the period of office of his successor there were seven expeditions, none of them of great magnitude, but involving the employment of 36,200 troops. During Lord Elgin's five years of office there were nine such expeditions, including the Tirah expedition, on which 34,000 troops were engaged, and Chitral, on which 19,000 troops were engaged. In all, 87,000 troops were employed during his period of office. With regard to Lord Curzon, in the first year of his period of office there was no such expedition, in the second year there was none, in the third year there were two small expeditions, and in 1902 another small expedition. The whole of the troops engaged in these expeditions, one of which was merely a blockade, were a little over 9,000 men. I believe that that result is largely due, not merely to a determination to avoid trouble of that kind and consolidate resources at home, but to the frontier policy which Lord Curzon instituted and which he himself described in a speech the other day as a policy of military concentration as against diffusion and of tribal conciliation in place of exasperation. This is not the place, nor is it the time, for me to attempt any appreciation of Lord Curzon's career as Governor-General of India.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.), who was received with Ministerial cries of

"Order," said that by a Rule of the House they were not allowed, except on a special Motion, to criticise the Viceroy. Having regard to that, he did not think that the appreciation of him which the right hon. Gentleman was about to give, and which did not come within the terms of the Motion, should be allowed.

*THE DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is perfectly open to the hon. Member to criticise the policy of the Viceroy of India.

MR. BRODRICK: I was going to say that I do not propose to occupy the time of the House with any appreciation of the general policy of Lord Curzon; but I do say that while, during the five years in which he has controlled the Government of India, almost every department of that Government has been overhauled and reformed by the immense labour and knowledge which he has brought to bear upon his work; while he has shown an unquenchable desire for justice in his administration in India, he has also shown as full a regard—and a fuller regard than would have been expected of any man so strongly imbued with Imperial instincts—for peace on the frontiers of India. It is in these circumstances that we have to come to Parliament to ask for authority for the military operations, if military operations they be called, which may be entailed upon the Mission and the force supporting the Mission. In asking for this we do not desire to diverge in any degree from the policy of patience and conciliation which we have pursued in the past, and which we desire again to pursue, but we ask for it because we are conscious that that policy, as interpreted to the Tibetans, has failed to secure its object, which is the removal of the questions which have caused difficulty in the past. It is because we found that the suzerain Power was unable to obtain for us that consideration, or even that actual exchange of views between us and Tibet, which even the suzerain Power desired to enforce. It is because we found that the Tibetans mistook patience for weakness, and conciliation for want of power. As I said at the beginning of my speech, I do not for a moment wish to say anything which would cause the smallest

feeling between this country and Russia with regard to these operations; but the Blue-book teems with admissions, not of what Russia proposed to do, but of what the Tibetans were under the impression they would obtain from the Russian Government in the way of support against the legitimate demands of His Majesty's Government. It is absolutely important, if we lay down that any Power is to be dominant in Tibet, that that Power must be the British; that that should be known to those chiefly concerned—namely, the Tibetans themselves; and that it should be realised that in regard to all the ordinary commerce of nations—questions of boundary, questions of demarcation, and questions of trade—that consideration which is due to a pacific, but at the same time powerful, neighbour must be allowed to the British Government as it would be to any other nation. I think that we may congratulate ourselves that, despite the episode of 31st March, our Mission has now reached Gyantse, a place where, being on one of the main trade routes in Tibet, it is likely that the delegates who are now accredited will be allowed to treat with our Mission. That being so, I trust the time may not be far distant when a satisfactory arrangement will be entered upon. His Majesty's Government adhere to the policy laid down in the various despatches to the Indian Government. We ask for no more than a fair adjustment of the subjects of difference between us, and we ask also for some machinery which will enable us to address representations to the authorities of Tibet such as nations address to each other. In so doing, with the support of this House, we shall, I think, have taken a long step, by timely agreement, to secure for many years to come the peaceful condition of the north-east frontier of India.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House consents to the revenue of India being applied to defray the expenses of any Military Operations which have or may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian Possessions, for the purpose of protecting the Political Mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government."—(Mr. Secretary Brodrick.)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman was happily able to make one announcement to the House which will be received with satisfaction in every part of it—namely, that this mysterious Mission—as to which we have had very little information so far as its definite ultimate object is concerned—has reached without the further shedding of blood, or opposition, the point to which the Government have authorised it to go. But the right hon. Gentleman, I am sorry to say, failed altogether to tell us that which we require to know before we can assent to this Motion—namely, what is the immediate definite policy of the Government in the matter. Does the short despatch, No. 132 in the Blue-book, express the policy which is to be pursued by the Government? Of one thing we are certain, and that is that that despatch does not express or convey the policy approved and suggested by Lord Curzon. It is in distinct conflict with that policy in many most important particulars; and what the House of Commons and the country are entitled to know is which is to be the master, the Imperial Government or the Viceroy of India. The right hon. Gentleman indulged in a long encomium of Lord Curzon; and there is much in what he said that will attract our approval. There is no question of the industry, the knowledge, and the capacity in all respects that Lord Curzon has shown. But I think no one can read this Blue-book without seeing that Lord Curzon, at all events in his despatches, is often too apt to be led away by his rhetorical powers, a failing which we have found in other parts of the Empire also. Lord Curzon exaggerates, for the purpose of what he may consider a great stroke of policy, events of comparatively small importance; he sometimes trenches very nearly upon very delicate ground, and he uses phrases which may have an evil effect on the relations of this country with some of our neighbours. It is from this point of view that I wish to examine the position of affairs. The right hon. Gentleman has said for one thing that we had no quarrel with the people of Tibet, that the people of Tibet were not the same as the Government of Tibet. I have known other

countries of which an observation of that kind can be truly made. The right hon. Gentleman also spoke of the poor villagers of Tibet who had abandoned their homes and fled to places of comparative security because of the heavy demands of their own Government. Here, again, we have a somewhat familiar picture.

MR. BRODRICK: The language was not mine; it was a quotation from the telegram.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That does not interfere with the truth of the analogy. Let us consider the questions which the right hon. Gentleman has brought forward as being the dreadful cause and origin of all this difficulty. There is the question of pasturage. We are told that sometimes the sheep trespass on the Sikkim side, and that sometimes the sheep from the Sikkim side find themselves on the other side. Really, to say that we are to undergo all this cost, this difficulty, and this danger to our relations with other people on any such account is ridiculous. Then some demarcation pillars have been removed. But the Viceroy of India at the time they were pulled down told us that he was satisfied it was not done by any official authority. In that wild country with no policeman on the beat to take care that the pillars are not interfered with, one may readily imagine that a new and conspicuous pillar would attract the attention, and possibly the antipathy, of some of the simple-minded herdsmen. Then there has been the difficulty of compelling the Tibetans to trade. A mart has been opened; but, although the water is there, the horses will not come to drink, and that is made a ground of complaint. The Tibetans have been for centuries a very exclusive people. They are a protective people, and like to keep other people and other people's goods out of their country. They are not enamoured of aliens. Therefore to open up avenues of trade is not all that is required to make people come and trade with you; and, indeed, I cannot imagine anything less likely to conduce to that purpose than an invasion of the country and the slaughter of hundreds of its inhabitants. We are also told that letters have been sent to the Dalai Lama.

and that they have been returned unopened. But why were they returned? Because they should have been addressed to the suzerain Power. I notice that the suzerainty of China over Tibet is differently spoken of according to the purpose for which it is referred to. The noble Lord the late Secretary for India said—

“Strong measures on the part of the Government of India would be viewed with much disquietude and suspicion, and it must be remembered that Tibet is politically subordinate to China.”

But then Lord Curzon says—

“We regard the so-called suzerainty of China over Tibet as a constitutional fiction, a political affectation”—

there is the rhetoric coming in—

“which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties.”

And the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs adopts the view that the Chinese Government are a broken reed to lean upon in this respect.

Lord Curzon says—

“China is always ready to break down the barriers of ignorance and obstruction, and to open Tibet to the civilising influences of trade, but her pious wishes are defeated by the shortsighted stupidity of the Lama.”

In the same way Tibet is only too anxious to meet our advances, but she is prevented from doing so by the despotic action of the suzerain.”

Lord Lansdowne endorses that as a perfectly accurate account of the value for all practical purposes of the suzerainty of China when you come to attempt to make it the basis for dealing with Tibet. It is not discreet or wise to use contemptuous language of that kind of those two Powers, one great and one small, with whom we are endeavouring to put ourselves on good relations; and, above all, I do not think that the use of such language, as well as the whole action of the Government in this matter, has been at all likely to strengthen our position—away from India altogether—in another quarter of the world, where the integrity of China and the goodwill of China are after all of some value to this country. But I was going over the grievances; there were also two British subjects who were said to have been tortured and

killed. I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he knows what has become of those two British subjects. As he said they were lying in prison I presume that the worst, at any rate, that was said of them is not true. The right hon. Gentleman, leaving these things and turning to Russia, says that Russia, to put it plainly, has been coquetting with Tibet; and Lord Curzon, in summing up, as he thinks, the necessities of the case, says our interests are seriously imperilled by the absolute breakdown of the treaty arrangements hitherto made through the medium of China by the obstructive inertia of the Tibetans themselves, and still more by arrangements freshly concluded with another great Power to our detriment. Now we are entitled to ask, Does His Majesty's Government endorse that? Do the Government accept that which is put forward here in some sort of crescendo scale among the grievances supposed to be behind the action of the Indian Government in this matter? I should hardly think the Government do, because I find that Lord Lansdowne accepted the assurances of the Russian Government—assurances which really might be supposed to be hardly necessary by anyone who reads Mr. Sven Hedin's account of his travels through Russian Mongolia down into Tibet; and here is Lord Lansdowne meeting the Russian Ambassador on 17th November last and expressing astonishment, almost indignation, at the effect which the advance of the Mission had made in Russia. He said—

“I expressed my great surprise at the excitement which the announcement seemed to have created. I had, I said, already pointed out to his Excellency that Tibet was, on the one hand, in close geographical connection with India, and, on the other, far remote from any of Russia's Asiatic possessions. Our interest in Tibetan affairs was therefore wholly different from any which Russia could have in them.”

That is the view which Lord Lansdowne takes; and therefore, I ask, Is it the opinion of His Majesty's Government, as is stated by Lord Curzon, that the Russian Government have established relations with the Tibetan Government which are intended to be to our detriment? We want to know what the policy of the Government is. The policy of Lord Curzon, which evidently broke down the scruples and hesitations of the home-

Government, is fully explained in the Blue-book—

"We do not think it possible that the Tibetan Government—which we dissociate entirely from the Tibetan people—should be allowed to ignore its treaty obligations, to thwart trade, to encroach upon our territory, to destroy our border pillars, and to refuse even to receive our communications. Still less do we think that, when at last an amicable arrangement has been arranged for the settlement of these difficulties, we should acquiesce in our Mission being boycotted by the very persons who have been deputed to meet it, our officers insulted, our subjects arrested and ill-used, and our authority despised by a petty Power which only mistakes our forbearance for weakness, and which thinks that by an attitude of obdurate inertia it can once again compel us, as it has done in the past, to desist from our intentions. We have already had to pay a heavy penalty for past mistakes in this respect."

and again—

"Our proposal, therefore, is that, assuming it to be decided by His Majesty's Government to respond in a favourable sense to the overtures of the Wai-wu-pu, the Chinese Government shall be informed that we can undertake the negotiations nowhere else than at Lhasa, and that a British commercial mission will start for that place at a suitable date in the forthcoming spring, there to meet the Chinese Resident and a duly-appointed high official of the Tibetan Government. We propose that the negotiations should cover not merely the small question of the Sikkim frontier, but those others of which I have been speaking,"

and he speaks in one place, as the culmination of the whole policy, of the establishment of a permanent agent in Lhasa.

***LORD GEORGE HAMILTON** (Middlesex, Ealing): As the right hon. Gentleman has read from Lord Curzon's despatch, will he read the Government's reply?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am going to. Lord Curzon speaks of our having had experience of the like kind before, and the consequences. We have had experience before, and the associations connected with the name of Cavignari do not seem to invite us to undertake a similar policy again. Here is the reply of the Government, dated 6th November, 1903—

"In view of the recent conduct of the Tibetans, His Majesty's Government feel that it would be impossible not to take action, and they accordingly sanction the advance of the Mission to Gyantse."

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

that is the place where the Mission has arrived at.

"They, are, however, clearly of opinion that this step should not be allowed to lead to occupation or to permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form."

a satisfactory and sweeping statement.

"The advance should be made for the sole purpose of obtaining satisfaction, and as soon as reparation is obtained a withdrawal should be effected. While His Majesty's Government consider the proposed action to be necessary, they are not prepared to establish a permanent Mission in Tibet, and the question of enforcing trade facilities in that country must be considered in the light of the decision conveyed in this telegram."

The concluding words leave me in some doubt, but that is the policy, I presume, of the Government to-day. The House will see that it is diametrically opposed to the policy of the Viceroy. That is the crucial point. To Gyantse and no further, no further interference in the affairs of Tibet, and no Resident in Lhasa. Lord Curzon, on the other hand, wishes to review the entire question of our future relations, commercial and otherwise, with Tibet. And "otherwise" is rather a wide word; but I think that that leaves us in a position to doubt which is the stronger of the two, which is the more powerful magnet—the Government of the King in this country or Lord Curzon and his Government in India.

I think that in all the circumstances, as we desire to see this Mission safely withdrawn from the position in which it has been placed with as little difficulty as possible, perhaps this Motion might be qualified by some such words as these—it is a mere suggestion which I throw out, because we have so little time to consider this matter:—"That this House consents to the charges for the armed escort accompanying the political Mission in Tibet being defrayed from the revenues of the Government of India, subject to the undertaking given by His Majesty's Government in their despatch of 6th November, 1903." Or you might say more explicitly, "subject to the undertaking given by His Majesty's Government that so soon as satisfaction has been obtained for specific infractions of the convention the expedition will thereupon be withdrawn from Tibetan territory." I can assure hon.

and right hon. Gentlemen opposite that we do not wish to do anything which will either endanger the Mission or the escort, or, on the other hand, diminish the dignity and authority of the Indian Government and the Imperial Government in that quarter of the world. Speaking for myself, I disapprove of the whole expedition, as far as I can judge it; but, as it has been sent, and as it has advanced to this point, it would be desirable, in the least difficult and most effective way, to withdraw it without damage from the position in which it has been placed. Therefore, I hope that in the course of this debate some such words as these will be adopted. While they would secure the safety of the Mission and secure our Empire from any damage on account of its position, they would, at the same time, be a guarantee and pledge, not to this House and the country only, but to the great States which we have brought into the matter, or are interested necessarily in the matter—Russia and China—that the undertakings of the Government were seriously given and were meant to be fully discharged.

***LORD GEORGE HAMILTON:** I do not think the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has realised the nature of the difficulties with which Lord Curzon and the Indian Government have for some years had to deal in connection with the action of Tibet. It is easy to say in this House, "It is only a matter of a few sheep straying over the border, a few pillars being knocked down, and one or two persons being imprisoned, and of letters being returned." The right hon. Gentleman and those who acted with him are, I suppose, in favour of the maintenance of peace, not only in Tibet, but throughout the world. What is the foundation of peace throughout the world? Is it not the observance and maintenance of treaties? If Tibet, because she is a weak and impotent country, is allowed deliberately to snap her fingers at us and refuse to fulfil conditions into which she had entered, and we were to tolerate such conduct, are there not many other nations more powerful than Tibet who might be encouraged to follow her example? The gravity of the situation is

that Tibet has wilfully and deliberately for nearly ten years past ignored and repudiated a treaty which, with the utmost deliberation, was entered into on her behalf by the suzerain Power, the Government of China. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the people of Tibet have always been an exclusive people. On the contrary, our relations with Tibet in the time of Warren Hastings were satisfactory. Little by little the Tibetans have adopted a more exclusive policy, acting under the influence of a certain clerical sect at Lhasa, and about thirteen years ago the position became rather serious. It was impossible to allow Tibet to go on violating our territory and inflicting injuries on our subjects, and it was necessary to send an expedition there. The result was that an armed collision took place and the Tibetans were repulsed with considerable slaughter. The Government of India were most anxious to prevent the repetition of such encounters, which must necessarily degenerate into mere slaughter and desired to negotiate a treaty with Tibet to put an end to these disturbances. With great difficulty they induced the Chinese Government to agree to negotiate, a treaty was made, and certain points were reserved. Two and a half years later these reserved points were settled, and anybody who has read the Blue-book will see that the Government of India made concession after concession to China and Tibet in order to come to a reasonable and fair arrangement with Tibet. The treaty was ratified by both parties, and from that day to this the Tibetans have deliberately ignored its provisions. The Blue-book shows that the Government of China had no power to compel the Tibetans to respect the treaty which they had, on their behalf, entered into. What was to be done? Our territory was not seriously, but constantly, invaded, the pillars which marked the boundary were thrown down, our trade arrangements were absolutely ignored, every letter of expostulation which the Indian Government sent to the Tibetan Government was returned unopened, and the messengers who conveyed those letters went in danger of their lives. Was such a state of things to be tolerated? We brought pressure to bear

on the Chinese Government, and it was finally agreed that there was to be a meeting between the representatives of the Indian Government, the representatives of the Chinese Government, and the representatives of the Tibetan Government, and they met at a certain place. The first thing that the representatives of the Tibetan Government did when they arrived at the place of meeting was to shut themselves up in a fort, and for three months they declined to hold any communication whatever with the British representatives. We cannot withdraw the Mission. The right hon. Gentleman suggests that if the Government would give a guarantee that the Mission is to be withdrawn, the Opposition might assent to the Resolution which is before the House. But we cannot withdraw the Mission; we must come to a definite arrangement with Tibet.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : I suggested that the Mission should be withdrawn "as soon as satisfaction has been obtained for specific infractions of the convention."

***LORD GEORGE HAMILTON :** We want something more than that. We want, not merely satisfaction for what has been done, not merely that reasonable arrangements should be entered into, but we must have some guarantee that whatever arrangements are entered into will be carried out. That being so, I think the Government have acted with great moderation. Certainly, while I was at the India Office I think we perhaps erred on the side of patience and forbearance. I am not at all sure that it was not mistaken for weakness. On the very day that I resigned the position developed, and it was necessary to take a forward move; and, although the telegrams which went in my name were sent subsequently to my resignation, I entirely agree with their purport. I should have suggested communications of that kind being sent to the Indian Government.

I quite admit that some incidents occurred which rather added to the difficulty and embarrassment of the Indian Government. We received information from a number of quarters

Lord George Hamilton.

widely distant, but all corroborative, that there were underhand negotiations going on between the Tibetan Government and, if not the Russian Government, certain persons who were supposed to represent the Russian Government. I have never been one of those who have looked with great jealousy and suspicion upon the advance of Russia in certain parts of Asia. I believe that Russia has her mission just as we have in Asia, and that there is room in Asia for the legitimate extension of the influence of both Empires. But if there is one spot in Asia which is absolutely outside the sphere of Russian influence it is Tibet; and the Russian Ambassador, authorised by Count Lamsdorff, has admitted more than once that it is outside the legitimate sphere of Russian influence. I wish it were possible to come to some arrangement with Russia as regards the spheres in which Great Britain and Russia should respectively exercise their influence in Asia; but I confess that in later years my hope of coming to such an agreement has diminished. It is exceedingly difficult to accept without reserve the assurances which we receive from Russian high officials. Whenever Russia has entered into a convention with us she has, so far as my knowledge goes, honourably adhered to that convention, and any one of the statesmen who are the heads of the various departments of the Russian Government who gives an assurance to our representatives does so in perfect good faith. But the Russian Government is curiously constituted. Its members are not individuals who have Cabinet responsibilities. Each head of a department is responsible only to the Emperor, and no one has any right to interfere with or even to know what is going on outside his own department. It happens again and again that an assurance is given by the Minister of one department of which the Ministers of other departments are utterly unaware. Now, assume for a minute that some irresponsible agent of Russia in Lhasa hoisted the Russian flag there, would not the position become very difficult? It is easy enough for a great country like Russia to undertake not to hoist her flag; but if one of her officials does hoist it it becomes very difficult to remove it; and, if the Russians did not do so, the Tibetans

would suppose that they had the support of the whole power of Russia, and then no doubt hon. Gentlemen opposite, if such an incident occurred, would call for censure on our Government for being so short-sighted as not to have prevented such a contingency. Under these circumstances the Indian Government, very properly I think, insisted on pushing forward the Mission to show they were in earnest; and it must be remembered that although the encounter which took place the other day and resulted in heavy loss to the Tibetans—and which might also be described as a massacre of Tibetans—yet, on the other hand, if it had not been for the extraordinary courage and coolness of our officers and their Sikh escort, the massacre might have been the other way.

Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition wants an assurance from the Government as to the limits beyond which they do not intend to push their policy. While I think it is necessary for us to insist upon arriving at a reasonable arrangement and to obtain guarantees from the Tibetan Government, I am strongly opposed to any movement which would in any way result in the annexation of any portion of Tibet or of making ourselves responsible for any portion of the administration of that country. So far as I know, that is the view of the Prime Minister and the Government; therefore, if the Leader of the Opposition wants such an assurance, I believe he can get it much more effectively from the mouth of the Prime Minister than by anything embodied in a Resolution. My own view is we have quite as much territory in Asia as we can manage, and, although it may be necessary here and there to round off our frontiers and possibly to extend our political influence, it must always be borne in mind that the extension of territory and the incorporation of it in the Empire must necessarily involve increased military establishments and expenditure. There is no reason whatever why any movement of that kind should take place in regard to Tibet. The Buddhist religion is not aggressive, the Tibetans are easily governed, and the attitude of the monkish clique at Lhasa is not in accordance with the views of a large portion of the population of Tibet.

Hon. Gentlemen are naturally anxious to prevent a repetition of a collision between our troops and the Tibetans. What would be the most effective method of bringing about their desire? By unanimously passing this Resolution. If it receives the unanimous assent of the House, and if it is associated with an undertaking given by the Prime Minister, that beyond securing a reasonable arrangement with the Tibet Government there is no intention of making any further forward movement, I believe the House will feel it has done a good afternoon's work. We shall have shown the world generally that we decline to allow any foreign influence to enter into or interfere with Tibetan affairs, that we have no wish to impose any heavy penalty upon the Tibetans, or to ask them to enter into any arrangement that is not reasonable. But for this we must contend. I hope my suggestion may be acted upon, and that when the Question is put the Government, as I have no doubt they will, giving the assurance asked for as to the limitations of their policy, will receive the unanimous vote of the House.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said he did not think the right hon. and noble Lord who had just sat down had really appreciated the position of affairs. Nothing that had recently occurred had excited such a profound feeling of regret as the unfortunate incident reported on Good Friday morning. The whole country has received with the most profound feeling of remorse the news of the slaughter of 600 or 700 practically unarmed men by disciplined soldiers armed with the most modern weapons of precision. In regard to that slaughter the House must have been glad to hear the views of the right hon. and noble Lord; but the right hon. and noble Lord had not helped the case of the Government very much. The Leader of the Opposition had put the matter very plainly, and they were all greatly indebted to him for doing so. The right hon. Member for Stirling Burghs asked the question, "Are the Government still bound by the despatch of 6th November, 1903, in which Lord Curzon was instructed not to take any steps which would lead to the occupation of Tibet or permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form?" The late

Secretary for India had justified the Government for going a little further by a reference to a speech by Lord Lansdowne in which he said that the Convention of 1890 had not been observed by the Tibetans. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that that convention was not complete or clear and that the settlement of the difficulty in regard to the grazing lands in Sikkim had been left over for after consideration. The Tibetans claimed a right to these grazing lands and that claim had been admitted by the Indian Government. That had not been sufficiently borne in mind. There was another point—the establishment of a trading centre to which the Indian merchants should send their goods to be exchanged for Tibetan produce—a sort of free port in the desert. But such markets were very difficult to establish. For these two reasons it was not very easy for the Tibetans to observe the clauses in the convention strictly. A third point was the pulling down of the boundary posts. The Leader of the Opposition when alluding to these posts suggested that they had been put up by the Indian Government for the purpose of provocation. What took place was that when the difficulties about the grazing lands in Sikkim were constantly recurring, the Indian Government sent a Mission to go along the frontier and, as a means of testing the question of the boundary, to set up a series of pillars to shut out the Tibetans from the grazing lands. That was why the posts were pulled down by the Tibetans. These were the trifling details which the Leader of the Opposition mentioned as the only grounds for sending an armed Mission into Tibet.

But a new ground had been stated by the right hon. Gentleman, who quoted the very expression used by the Viceroy of India, viz., that “arrangements had been freshly concluded by the Tibetans with another great Power to our detriment.” Now, was it because Russia had done something to our detriment or was it because of a frontier difficulty that this armed political Mission had been sent into Tibet? The House ought to get from the Government full information as to whether we were inaugurating a policy against a great European Power.

Mr. Lough.

Russia was now engaged in a very serious war. She observed a very correct attitude when this country was at war a few years ago; and therefore, no imputation should be made regarding her conduct which could not be sustained. There was in the Blue-book a very circumstantial account of the visit of certain Tibetans to Russia. They appeared to have been a mysterious body of Buddhists who went to solicit subscriptions from other Buddhists in Russia. Then the attention of the Russian Press was attracted to the visit and great things were expected from it. The Blue-book contained extracts from the Russian Press from which it appeared that the mission carried a letter from the Chief Lama to a Russian official stating that the Dalai Lama was well and hoping that the official to whom the letter was addressed was in good health also. The Foreign Office immediately asked the Russian Ambassador for an explanation; and was informed by the Russian Government that the mission was wholly of a religious character. There was no suggestion that the Russian Government had any interest in the matter; and he thought that the Government ought to speak with greater plainness on the subject. Did the Government accept the statement of the Russian Government, and also Lord Lansdowne's statement, that the only object in view was the rectification of the frontier. The military character of the enterprise was to be deplored. The late Secretary of State for India said, What else could be done? The Chinese might be pressed to secure a settlement of the difficulty. Why not wait a year or two? What was the use of hurrying? What was to be gained from the policy that was being pursued? It all, of course, depended on what the policy was; but it had not been explained.

Mr. MOON (St. Pancras, N.) said it was quite clear that the Tibetan mission to Russia had produced a considerable effect in that country. The following summary, dated 17th June, appeared in the Blue-book—

“The reappearance of the Tibetan Mission in Russia, according to the *Novoe Vremya*, proves that the favourable impressions carried back by Dorshieff to his home from his previous mission have confirmed the Dalai Lama in his intention of contracting the friendliest relations

with Russia. This is not astonishing; those acquainted with the Far East must know that in those lands news travels, if not with the speed of lightning, at any rate much faster than it does by Russian telegraph; and therefore it cannot be wondered at that the news of the events at Pechili, the capture of the Taku Forts, of Tientsin, and Peking, the Russian victories in Manchuria, the taking of Mukden, etc., have penetrated to the Lama of Tibet. Under these circumstances, a *rapprochement* with Russia must seem to him the most natural step, as Russia is the only Power able to counteract the intrigues of Great Britain, who has so long been endeavouring to obtain admission, and only awaits an opportunity to force an entrance. It would also be only natural if other Central Asiatic and West Chinese nations were to aspire towards a similar friendship with Russia, who has won the respect and confidence of all who own her sway."

It was quite clear that one of the objects of this country was to protect its prestige and honour in that part of the world; another was to resume trade; and a third to protect India against attack. Lord Curzon, during the discussion on the Indian Budget, used the following striking phrases—

"India is like a fortress with the sea as a moat on two sides, and mountains on the third. Beyond the walls is a glaciis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it; but we cannot afford to see it occupied by a foe. We are quite content that it should remain in the hands of allies and friends, but if unfriendly influences creep up and lodge under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because danger would thereby grow up and menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and Siam."

The mission from Tibet to Russia was of a rather suspicious character. The leader was a person named Dorshieff, who had since been raised to a very high position. *The Times* correspondent telegraphed from Tuna on 2nd April as follows—

"M. Dorshieff, who is now at Lhasa, apparently exercises a predominant influence. He has been made Master of the Ordnance and Treasurer to the Dalai Lama, a post technically known as the Dzasak, one of the highest offices of State."

What right had the Russians to take the line they appeared to have taken. This country was bound to see that facilities, advantages, and opportunities in Tibet were not given to any other European Power which were not given to itself. His hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green, whose knowledge of India they all

recognised, obtained a Return which showed that the Tibetans had a considerable amount of valuable commodities which they could offer in exchange of trade. Hon. Members on the other side of the House would recognise that both for our own prestige and honour, and also for the strategical advantages which would accrue to India, this Mission must be sanctioned.

*Mr. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W. R., Elland) thought that sufficient attention had not been given to the way in which the House had been treated by the Government in regard to this matter. Prior to the Easter vacation the House had had no real opportunity of discussing it, and had been, in fact, treated in a very cavalier way, having regard to the importance of the question. Now, however much the House might object to this Mission its power over it had been altogether nullified. It was impossible now to turn the Mission back, and all the House could do was to raise its protest; it could do nothing to cure the past and exercise very little influence over the future. This question ought to have been brought to their notice on some previous occasion. The Government were under a constitutional obligation to obtain the consent of Parliament to any military expedition outside the frontiers of India. There had been debates on previous occasions as to whether it was necessary to obtain the previous consent of Parliament, and the Government of the day had sometimes taken the line that it was impossible in times of emergency and at times when the House was not sitting as in the cases of the Afghan and Burmese wars. But in this case the circumstances were entirely different. Here the policy had been deliberately decided on; Parliament was actually sitting; and for weeks and months the military expedition was waiting to advance into Tibet. The only thing that was said was that it was a political Mission, but it was accompanied by an armed force of 1,000 or 2,000 men; whilst in the despatches from the Indian Government there were constant statements that they expected there would be resistance although it would not be serious. Obviously the expedition was a military expedition and it was playing with words

to call it a political Mission, and it was not treating this House in a proper way to preclude them from discussing the reasons for this expedition before it was entered upon.

Those in authority who had spoken to-day had chiefly laid emphasis on the fact of the excuses which had been made from time to time by the Tibetans. A good deal had been said as to the various ways in which they had thwarted our trade. No one would suggest that the trade between Tibet and India was a great trade, but it was a steadily increasing one. Imports from Tibet had risen from seven lacs of rupees in 1890 to nineteen lacs in 1902, whilst the exports to Tibet had risen from four to seven lacs in the same period. So that could hardly be a reason for this expedition, and the question of the removal of the boundary pillars could hardly be alleged as a reason. The House had not yet heard from those in authority very much about Russia, but it was only fair to assume that the chief reason why the Indian Government had brought this question to the front was their alarm at the action of Russia in Tibet. It was the Russian relations which were the real cause of our advance into Tibet, and the real gist of the matter was whether Russia had such relations with Tibet which would justify our Government in believing they had designs of establishing themselves there in such a way and in such a force as would constitute a danger to the Indian Empire. There was only one definite allegation with regard to the Tibetan relations with Russia, and that was the Tibetan mission to St. Petersburg. The hon. Member for St. Pancras had referred to it and had called attention to the fact that certain Russian newspapers had shown that it was evidence of a strong desire on the part of the Tibetan people to enter into friendly and intimate relations with Russia. But the Russian Government, in reply to Lord Lansdowne, had characterised as ridiculous the conclusions drawn by the Russian Press that this mission had had any diplomatic character. At page 116 of the Blue-book a despatch from Sir C. Scott said—

“With reference to my despatch of the last instance I have the honour to transmit herewith in translation further extracts from the Russian

Mr. Trevelyan.

Press referring to the arrival in Russia of a so-called Tibetan mission. Count Lamsdorff in the course of conversation with me yesterday characterised as ridiculous and utterly unfounded the conclusion drawn in certain organs of the Russian Press that these Tibetan visitors were charged with any diplomatic or political mission.”

The mission was similar in character to that which was sent out by the Pope to the faithful in foreign countries. Count Lamsdorff's statements had been accepted by our Foreign Office as sufficient, and it was going a little too far ahead when explicit declarations had been accepted by the Government that the Russians wanted nothing in Tibet, to tell the House that if another Power were to establish itself in that country it would be a serious thing for India. Lord Curzon justified the action of his Government; he summed up the view of the Indian Government in these words—

“In our view any country, or Government or Empire has a right to protect its own interests, and if those interests are seriously imperilled, as we hold ours to be in Tibet, by the absolute breakdown of the treaty arrangements hitherto made through the medium of China, by the obstructive inertia of the Tibetans themselves, and still more by arrangements freshly concluded with another great Power to our detriment, we hold that the first law of national existence, which is self-preservation, compels us to take such steps as will avert these dangers and place our security upon an assured and impregnable footing.”

Yet in spite of the high-flown rhetoric it was admitted that no Russian agent or Russian treaty existed at Lhasa, and in the very despatch in which this statement occurred the Indian Government used the following words in regard to the distance of Tibet from the Russian frontier—

“It is unnecessary for us to remind your Lordship that the Russian border nowhere even touches that of Tibet, and that the nearest point of Russian territory is considerably more than a thousand miles short of the Tibetan capital, which is situated in the extreme South, and in close proximity to the northern frontier of the Indian Empire.”

If Russia was at such a distance and had no agent in, or treaty with, Tibet, where was the danger? It seemed to be a very long way off—certainly too far off to justify rushing into war for the purpose of putting a British agent in Tibet to watch Russia, who as far as we knew were doing very little in that country.

All the House could do, on the present occasion, was to press for further information as to the intentions of the Government. What were the Government going to ask for now? Possibly that the boundary stones should be re-erected, or that the wall which had been built in Yatung should be broken down. But that was not much for so large an expenditure of money and life. Was it the intention of the Government to ask for a British agent to be permanently established at Lhasa? If so, that was a very disputable proposition. Such an agent, separated from India by a great tract of country, which at certain seasons of the year was very difficult to pass, would be placed in an extremely awkward position. Was he to be left absolutely alone amid this strange people, or was a military force to be left there to guard him? In either case this country would be in a difficult position in regard to its future relations with Tibet, and it seemed to him that the House ought to have a very explicit account of what the Government expected to get out of what he could not help regarding as a somewhat ignoble little raid.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that the debate dealt, first of all, with the question of whether or not the India Government Act of 1858 had been broken. In his opinion it had been, and the revenues of India had been applied to what was now for the first time admitted to be a military operation beyond the frontiers of India. The expedition had never been anything else than a military operation; it was an armed entry into a friendly State without the consent and against the desire of that State. It was necessarily and inevitably a military occupation; according to the Blue-book it was clearly recognised as such, and resistance was not only expected, but was actually announced to have taken place as far back as October last. Therefore it was in its beginning, it had continued to be, and it still was, a military operation beyond the frontiers of India. This was not the first time the question of legality had been raised in regard to this subject. He was aware that it had been held by a legal authority—who was probably instructed by the person desiring

the opinion—that a subsequent consent of the Houses of Parliament was all that was required, but that, in his opinion, made nonsense of the Act of Parliament. He greatly regretted that the Government had not thought fit at an earlier period to ask for the consent required by the India Government Act of 1858, and that they should have awaited the action or massacre at Guru before applying for that sanction.

Another aspect of the matter, which was even more important, turned on the question of whether or not there was room in Asia for both Russia and England. He thought there was. Even in Persia, where the interests of the two Powers touched in the most exciting fashion, where questions which might lead to great divisions between them were constantly arising, and where, in fact, for the last fifty years a struggle had been going on between Russian and English influence, he believed it was possible to come to such an agreement as would enable both Powers not only to work in amity, but to assist each other. Persia was the most crucial case in which Russian and English interests clashed in Asia. Nevertheless, his firm conviction, based on a certain amount of knowledge, was that opportunities had again and again arisen of coming to an agreement with Russia in regard to Persia, but those opportunities had been neglected or thrown away by successive British Governments. If an agreement was possible in Persia, how much more possible was it in regard to Tibet! Tibet was not, like Persia, coterminous with both frontiers, being a thousand miles from the Russian boundary. It was, perhaps, the most inhospitable country on the face of the earth, and had no attractions either from the point of view of what it produced or on strategic grounds. As with Afghanistan, so with Tibet; the object of the Indian Government should be to keep out of the country. He admitted that it should be the object of the policy of the Government to keep Russia out of the country also, but in his belief there was not the slightest danger of Russia trying to cross the thousand miles which intervened between her frontier and Tibet for the purpose of occupying the latter country.

Therefore, with regard to Tibet he contended that it was far more possible than with regard to Persia to come to an agreement, if necessary, with Russia. He doubted, however, whether any agreement was really required. It was impossible to avoid mentioning Russia in the matter, as the whole Blue-book showed that a fear of Russia was at the bottom of the business. There was an embassy to Russia, but the envoy turned out to be a Russian subject who desired to make a religious collection. Then there was a pretended Russian secret treaty, which was now absolutely denied, and the suggested terms of which were such as Russia would be most unlikely to ratify.

Why did the Government hold themselves driven to this "forward" policy in Tibet? A great deal turned on the character of the Viceroy. He remembered Lord Curzon declaring from the Treasury Bench that if Russia advanced her troops to the waters of the Oxus, England would have to advance hers and meet Russia on that river. He had been greatly relieved to find that his residence in India had to a large extent converted the noble Lord from his belief in the "forward" policy; in almost every respect he had shown that forbearance and discretion which were best calculated to serve the interests of the Empire. One of the greatest proofs that Lord Curzon was a statesman lay in the fact that he was able to learn on the spot and to follow a policy which he was not prepared to adopt before going to the country. Notwithstanding the description given by the noble Lord the Member for Ealing of the manner in which Russian Ministers conducted their departments, he believed the only thing they had at heart was the progress of Russia in the East, and it did not seem reasonable to suppose that on either strategic or political grounds they would make any particular sacrifices to advance Russian interests in the East by occupying Tibet or by taking more than the smallest part in its affairs. A further important consideration was the fact that the man who controlled Tibet controlled the head of the Buddhist religion. The country that commanded the Dalai Lama, the re-incarnation of Buddha, must

necessarily command great allegiance from the countless millions of Buddhists who swarmed in China and other parts of Asia, and that, he shrewdly suspected, was at the bottom of the desire to exercise influence in Tibet which was entertained to some extent by Russia, and very strongly by the present Viceroy of India.

The Blue-book was extremely instructive, and it showed that from the first Lord Curzon was anxious to advance to Tibet and make an invasion of that country. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex constantly resisted that policy, and he was surprised that the Leader of the Opposition did not quote the reply of the noble Lord, who set forth strong objections to any such expedition and gave the grounds on which he entertained those objections. He would pass over the intervening stages and come to the last stage. The hon. Member opposite had asked what the objects of this expedition were? In Lord Curzon's words they were—

"At the same time the most emphatic assurances might be given to the Chinese and Tibetan Governments that the Mission was of an exclusively commercial character, that we repudiated all designs of a political nature upon Tibet, that we had no desire either to declare a protectorate or permanently to occupy any portion of the country, but that our intentions were confined to removing the embargo that at present rests upon all trade between Tibet and India, and to establishing those amicable relations and means of communication that ought to subsist between adjacent and friendly Powers."

It was in that despatch that he advocated that the object of the Mission should be—

"The appointment of a permanent British representative, Consular or diplomatic, to reside at Lhasa."

That was in January, 1903, but both the late Secretary for India and his right hon. friend the present Secretary for India had come to the conclusion that this Mission should be restricted in its operation in the manner which had been described in Lord Curzon's words. He believed that restriction to be most wholesome and necessary if it could be carried out, but it would be most difficult to carry it out after what had occurred. The official determination of His Majesty's Government as telegraphed by the

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

present Secretary of State for India on the 6th November, 1903, was that—

“The advance should be made for the sole purpose of obtaining satisfaction, and as soon as reparation is obtained a withdrawal should be effected.”

Nothing was said as to security for the future. The same telegram proceeded—

“While His Majesty's Government consider the proposed action to be necessary, they are not prepared to establish a permanent Mission in Tibet.”

Lord Curzon's desire had been agreed to on the condition that the Mission was to be confined to removing the embargo that at present rested upon trade between Tibet and India and to establishing amicable relations between His Majesty's Government and adjacent and friendly Powers. It had been laid down that there was to be no annexation, no declaration of a protectorate and no permanent occupation of any portion of the country. If the Government could give the House the assurances suggested by the noble Lord that, having obtained satisfaction and secured the removal of the embargo on trade, they were then prepared to withdraw the Mission without annexing territory, without declaring a protectorate, and without insisting on the establishment of a permanent Mission at Lhasa, he thought it would be the duty of the House to pass the Resolution. But it seemed to him almost impossible for the Government to give such an undertaking after what had occurred. Let the House consider the situation. There had already been a very serious engagement between the Indian troops and the Tibetans, attended with a very great and unfortunate slaughter of the latter. Under these circumstances he wished to know what extra security they would have in carrying out the policy which had been laid down, beyond what they had at the present time, for the observance of the new treaty? It seemed to him that they would have no extra security. His fear was that, having entered upon this undertaking and having sent this armed Mission, which had met with resistance, and which had repelled that resistance with considerable slaughter, the Government would be absolutely driven to the establishment of a permanent Mission at Lhasa and they

would have to annex a portion of Tibetan territory. That was the danger upon which His Majesty's Government might be able to give him some assurance. If the right hon. Gentleman would give the House such an assurance then it would be the duty of hon. Members to pass this Resolution.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): There is one criticism which I should like to make with reference to the Blue-book, and that is the singular silence that has prevailed in the last two months with reference to any communication from the India Office to the Indian Government in India. My right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition, I think, yesterday put a Question to the Secretary of State as to whether a reasoned despatch has been sent out to India in reply to Lord Curzon's elaborate despatch of the 5th or 6th November, and I understood that the right hon. Gentleman conveyed the idea that no such reply had yet been made. That is a very long time, even in the India Office, for a despatch of that magnitude to lie without a reply from the Secretary of State himself; but I can readily understand that there are reasons for it. But what I do not understand is this: The House will find in the index to these Papers that the first communication from the present Secretary of State was dated 3rd December—merely an official communication as to the Chinese Minister being informed of what had transpired—and then down to 31st January there is a long succession of communications from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, and not a single reply from the Secretary of State to the Viceroy. Some one once said that India was governed by the private correspondence that passed between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and I think there is some truth in that remark. But if I may expand it, I should say that India is governed also by the telegrams constantly passing between these two officials. Now, I cannot but think that these various important communications from Lord Curzon have not passed unnoticed by so diligent, so faithful, and so consistent a hard worker as the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and I wish he had let us know not only what Lord Curzon said, but also

what he himself said with reference to many of those questions.

But I want to say a word or two on the policy of the Government with reference to the future. I think there has been a full discussion this afternoon of the points relating to the history of the expedition to Tibet. I have nothing to add to the criticisms which have been passed on the causes and the policy which resulted in the present unfortunate state of affairs. I still think, notwithstanding the eloquent and just defence which the Secretary of State made for the Viceroy, that this correspondence discloses the fact that there have been two currents of opinion on this question, and that there has been one current at Whitehall and another at Calcutta. And once or twice, I am bound to say—though no one has a higher opinion of Lord Curzon than I have, and no one would offer a more cordial tribute to the great services he has rendered to India during his Viceroyalty (but he has the temptation of all great men not to minimise his own power)—I am bound to say that he indicates a slight impatience in reference to what I suppose no Viceroy likes particularly well, viz., the constitutional position of the Viceroy of India, which is that he is subordinate to the Secretary of State in Council, and that is the only way in which the Parliamentary Government of India is maintained. The powers of the two officials are clearly laid down in the Act which transferred the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. The supremacy of Parliament over all Indian affairs through the Secretary of State is there laid down. It is to the House of Commons that the Secretary of State is responsible, and if we weaken that and allow *quasi*-independence to pervade the policy of a great pro-Consul we shall commit a great blunder. There is a distinct constitutional principle involved, and that is, that his discretion and his powers should all be under the control of Parliament.

I will not labour the differences which have been mentioned this afternoon with reference to what Lord Curzon desired and which, no doubt from the highest motives, he conceived to be the true policy which the Indian Government ought to pursue.

Sir Henry Fowler.

What we want to know is—What is the policy of the Government to be in the future? I am bound to say that the speech of the Secretary of State for India was not satisfactory from that point of view. He referred with some qualification to the important despatch of 6th November, 1903, which has been again and again called to the attention of the House, and which we understand contained a statement of the principles on which the Government intend to act. I may say in passing that the principle that there would be no annexation, no interference with Tibet internally, no appointment of any Resident, and no protectorate, laid down in that telegram, was also next day repeated by Lord Lansdowne to our Ambassador in China. He was informed that as soon as reparation is obtained a withdrawal should be effected, the Mission having been undertaken for the sole purpose of obtaining satisfaction. That is a distinct utterance, and what we now want, if I may say so respectfully, is that the Prime Minister, without any qualification, and without any doubt, should lay down the line which he intends, so long as he remains in office, to follow with reference to the question of our position in Tibet. A good deal has been said in this debate about our relations with Russia. Now, I must confess that I am in entire accord with the noble Lord the Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex on that point. I agree with the advice he gave when he was Secretary of State for India, and also with the advice given by that great statesman, whom we have recently lost, when he was Secretary of State for India. Lord Salisbury recommended his own followers to look at a large map. I think that in many of our foreign relations in connection with India it would be desirable to look at a large map. Asia is vast enough for Great Britain and Russia. Each can do a great deal of good work in Asia if they will pursue it peacefully among the people over whom they exercise influence.

I suppose there is not an Englishman throughout the world who is not delighted at the steps which have recently been taken to produce good relations between Great Britain and France. Is such a thing impossible with

reference to our relations to Russia? Of course there will be difficulties. There have been difficulties not for twenty-five but for fifty years with reference to France, but it has been shown that it is possible for two great nations to settle difficult questions between them without waiting for them to be cleared up by some great war. I do not believe that Russia has any serious aggressive designs on India. I do not believe in the Russophobia which has been displayed in certain sections of the Press. If we would do to Russia as we would wish to be done by a great deal of this bad feeling, which is so mischievous, might be avoided, and some settlement with regard to Asiatic matters might be come to. There is no reason to fear any aggression from Russia as far as Tibet is concerned. We ought to clear our minds of that idea. But there is another point. The Resolution before the House is to authorise military measures to be taken for the protection of Englishmen who are now in Tibet by the orders of their own Government and in the service of their King. This country will not allow them to be deserted. Whatever view may be entertained with regard to the wisdom or unwisdom, the necessity or the futility, of the present political Mission, we are bound to see that those who have gone on that mission are rescued with all the power we can put forward. We now ask the Prime Minister to tell us whether he adheres to the despatch of 6th November. If that policy is adhered to we shall have done our best to avoid the dangers which have been pointed out. If the Government at home are firm in that policy, the Indian Government can carry it out without much difficulty, all danger of friction with other Powers will be avoided, and those difficulties which have long perplexed the Indian Government with respect to Tibet will be materially diminished.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down dealt with the caution and the moderation which we should all expect from him, partly owing to his native character and partly owing to the high and responsible

office which he has filled, with the criticisms on the policy which the Governments of India and of this country have adopted in reference to this Mission. Indeed, I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman has associated himself with any of the criticisms which have been passed by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House on the original inception of this Mission, and I think the right hon. Gentleman was right. Because if hon. Members will divert their minds for one instant from the legitimate desire to attack His Majesty's Government, and will in imagination put themselves in the place of those who here and in India are responsible for the government of that great dependency, they will feel that no other course than that which was adopted was open. There was on the part of the Leader of the Opposition and of other Gentlemen, apparently, a disposition to minimise the causes which had produced this Mission in Tibet. They regard the pulling down of boundary pillars as a small matter, and the occupation of fragments of pasture land as a thing that can be passed over, and they have demonstrated that nothing has occurred between Tibet and India which is worth the cost and risk involved in this Mission. That kind of political arithmetic is rotten from the beginning. You cannot by merely summing up the matter dealt with by diplomacy say that this or that course ought to be pursued. Is it suggested that we were indefinitely to allow the Tibetan Government and its subjects to violate the solemn treaties entered into by them? There is no chance of a Tibetan invasion of India. Nothing that they could do unassisted is going to imperil our rule in India; and, therefore, I presume, hon. Gentlemen suppose that no cause of offence that ever could be given by the Tibetan Government to the Indian Government could be more than that the letters written by the Indian Government to the Tibetan Government should be returned unanswered. You cannot conduct the affairs of contiguous States in that manner; and if the Indian Government, who, after all, depend absolutely on the opinion held of them by their own subjects, are to allow themselves to be openly flouted in this way by a neighbouring State, it is inevitable that sooner or later the view

now rightly entertained of the Government in such places as Sikkim and Nepal will suffer decay. We shall be thought to be a people incapable of maintaining our obvious and admitted rights, and not only Orientals, but all men turn to those whom they think will maintain the rights which it is their duty to safeguard.

Therefore we could not allow the thing to remain as it was, and if we could not, how was it to be remedied? Does anyone assert that we have rushed hastily into action in this matter? Are fourteen years of fruitless negotiations so small a thing that we are to be considered as rash invaders of other people's territories because we at last lose patience? I do not think that will be contended. If negotiations were to solve the difficulty, could they have been conducted more patiently or in a more conciliatory spirit, or in any better fashion than that in which we have conducted them? My hon. friend asked what would be said here if the French sent an armed diplomatic mission to discuss affairs between the two countries. My hon. friend was perfectly relevant in making that metaphor, but it did not contain the first element of a good metaphor, it did not illustrate any question with which we are here concerned. The case is that unless the Mission were sent into Tibetan territory no negotiations were possible at all. Tibetan methods, unlike Western methods, put an impenetrable wall between those responsible for the Tibetan Government and the Indian Government. Unless you traverse that wall negotiations become impossible. If contemporaneously with the impossibility of negotiation, you absolutely shut off Tibet from all relations with India, I do not know personally that I should greatly regret it. But the moment the Tibetans traverse our frontiers, occupy our pastures, and imprison our citizens on the one side and are impenetrable even to remonstrances on the other—that is a condition of things which I do not think should be allowed to subsist. The Mission had to be sent into Tibetan territory, and was it to be accompanied or unaccompanied by a force to ensure its safety? The Member for the Elland Division, who spoke of this as a military expedition, shut his eyes to the facts of

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

the case. The Mission had to be sent for purely diplomatic reasons; it had to be defended and accompanied by an armed force, because that diplomatic object could not be successfully attempted in safety unless those you sent were protected from the attacks of natives. Therefore it had to be armed. It is quite true that the possibility of opposition to that Mission was anticipated by the Indian Government; but the fact that that opposition was thought of as possible is no reason for regarding this as a military expedition; and the fact that opposition has unhappily occurred, though it requires this House to pass the Resolution before it, does not alter either the objects with which this Mission was originally sent, or the methods by which we mean to carry them out.

A great deal has been said about the relative positions of Russia and England in Asia. That is a very large, complicated, and delicate question; and it is not, therefore, a question which I think I should be doing any public service by discussing either briefly or at any length on the present occasion. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton seems to think that it is a matter of comparative ease for the two countries to come to some arrangement as regards Asia, which should for ever prevent serious disputes or serious collisions between them in Asia—some such arrangement as we have come to with France, and which I hope, and firmly believe, will for ever prevent collisions between these two countries in connection with any region dealt with in the great instruments which have just been signed by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. Sir, I am afraid that the right hon. Gentleman greatly underestimates the peculiarity of the Central Asian position; the character, I will not say of the ambitions of the Russian Government, but of the ambitions of many of the officers who deal with the interests of Russia in the far outlying portions of her great dominions. He also, perhaps, underrates the relations in which we respectively are to the independent but relatively powerless States which still divide the two great European Powers.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: I said it would be a difficult task, but it would be worth trying.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the right hon. Gentleman means that it is an object in itself enormously desirable, if it can be attained, I agree absolutely with him. My ideas are that, from the nature of the case, it will not be so easily attained by any instrument, by any series of articles drawn up and signed by the Foreign Ministers of the two Powers, as he seems to suppose. At all events there are special difficulties in the way; and I frankly admit that I am not one of those who in the year 1904 think the Central Asian question can be so easily disposed of by a reference to the large maps as it was in the year 1874. Thirty years separates us from the date to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred; and if he considers the position of these two great countries in Central Asia as it was in 1874 and as it is in 1904, he will see that the problem, whether soluble or insoluble, is at all events a very different problem from what it was then. I do not know that I have done much good by referring to these international affairs in Asia. Central Asia is outside the much narrower issue with which we have to deal this afternoon. That issue is whether we shall, or shall not, unanimously pass a Resolution which must be passed if our Mission in Tibet is to have that protection which every man in the House desires to give it. Now we are all agreed that the Mission is to be protected, but what the right hon. Gentleman fears is that there may be differences of opinion as to what are the ulterior objects of the Government. I can assure him that he need have no such fears. The telegram of 6th November, 1903, which does not stand alone in the Blue-book as representing the views of His Majesty's Government, but merely repeats, in very precise terms, the general policy of His Majesty's Government indicated throughout the whole—that telegram was most carefully considered by the Cabinet before it was sent. It represented a policy—not merely a departmental policy of the Secretary of State in Council, but it also represented the carefully thought out views of the Government. It represented those views on 6th November, 1903; it

represents those views in April, 1904. No change whatever has occurred; and I do not think that any change is likely to occur. We, of course, live in a world where absolute prophecy is impossible; and it would be folly for me to do more than state what are the desires, the wishes, and the intentions of the Government, on the facts as far as we know them. And these wishes, desires, and intentions are most explicitly stated; they have been stated more than once; and we do not see any reason to depart from them. My hon. friend who spoke last but one seems to think that circumstances will be too strong for us, and that we shall be driven on from one stage to another, until nothing short of permanent annexation is reached. Well, I contemplate no such unhappy contingency; and were it to occur I should consider it one of the greatest misfortunes that could possibly happen to the Indian Government or to this country. My noble friend the late Secretary of State for India said that our position—I think he said everywhere—

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: In Asia.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should not have dissented from even the larger proposition of my noble friend—that our possessions in Asia, and the responsibilities which these possessions entail, are surely as great as any of us can desire. And that is absolutely the admitted fact. But it must be distinctly understood that if Tibet were, by any unhappy accident, to become the centre of intrigue and influence of any Power other than Tibet, our difficulties and our responsibilities would not be diminished, but greatly increased by leaving Tibet alone. I do not contemplate that position, and I am glad to think that there is no reason for believing in that contingency. I admit everything that has been said as to the impossibility of invading India by way of Tibet. I believe such a military project is intrinsically absurd, and that any Power which has the strength to invade India would find much easier routes for doing so than over the snow-clad "Roof of the World." But that does not alter the fact that though no army is

likely to penetrate our northern frontier from Tibet, it would be a serious misfortune to the Indian Government, and a danger to our northern frontier, should Tibet fall under any European influence other than our own. I should greatly deplore if it should fall under our influence. I do not want anything to do with the Tibetans in a political sense. Let the Tibetans manage their own affairs. Let them keep themselves to themselves. I desire nothing better. But if their wish to exclude foreign influence is to be used against us, but is not to be used against others, then it will be admitted by every hon. Gentleman in the House who has seriously considered this problem that a very different state of things presents itself than that with which we have to deal at the present time. As appears from the Blue-book, Russia, at the present time, has absolutely declared not merely that she does not mean to occupy Tibet in a military sense—of which I am not seriously afraid—but that Tibet is outside her sphere of influence, and that she does not desire to have a Resident there, or to exercise power, or authority, or influence there. Sir, I accept absolutely that statement; and, that being so, I am not able to imagine a contingency which would compel the Government to abandon that policy which has been so clearly expressed in the despatch of 6th November last. Our wish is to live at peace with Tibet; to leave Tibet independent; to have no responsibility as regards the internal affairs of Tibet; not to keep a Resident in Tibet, with the responsibility which inevitably attaches to keeping a Resident there. Though that be our view; though that is the view which we have consistently and constantly held, as the Blue-book shows, throughout the whole period in which this controversy has become acute; though we have never varied from

that, and do not vary from it now, that does not cast the smallest reflection, in my judgment, on the steps which the Indian Government have taken in order to see that our treaty engagements are not made the laughing stock of the Oriental world. That we cannot tolerate; that we do not propose to tolerate. While this Mission, we trust, will result, without further bloodshed, in putting the relations between India and its northern neighbour on a permanently satisfactory basis, while it will prove for all time to the Tibetan Government that they cannot treat us with the contempt with which they have treated us in the last thirty years, I do not believe it will add one iota, one grain of sand, to the already heavy responsibilities which weigh on the Indian Government. The House may absolutely rely upon it that the last thing which His Majesty's Government desire is to have an addition to our frontier responsibilities, stretching from Baluchistan to the Chinese and Burmese frontiers. We do not want to add any further responsibilities to the difficulties which are constantly weighing upon the statesmen who have in their charge the destinies of our Eastern Empire. Among those statesmen there is no name which I think will shine out in history with more lustre than that of the present Viceroy of India. Though there have not been what I may call attacks made upon him this afternoon, there have at all events been criticisms passed upon him; but I am confident that this House may rely without a moment's misgiving in his loyalty and ably carrying out a policy which this House and His Majesty's Government are agreed is the proper policy to pursue in this long-standing and difficult question.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 270; Noes, 61. (Division List No. 76.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Joseline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)

Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bartley, Sir George C. T.

Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt. Col. H. F. (Middlesex)

Mr. A. J. Balfour,

Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brigg, John
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
 Brymer, William Ernest
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lincs.)
 Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coddington, Sir William
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dewar, Sir T.R. (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Emmott, Alfred
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Fergusson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manc)
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fison, Frederick William
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gordon, Maj. E. (Tr Hamlets)

Gore, Hon. S.F. Ormsby-(Linc.)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Grant, Corrie
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midd'x)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nderry)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Horner, Frederick William
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.)
 Kerr, John
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir J. (Monmouth)
 Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N.R.)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Macfiver, David (Liverpool)
 Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)

Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Moss, Samuel
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Partington, Oswald
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert Hackney
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rose, Charles Day
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxford Univ)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tufnel, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Ure, Alexander
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheff' J)

Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
White, Luke (York, E. R.)

Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Alexander Acland - Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondha)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Doogan, P. C.

Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Hammond, John
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Joyce, Michael
Kilbride, Denis
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
London, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McHugh, Patrick A.
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)

O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Russell, T. W.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sullivan, Donal
Tomkinson, James
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Cap-
tain Donelan and Mr.
Patrick O'Brien.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That the Bill be now read a second
time.”

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucester-
shire, Forest of Dean) said the main
point which had to be made with respect
to this Bill was a most curious one. The
Army Act was amended each year by
such a Bill as this, but the Act itself was
not reprinted, and the result was that
it was constantly wrong and could not be
found anywhere in a proper form except
in the Government Orders and books issued
by the War Office, and then it was not per-
fect. At the present moment the latest
reprint of the Army Act in any form at
all did not contain the Amendments made
in it by Army Annual Bills of recent
years; but the latest reprint was con-
tained in “The Manual of Military Law”
which contained the Amendments which
had been made up to the year 1889.
Those made since 1889 had not been
printed in any Act, and the Amend-
ments it was proposed to make by this

Bill were not applicable to any printed Act
and were therefore utterly unintelligible.
By the courtesy of one of the librarians
of the House he had a copy of the
Manual of Military Law which contained
in red ink the Amendments made in re-
cent years, but that did not carry the
matter much further, because it did not
show where the Amendments went into
the text, it being impossible to do so for
the reason that in many cases the
Amendment altered the lines of the Act
as printed. Frequent requests had been
made to the Government by Members of
the House to have the Army Act re-
printed whenever it was changed by
Amendments made, and if a promise was
given by the right hon. Gentleman that
that should be done it would not be
necessary to say anything further on the
subject. The necessity for it being re-
printed was shown by what had taken
place in Canada. Sir Frederick Borden,
in introducing the new Militia Act of
Canada, which consolidated all the
military laws of Canada, asserted that
that Act, with all the changes that might
be made from time to time in this House,
was part of the law of Canada, and such a

suggestion must be news to many Members of the House. Many debates had taken place both in this House and in another place which went to show that the War Office itself had never very carefully followed the law as laid down by the Army Act.

The Bill now before the House contained, and in some degree amended, the law with regard to Courts of inquiry, Courts-martial, and matters discussed in the House as recently as the previous year. He would not enter into the details of the cases discussed: it would be sufficient to say that the two discussions which took place in another place in regard to the Kinloch case brought to light the extraordinary want of knowledge of the law in all who took part in those discussions. In the Kinloch case it was assumed that the whole of the provisions of the Army Act were applicable to the proceedings, and the debate in the House of Lords was carried on with hardly a reference to the fact that the provisions of the Act were utterly inadequate to the case and had no bearing on it whatever; that the inquiry was not in fact such an inquiry as was contemplated by the Act. The Courts of inquiry which had attracted the most attention were not under this Act; not, in fact, legal Courts of inquiry at all. Members of both Houses of Parliament who had heard of regulations being amended by these amending Bills year by year, and applied to Courts of inquiry, were naturally under the impression that every military Court of inquiry to which attention had been drawn, was held under those regulations, and when they found there were grave breaches of the law based on Statutes or upon regulations based on Statutes, they naturally jumped to the conclusion that some illegality was being practised, whereas these Courts of inquiry were not constituted under the Army Act at all. There had been frequent discussions as to whether it would be possible to simplify that state of things and to get rid of that alarmed public opinion which was excited by the unfounded belief that in these cases the law had been violated, by having only formal Courts of inquiry—by reducing the proceedings in all such cases to statutory proceedings under these Acts. The difficulties of applying the principles of

the Army Act to Courts of inquiry in time of war were insuperable. In time of war it was essential for commanding officers to take action quite apart from formal Courts of inquiry which could not be held because of the impossibility of bringing all the witnesses together. It was difficult to say that a commanding officer who was going to take such action should not take such means as he thought proper to inform his own mind as to the action which he was going to take. But as regarded times of peace the late Secretary of State, the present Secretary of State for India, declared to the House in 1901 that it was the desire of the Government to discourage the holding of prerogative Courts of inquiry and it was hoped, said the right hon. Gentleman, in times of peace to hold Courts of inquiry only in the formal manner prescribed by the Act. With regard to the case which he (Sir Charles) had mentioned, the point was that both Houses of Parliament were under the impression that the law had been violated, but what had in fact occurred was that the form of a Court of inquiry had been observed in a proceeding which was not a Court of inquiry at all. The same difficulty which had arisen with regard to military Courts of inquiry had arisen in regard to a matter which it was not in order to discuss on this occasion.

Considerable difficulty arose in similar cases of Courts-martial relating to the Auxiliary Forces. In time of war, when the Auxiliary Forces were incorporated with the Regular Forces, they were amenable to the military law under the Army Act, but not otherwise. In times of peace the Volunteers were dealt with under a wholly different series of Statutes, their Courts of inquiry being held under the Volunteer Act of 1863. Nevertheless the rules of procedure, by which those Courts were regulated were drawn under the Army Annual Acts and largely followed the language of those Acts. It was an extraordinary fact that Volunteer Courts of inquiry appeared to be in the habit of taking evidence on oath without having authority to do so, unless the authority was to be found in the Army Acts. Nor had they power to pronounce sentence, and yet this also had been done. In the correspondence between the persons affected in two such cases and the War Office, it was laid

down by the Department that the rules of procedure based on the Army Annual Acts were applicable to Volunteer Courts of inquiry, but that idea was not conveyed by the legislation itself. This was a point to which he invited the attention of the Attorney-General, his suggestion being that it was entirely illegal for these Courts to take evidence on oath unless the power was directly given by Statute. He could not help thinking that if they had a Judge Advocate-General in the House—a proposal which he heartily supported—these matters would receive more attention than at present. In a case referred to by the hon. Member for the Exchange Division of Liverpool a lieutenant had been declared by a Volunteer Court of inquiry to have been guilty of insubordination, and he submitted that the Court had no legal power to give such a decision. If it was pretended that such a power existed it could be only under the Army Act, which was not applicable to Volunteers in times of peace when they were not subject to military law.

The only other subject to which he desired to refer on the present occasion concerned the language of the Bill and of the Amendments for the present year. The proposals with regard to protectorates dealt with a delicate and difficult subject, because there was no general law and no general *status* of protectorates. No two protectorates were exactly alike. The point he wished to urge was that the words placed in the Bill were directly opposed to those rendered necessary by the Interpretation Act, and that the language of the Statute as altered by the present Bill would conflict with the language of the Interpretation Act. These protectorate cases were extremely difficult, and there was a direct conflict between the highest authorities on the subject. Sir Henry Jenkyns had distinctly stated that a protectorate was not dominion, whereas in the case of the Jameson Raid the jury found that the Bechuanaland Protectorate was a portion of the dominions of the Crown. He suggested that in this Statute it would be wise to follow the language of the Interpretation Act, which was good enough for every other purpose, and ought to be good enough for the War Office in this matter.

Sir Charles Dilke.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) complained that there was no copy of the reprint of the Act available to Members later than that authorised by the House in 1893, and as there was only one copy in the library, it was absolutely impossible to make sense of the Amendments proposed by the Secretary of State or to ascertain exactly what the position of the Army Act really was. He hoped the Secretary of State would take steps to remedy that state of things. According to the preamble the Act was brought into force at several different dates. Doubtless when the Act was originally introduced, there was good reason for such an arrangement, but the reason no longer existed, as steamships and the electric telegraph had annihilated distance, and rendered it perfectly possible to bring the Act into force on the same day throughout His Majesty's dominions. He suggested two reasons for the proposed alteration in Clause 5: one was the question of recruiting, and the other was that put forward in the official explanation. It was clear that if the Department had power to transfer men, in lieu of imprisonment, to some other portion of the force, certain recruiting difficulties in some of the corps would be surmounted, but some good reason from a military point of view ought to be given for these compulsory transfers. The proposed changes in Clause 7, on the question of deductions, were doubtless intended to regularise a practice already in existence. Illegal deductions were constantly made, and they were acquiesced in by the officers for disciplinary reasons. On Clause 8 he asked why the Secretary of State proposed to double the amounts which might be stopped from the pay of non-commissioned officers and men for the maintenance of their wives and legitimate children.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that this measure was a very old friend of his. The Army Annual Act was, he believed, first passed in the year 1881. What they intended to do was to renew that Act year by year by a renewing Act. But almost every year since 1881 it had not been a question of renewing the Act and the powers of the Government, but of amending it, and the result was that they had all these Amendments which had

now to be read into the original Act, and it almost surpassed the power of any ordinary human being to understand the Act, because it was necessary to read some thirteen or fourteen Acts of Parliament in order to get to know the actual state of the law. This was another example of legislation by reference, against which he had so often protested. It was allusive, illusive, and elusive legislation, and the House was being asked to pass an Act which was absolutely unintelligible. The simple remedy was to let the Army Act be reprinted in full every year, and then they would have before them some intelligible form of the Act. He asked that the Government should reprint the Army Annual Bill as it stood at present, with an *addendum* if they so desired; but at any rate let them have the Act in a shape in which they could understand it. Clause 13 imposed a fresh obligation upon keepers of victualling houses, and he wished to know why that was necessary at the present time. They were now required to provide one extra bed, and he wished to know if any addition was going to be made to the sum allowed to them, because they should not be called upon to provide an extra bed for the soldiers for nothing. He did not know why a provision of this sort was necessary when barrack accommodation was very much greater than it had ever been before. The practice of referential legislation was being carried to an undue extent in this Bill.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said the alteration now proposed was much larger than usually took place in this Act, and when there was such a large number of alterations he thought the Act ought to be reprinted. At present, great inconvenience was caused to those who had to use the Act, for they had to stick in slips of paper from year to year. This was a very serious matter for all those who had to deal with the Act, and therefore it ought to be reprinted. This year this was especially necessary. He trusted that some explanation in regard to the point raised by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean would be given, because it seemed to be a very serious drawback and some provision ought to be inserted in order to remedy it. It was always difficult, in dealing

with the Volunteers, to have such uncertainties existing, and if they remained Volunteer discipline would be made still worse than it was at the present time. The changes now proposed were not mere details, but considerable alterations. He did not see why such a question as was now provided for should be asked in the case of the forfeiture of the pay of the soldier, and the very reverse was done in the case of officers. In Section 4 the alteration was that the soldier was to be told that he might demand a Court-martial, but in Section 12 certain offences deprived the officer of the right of a Court-martial. It was quite true that as a rule these stoppages had been very often made illegally, but he did not think it improved the case at all to insert a section to make it legal, for they were cases which ought certainly to go before a Court-martial. An officer had a right to demand a Court-martial when a heavy penalty was put upon him. The alteration proposed in Section 12 was a very serious one and ought to be looked into, and more explanation ought to be given beyond the mere fact that officers had been mulcted illegally. He thought that custom ought to be stopped. He did not think Section 7 was necessary, and perhaps they would have some better explanation of it than was given in the note. He did not see that such a provision was necessary at all, for the officer had a right to ask for a Court-martial. It was quite unnecessary to make such an alteration, because officers ought to be tried by a Court for such offences and not by some authority at the War Office. The question whether the damage had been done by the negligence of the officer was not one which ought to be decided by an official but by a court. With reference to paragraph 12 he did not see why the schoolmaster was not to be reduced because he did not enlist as a private. In his opinion the schoolmaster ought to be reduced in the same way as other men in the Army and he did not quite see what this section was meant to do. The schoolmaster ought to be treated in the same way, and there ought to be the power of reducing him just the same as in the case of other people who committed offences. He considered the printing of the Act was so serious a matter that they

ought to insist upon having some definite pledge from the Government upon this point.

*COLONEL WELBY (Taunton) said he strongly supported the proposal made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that this Act should be printed. He had tried himself to fit in the Amendments to the Bill this year with those of previous years, but he had entirely failed to understand them. No doubt there were many difficulties about printing the Act. There were so many difficult questions affecting the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Army, contained in the Army Annual Act that before passing Amendments the House ought really to know what they meant. They should also be confident that those who represented the War Office did themselves know what would be the effect of the Amendments. In regard to Clause 4 referred to by the hon. Member for Lichfield, his recollection was that, when he was a commanding officer, whenever a man had his pay forfeited he had the right of appeal to a Court-martial. He did not see why that should not be enforced and made clear by the Amendment now proposed. It seemed to him that the introduction of the Amendment on Clause 7 might possibly lead to great injustice being done to officers in future. He thought the House ought to have full proof of the necessity for this alteration. Those who remembered the Army years ago knew that if there was a nail hole in a wall for which an officer paid 2d., that officer would find the hole still there if he returned to the barracks ten years afterwards and again paid for it. It was a source of permanent income to the barrack master. The tendency now was to have more in a barrack room than bare walls, a coal-scuttle, a table, and two chairs. The rooms were going to be furnished and a charge made. Under the new system of administrative districts and Commanders-in-Chief there might be very heavy charges against officers on account of the furniture from both these authorities. Were these charges to go simply to the Secretary of State for War and was he to have absolute dictum in saying that an officer was to pay whatever was charged

against him? Was the officer to have no appeal to a statutory Court of inquiry or to a Court-martial? The Amendment would open the door to very great wrong and injustice. The Secretary of State could not be expected to look into every individual case, but surely an officer who was aggrieved ought to have the right of appeal to his own peers. Before this was passed into law they ought to have strong proof that it was necessary. Reference had been made by the hon. Member for King's Lynn to the provisions in regard to a bed for each soldier. He could tell the hon. Member that if it had been his fortune to march as a cavalry soldier through Ireland he would think that the Amendment was very necessary. He had known cases in which three or four men had been compelled to sleep in one bed, and sometimes that bed was a very dirty one. In some instances, the men had preferred to go to the stables and sleep on a little straw rather than occupy the beds which were provided for them. He thought it was absolutely necessary that the officer in command should be able to say that every man who was billeted should have a bed to himself.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) said he hoped the Secretary of State for War would give some answer to what was brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean. The Secretary of State for War was doubtless aware that there was a very marked difference between an ordinary Court of inquiry, which was really a prerogative Court, and a Court of inquiry under the Statute. What did they find? Invariably a Court of inquiry was held, and he was perfectly certain that nine-tenths of the officers in the Army were not aware that there were two distinct Courts—one a prerogative Court, which was not properly a Court at all, and the other a statutory Court which carried very much greater weight. The Courts of inquiry which took place during the recent war in South Africa were practically not Courts at all. They were Courts held purely on the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, or other superior officer, for the purpose of gleanings information. He was sure that the Attorney-General would agree

Mr. Courtenay Warner.

with him in saying it was of supreme importance that they should know where the law ended and where prerogative began. He suggested that there should be schedules of those matters which should be dealt with by Statute. Those who had served in the Army were aware that there were numerous cases in which it was absolutely necessary for the commanding officer to obtain certain information before he ordered a Court-martial. He was not an advocate for ruling out altogether the prerogative Court-martial, but he thought it ought to be laid down clearly in this Act so that officers might know what their powers were. He asked the Attorney-General to give the House some information as to the Courts of inquiry which had been taking evidence on oath with reference to the Volunteers. It appeared to him that the Courts which had been dispensing justice in connection with the Volunteers had not been acting legally. During the war in South Africa the suggestion was frequently made that officers in the Army should be dealt with in precisely the same way as officers in the Navy, namely, that they should have the power under all circumstances of demanding a Court-martial. He thought it would be well to lay down definitely that officers should have that power. As to charges made for barrack damages, he could state that these were very irritating to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men: There was a feeling on the part of private soldiers that they were mulcted in considerable sums which found their way into the pockets of certain officials.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, Bootle) said it seemed to him that the question of the position of the Courts of inquiry was somewhat imperfectly understood, and the few words he wished to address to the House were founded on personal experience. It should be clearly understood that formerly there were two Courts—a Court of inquiry, and a Court martial. The object and *raison d'être* of the Court of inquiry was to ascertain whether or not, in a particular case, a Court-martial should be held or not. The general officer commanding directed the Court of inquiry to assemble. But now there had cropped up what was called a statutory

Court of inquiry, which seemed to be a sort of inferior Court-martial. He hoped that under no circumstances would the House consent to the original Court of inquiry being done away with. It could assemble and take evidence in time of war, and he therefore hoped that this prerogative Court would be fully recognised. It was always an understood thing that a Court of inquiry could give no decision in a case before them, but should confine themselves to obtaining evidence. The law, however, was in such a confused state that nobody could understand it.

* THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) said it had been pointed out by his hon. friend that there was an accumulation of Amendments, but he ventured to trespass on the indulgence of the House by asking it to give consideration to these Amendments, inasmuch as they were likely to lead to the advantage either of the officer or of the soldier. There was no object beyond a benevolent intention contained in the clauses he had submitted as Amendments to the Army Act. The complaint which had been made was quite unfounded as to the form in which the Act was presented to the House and to the Army. He had anticipated the wishes of the House and had made arrangements for a reprint of the Act in its amended form. It would be advisable, he thought, to distinguish, not only the Amendments which might be passed this year, but in some other way the Amendments made in the Act since the last general reprint had been issued.

COLONEL WELBY asked whether the clauses affected by these Amendments could be printed before the House went into Committee on the Bill.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he thought the clauses affected by these Amendments could be printed *in extenso* in the form of an addendum. He might say that as soon as he became aware of the condition in which the law stood he had taken steps to give effect to the intention which all hon. Members had at heart by the amendment of the law which had so important a bearing on

the liberties of the soldier. The hon. and gallant Member for Bristol had asked, in reference to Clause 5, why there had been a diminution of the period of six months limiting the right of transfer of a soldier from one unit to another. He could assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that there had been no sinister design imported into that clause by the recruiting department. It was desirable to have that power of transfer, but he was satisfied that it would have to be done with the full assent of the House as a matter of principle. Some attention had been called to the operation of Clause 7, which regularised the existing situation in respect of reduction of officers' pay. The practice was already sanctioned by Royal Warrant, in the interest of officers. Furniture was now supplied for the officers' quarters; and it was thought desirable that the power should be exercised under Statute. He really believed the effect of the provision would be for the protection of the officers, but cases might arise where officers would have these questions adjudicated upon without the formality of a Court-martial. A question had been asked in regard to schoolmasters, and as to why a difference was made between classes of schoolmasters. There were two classes of schoolmasters in the Army—those who had enlisted as soldiers, and had been promoted as schoolmasters with the rank of warrant officer; and those who had entered the Army as schoolmasters from civil life, and who also held the rank of warrant officer. In the first place, it had been felt that it was an injustice to the soldier, and was not in the interest of discipline, that one man should be exposed to one set of penalties, and the other to another set of penalties. Thus, they were regularising the situation by putting the two classes on the same footing. Attention had been called to the question of Courts of inquiry. He should like to point out that he did not think there was any ambiguity, as had been suggested, with reference to these Courts of inquiry. The nature of a Court of inquiry was described in Part II. of the Rules of Procedure of the Army. There was laid down quite clearly what the nature of a Court of inquiry was, and

what were the limits of its prerogatives. It was stated that—

“A Court of inquiry is an assembly of officers directed by a commanding officer to collect evidence and report with respect to a transaction into which he cannot conveniently himself make inquiry.”

Such a Court, therefore, had not in strictness any judicial power; it could only collect evidence. It would undoubtedly be a great gain if Courts of this kind were not to express opinions affecting the characters of officers, but should confine themselves to matters of fact; and he hoped there would be no ground in future for the complaint that these Courts exceeded their powers. The hon. Member opposite had referred to the last clause of the Amendment dealing with the day on which they would come into force. It was a most reasonable suggestion that the Act should come into force everywhere, if possible, at the same time. He would not give a pledge on the subject until he had obtained an expression of opinion on the matter. It was necessary, however, that there should be an interval between the date of the passing of the Act and its being put into operation here, and, say, its promulgation in such distant places as Hong-Kong. He would make inquiry as to whether the period could not be shortened in view of the better means of communication which prevailed since the Act was originally introduced.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he had asked a specific Question in regard to Volunteer Courts of inquiry.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he was aware of the case to which the right hon. Baronet referred. He understood that these Courts of inquiry had proceeded as if they were constituted under the Army Act. That was not the fact. They had no power to administer an oath or pronounce a sentence. He could understand that if an endeavour had been made to administer an oath to any person coming before a Court conducted by a Volunteer officer without the sanction and approval of the War Office, that person might refuse to take the oath, and there was no power to compel him to take it. There was no suggestion that those Volunteer officers who sat on a Court of inquiry had exceeded their powers, or had done any

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

injustice during the course of the proceedings. It was not competent for him to review the decisions of a Court of inquiry which had been held under the sanction of the War Office. On the real signification of taking an oath in giving evidence at these inquiries he would suggest that the question should be raised in Committee, when he would give further information.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he doubted whether he should be in order in raising the question in Committee, but he would place the letter to which he had referred in the hands of the War Office, and perhaps the Attorney-General would give an opinion.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would deal with the letter. The point appeared to be this. It was necessary to conduct these Volunteer inquiries according to some procedure, and the procedure which had recommended itself to the officers was that which obtained in the Army.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said the Volunteer Courts had assumed that they had power to administer the oath, but they acted contrary to the Statute.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would not carry the matter further at that stage, and he trusted that the House would now pass the Second Reading of the Bill.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he was surprised that the Attorney-General had not responded to the definite request made to him by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean. He did not understand why the reply should be postponed. Were those proceedings regular or irregular; were they legal or illegal?

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said it would be better to have the specific circumstances inquired into before giving an opinion in regard to them. Undoubtedly the power to administer an oath must be legalised by Statute. He understood that at these Courts of inquiry no sentence was pronounced. Of

course, if a sentence were pronounced it would be a different matter altogether. As he understood the case, the Court of inquiry found that a particular officer had been guilty of a reprehensible offence, but there was no question of pronouncing sentence.

MR. DALZIEL said he was obliged to the learned Attorney-General for the indirect reply he had given, but it did not proceed far enough. Was, or was not, the taking of the oath at those inquiries legal? The learned Attorney-General did not indicate any statute legalising that procedure. It was a more serious matter than the Government appeared to imagine, and he was surprised that the War Office had allowed the uncertainty to continue.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said there was no question of sentence resulting; simply a report was made to the War Office which was the executive authority in the matter.

MR. DALZIEL said that the Attorney-General might be technically correct, but the report of the Court was an indirect sentence in itself, because on it was based the sentence which was ultimately passed by the War Office. He thought the time had arrived when some directions should be given as to how such inquiries should be conducted. A very serious case had come under his personal notice, and it was surely due to the Volunteers that they should know exactly where they stood in regard to this matter. The Secretary of State for War stated that a witness had the option of being examined on oath or not. What would be the position of the witness who objected to be sworn? He might be a very important witness, but if not sworn, his evidence would be regarded as absolutely without value. Therefore, the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman was not one to which any importance could be attached, because it would be impossible to carry it into effect. The right hon. Gentleman stated only the other day, in reply to a Question, that three Volunteer commanding officers had found Lieutenant Green guilty of insubordination, that the military authorities had called upon him to resign, and that, he refusing,

steps were taken for his removal. Practically the Court asked him to resign. It appeared to him that before the Bill passed its Second Reading the House ought to have from the Attorney-General, or some representative of the War Office, a definite declaration as to how the law stood in regard to those inquiries. It was a farce and an absurdity that the oath should be administered without any legal authority. It was now practically admitted that the inquiries were conducted in an irregular manner.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

— EVENING SITTING. —

LAND JUDGE'S COURT (IRELAND).

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) moved, "To call attention to the procedure of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland, the delay consequent thereon, the causes to which such delay is due, the hardships to tenants, encumbrancers, and landlords arising therefrom; and to move, 'That the time has arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland in the interests of all concerned.'"

He said recesses came and went, perhaps too quickly for them all, sessions might conclude, and Parliaments might end, but the Irish question, in one phase or another, would go on as long as the administration in Ireland in all departments was defective and bad, and the people were deprived of the management of their own affairs. To-night they were back again to Ireland and Irish land once more. The fortunes of the ballot had given him the opportunity of opening a debate on the Land Judge's Court in Ireland. It was a subject of vast importance from all points of view, and he regretted very much that the discussion on it should rest with him. He was, however, consoled by the fact that an arrangement had been made whereby his Motion would be seconded by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, and he felt sure that any defects of statement on his own part would be fully made up by

Mr. Dalziel.

others. They asked to-night that immediate steps should be taken to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland, and proof after proof would be given of the reasonable nature of the demand. They could show that in constitution and in procedure the Court was a failure, and that a radical treatment was required to cure the diseases from which it suffered. Unfortunately the Rules of the House make it impossible to discuss the conduct of the Judge who presided over the Court, and in Parliament it appeared one could not use disrespectful language of a Judge of the High Court. Well, he would meet the case as far as it was possible by refusing to speak of him or his methods in respectful language, and leave the blank spaces to be filled in by the experience or knowledge of hon. Members.

What was the Land Judge's Court in Ireland? It was necessary to tell the House of Commons because it was a Court that had no equal nor even a comparison in any other land. If a Commission were appointed for the translation of valuable documents from the ancient Irish into the Saxon tongue, and the Speaker of the House of Commons were constituted the ruling authority on the ground that on a few occasions he listened to efforts to make speeches in Irish in this House, the appointment would be as reasonable as that on which an Irish Land Judge was appointed. And the duties would be performed as efficiently in the one case as they were in the other. The Committee to inquire into the matter found that the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act of 1870 were destroyed by this Court. The right hon. Gentlemen the Member for Montrose Burghs, a former Chief Secretary, in referring to the state of business in the Court, declared it to be—

"A great and recognised scandal."

How far these expressions were justified the debate would show. The Court practically had its origin in 1848 as the Encumbered Estates Court. Irish landlords to a large extent first plundered and then encumbered their properties. Legal ingenuity invented the Court, and, as a result of its work, in ten years £23,000,000 worth of property changed hands. It did not always

change hands for the benefit of the people, as could be learned from the records of the estate purchased by the notorious John George Adair and other land speculators. In 1858 an Act was passed constituting the "Landed Estates Court" and it was entitled "An Act to facilitate the sale and transfer of land in Ireland." But instead of endeavouring to carry out the policy of the Act the Court grew into what had been truly described as "a huge rent office." According to the Act, particulars had to be furnished to Parliament of the estates in Court, but the duty was irksome and inconvenient and was soon evaded. The Court had power to make rules as to returns and other matters and they soon ruled out the returns. It would not do to let the public too much into the knowledge of the dark ways and means of the place which, in their way, were as peculiar as those of a certain person of whom they had heard much in recent days. The result was that they were all in the dark to a large extent as to the full amount of the property in Court, but from certain official statements it would appear to include rentals amounting at all events to seven hundred thousands pounds a year, or a fifth of the land of Ireland. If they asked the Chief Secretary for particulars, he replied that the trouble would be too great to procure them. If they asked the Attorney-General of course he said the same. He never did anything. But it showed how little the answers supplied were to be relied on when the officials of the Court in a claim circulated this morning in reference to their positions stated definitely that though up to 1889—

"The whole department was in a state of chaos."

they were soon after able to make out—

"Complete lists of the estates under the Court and also of the Receivers alphabetically arranged."

By the Judicature Act and sundry other changes Judge Ross found himself at the head of a State Rent Collecting Department with the *status* of a Judge of the High Court. He could send a man to prison for an unlimited period if he spoke of any of his estates in what he considered an improper manner. His information upon matters was gained

from Receivers like Mr. George Hewson of Leitrim—who was publicly charged with making a false statement in an affidavit by the hon. Member for North Leitrim, and who took no action about it—or men whose knowledge of land seemed to consist in their ability to buy horses from the farmers for £7 and sell them to the War Office for £30 for service in South Africa. The learned Judge did send people to prison under his powers for the reasons stated. Sometimes it was a poor peasant and sometimes a Member of Parliament. The formula was that the contempt must be purged by an apology and a promise not to offend again. The hon. Member for North Leitrim was sent to prison for putting something into his newspaper about an estate, and he was to be kept there until he apologised. He would not apologise, however, and they were still waiting an explanation as to why he was released. But the game went on in practically the same old way. Hundreds of Receivers who could never earn anything at any other occupation took fees amounting, he was told, to £100,000 a year. Hordes of solicitors pocketed law costs, and one section and all combined to bless the machinery of the Court, and to destroy the hopes of tenants' encumbrancers and landlords over whom they were placed.

There was an Act passed in 1896 which contained what was called the 40th Section. It was a section to apply the principle of compulsory sale to estates in the Court. The whole procedure of the Court tended to make it inoperative, and wherever possible it was evaded. Take the case of the Herbert Estate in the county of Kerry. It was an estate where the 40th Section applied, but so much concealment of the facts took place that even the tenants' solicitor never suspected it and thought the sale was a voluntary one until the bargain was completed, in consequence of which the tenants' interests suffered. Take the case of the Rae Estate in the same county. The section applied there also, but the Church Body were the encumbrancers. Instead of being sold to the tenants it was allowed to be taken out of Court and the Receiver under the Court appointed Receiver to the estate and the tenants defrauded of purchase. The harm of such a proceeding

needed an illustration. He would give one. There were two estates under the Court near the famous Gap of Dunloe. The section applied, and, according to the spirit of the Act, they should both be sold to the tenants at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission. But the landlords were allowed to negotiate direct with the tenants without any help from the State who were to provide the money. It was clear both estates were of a similar character. Yet in the case of John Mahony the prices paid ranged from ten to seventeen years purchase, while in the case of The Macgillycuddy the price was eighteen years all round, and some of the tenants against whom the landlord had some feeling had not been allowed to purchase at all. These statements could not be controverted, and surely they constituted a public scandal. But there was worse in the cases of the two last mentioned estates. The Chief Secretary's Land Act of 1903 loomed on the horizon after The Macgillycuddy tenants had signed their agreements, and before the Mahony tenants had done so. An encumbered landlord would grasp at anything, and, of course, they both grasped at the bonus provided in the Act. Both landlords tried to argue the tenants into delay. In the case of Mr. Mahony the tenants fortunately had an able adviser in Mr. Moriarty, solicitor, Killarney, and he arranged that the tenants would await the Act if the landlord signed a written agreement to allow the prices to remain the same. After considerable pressure he consented to do so, the result being that the tenants had their land at the old price, the landlord took £2,000 of a bonus, and the hon. Member for Stoke-upon-Trent could credit the Land Judge's Court with the loss to the taxpayer in which he was so much interested. The Macgillycuddy was not in the same position to get agreements under the new Act, but everything had been delayed without reason in his sale, and he (the speaker) was told he was going about amongst the tenants offering them half the bonus if they would sign new agreements to enable him to get the other half. Then there was the McCartie Estate near Killarney, where the most ridiculous objections had been allowed to delay a sale for years, and the Duggan Estate, where there was no

owner in existence, or, worst of all, the Harte Estate where years ago an order for sale was made, and one of the owners, a Mr. Fitzgerald, then allowed to enter into negotiations with the tenants for purchase. Whatever manipulation or humbugging was going on he was still negotiating and the tenants had got no nearer to purchase. And all this kind of thing went on under "An Act to facilitate the sale of land," the Judge of which had to swear on taking office that he "would duly and faithfully, and to the best of his skill and power, execute the office of Judge of the Landed Estates' Court in Ireland." If his power could not cope with such matters then it ought to be strengthened; if the policy of the Acts under which he acted was not plain then it ought to be made so.

According to the Land Commission Return in eight years only £1,058,053 worth of property had been sold under the 40th Section of the Act of 1896. In a period hardly longer £23,000,000 passed through the Encumbered Estates Court. What was the cause of the difference and delay? The Chief Secretary told them in 1901 that Judge Ross had shown great energy, and that he was not there to protect the landlord or the tenant but the creditors. Judge Ross himself told them he was not there to consider what would be for the benefit of the tenant, but what would be for the benefit of the estate, and though after the passage of the Land Act of 1903 he declared his conscience would not allow him to deprive the tenants of the benefits of it, still they found the price of land going up in his Court, and tenants penalised, as in Wexford, because the sea depreciated the value of their lands. He would tell the Chief Secretary where all these proceedings were leading to. To the hardship of the individual tenant and the loss of the nation. The notorious Warden Estate was allowed to be purchased in that Court by a land speculator ten years ago for ten years purchase. The whole place was a congested district; still without an effort by the Congested Districts Board, without any strong hand to help them, these unfortunate tenants had been forced into bargains under the 1903 Act at prices ranging from

Mr. Murphy.

twenty-one to twenty-five years purchase. How could peace and prosperity return to the country if such things continued? This Court had become disproportioned and its weight would ruin all below. How could land purchase proceed if 40,000 tenants were held up in a vice. Was not this Court clogged? Was not its machinery cumbrous and slow? What was going to be done to clear it, and how did the Chief Secretary propose to do it? Let him give an honest answer and not one obtained from the officials, but one founded on the facts. Judge Ross himself was the brother of a landlord near Derry. His retinue of Receivers and solicitors were dependent on his Court for a living. Their opinions on the matter should be cast aside, and a clear, definite, and speedy remedy applied. Here surely was a problem under their noses that could be dealt with by methods in their hands. He could not say that he was hopeful of the result as far as the right hon. Gentleman was concerned. Many of his recent appointments in Ireland and much of his policy gave no reason for hope. He might want to know what the Irish Members proposed to do with Judge Ross and his Court, but it was not for them to say. So long as he undertook the government of Ireland the duty of reform was his. He might, if he desired, make Judge Ross Provost of Trinity College, and relegate or elevate Dr. Traill to the chair of a Commission to inquire into the means of protection necessary in the cases of "poor fellows who might be sentenced to be hung." But at all events let him tell them fully to-night how far he proposed to remedy a condition of things that was a disgrace in every respect and ought to be at once changed in the interests of Ireland.

*MR. S. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) seconded the Resolution. He confessed that in doing so the principal difficulty he felt was in the absence of the jury. [IRISH cheers, and a MEMBER: That is not unusual.] An admirable case, one which he believed would carry conviction to any jury if they had an opportunity of addressing it, had been put; but the misfortune of this, and every Irish case, was that it would not be heard by the jury which

would give the verdict. Somewhere about midnight they would see troops of hon. Members coming into the House and gaily voting down one of the best cases that could be put by any Party, voting to keep up one of the greatest anomalies that existed even in Ireland. He was not going to tell the House what he thought of the Land Judge's Court. He was going to give a judicial word picture of the institution by a gentleman whose authority would not be questioned by the Chief Secretary or the learned Attorney-General, or anybody connected with Ireland. He referred to Mr. Justice Bewley, once the judicial member of the Irish Land Commission. Now in giving judgment in the Harkness case Mr. Justice Bewley said: "The Land Judge's Court, instead of being a Court for the sale of estates, had become a gigantic rent office. Receivers were appointed for encumbered estates, and, as a matter of fact, elaborate and expensive preparations were made for a sale which every person knew would never take place. When estates were put up for auction there were no bidders and the sales were adjourned *sine die*. The occupying tenants were the only persons likely to purchase and never received adequate notice. The Receivers and solicitors, having the charge of the proceedings, had a direct personal interest in letting things remain as they were." He wished to let the House see what a great judicial personage thought of this, one of the chief Irish institutions. What would be the Chief Secretary's reply? He thought he was in a position to anticipate it. The right hon. Gentleman would probably say that Mr. Justice Bewley spoke in 1897, and that he was quite right. But he would say that since that time great improvements and progress had been made. He would say that the rental of the Court, then about £700,000 a year, had been reduced by one-half, that the cases in the Court had been greatly diminished, that a large amount of property had been sold, and that the Land Judge was pushing things as fast as he could. Everyone knew, although procedure was very slow, that a great many estates or properties had been sold under the 40th Section of the Act of 1896; but the House should remember that it was the pressure of

Irish Members that really impelled the Government to deal with this Court in that Act. He was in a position to give a curious piece of evidence in regard to this. Irish Members would recollect that in 1894 he moved for what was called the Morley Committee, and when the order of reference was being prepared it included the right to examine into the procedure of the Land Judges' Court. The Ulster Unionist Members—he meant the official Members, the Gentlemen who were in revolt, who were conspicuous by their absence when an Irish matter of the utmost importance was before it—protested against the Land Judge's Court being inquired into by the Committee or by any other body; and he actually had to leave that out of the order of reference and to consent to take the Committee without this Court being inquired into. The ringleader of that Party was now a Judge in Ireland

MR SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Who was it—Ross?

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he had stated the fact; and he was not to be drawn any further. They were thwarted in their efforts to get information about this Court before the Committee presided over by the Member for Montrose. Had they been any more successful in any other effort they had made? They had asked to be privy to what had been done under various Acts of Parliament. What had been the reply? The reply had been made that the Land Judge's Court was pressed with work and had no time to give elaborate returns. This was the answer given the other day by the Chief Secretary in perfect good faith, and yet the previous day the Treasury was dismissing clerks from this department because they had no work for them to do. If they were ignorant as to the progress being made in this Court it was not because they had not asked for information; it was because they had been refused that information. They had had no returns of the proceedings in the Court under the Act, and they were perfectly in the dark. They therefore asked the Chief Secretary to tell them the facts and what he was going to do in relation to them.

There was another thing which had probably helped the Chief Secretary to

Mr. T. W. Russell.

make out the case he would make to-night. Since the Act of 1903 a State bonus had been given to the sellers of landed property in Ireland, and there had been a very remarkable movement in the Court. The owners of estates had been very desirous of getting out of the Court, not that they might sell them to the tenants,—when that was the only object to gain they were not in a hurry—but in order to collar the bonus outside. Undoubtedly, if the Court had been depleted of estates, and if the rental coming into the Court had now been largely reduced, it had been because of the hurry of these landlords, who thought their estates were solvent, to get them sold outside and get the bonus they would not get if they remained in the Court. But if the estates were solvent, what right had they to be in the Court at all? Did the Chief Secretary know all the State got for managing these estates? Did the two right hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Bench know that there had been hundreds of these estates managed at the public expense? The Attorney-General shook his head. Let him wait. All that the State got was the stamp duty on the Receiver's accounts. This was all, and it did not keep up the Land Judge's Court. The person who paid the rest for managing perfectly solvent estates in many cases was the general taxpayer. Why should these solvent estates be in the Court at all? It was a Court for the sale of bankrupt estates, and the House had no right to allow this thing to go on any longer. If the estates were solvent, let them be taken out and let the nominal owners manage them for themselves at their own charge. What kept the insolvent estates, which he knew were the great majority, there? Why were they not sold? The Court was established to sell them. They had been there fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, and ten years. The nominal owner had now no interest in them; he had long ceased to be a factor in the question at all; it did not matter to him in most cases what became of the estates. The encumbrancers cared very nearly as little, because they knew perfectly well most of them would never get a farthing out of them. Who were the people who really cared about keeping them there? First

of all, there was the army of Receivers, who were mainly land agents. They received a commission for collecting these rents, and of course they had an interest in keeping the estates in Court, because the moment they were sold, whether they were solvent or insolvent, the commission ceased, and their occupation was gone. This was clear enough; human nature was human nature even in the breast of an Irish Receiver. Who else had an interest in keeping them there? The great army of solicitors and barristers. They had a vital interest in keeping these estates in the Court. Could anyone tell him another man who had an interest in keeping the estates in the Court? Apart from these Receivers, solicitors, and barristers who made a living out of keeping them in the Court, there was not a man whose interest was not to get them out.

What was the excuse for delay? First the title, which did great service. There was the Gault Estate in the county of Tyrone. The Chief Secretary told him the other day the reason why that estate was not sold was because of a defect in title. He was convinced that there was no defect in title and that the Chief Secretary had been misled and misinformed. If title could not be proved in twelve or twenty years, was there the slightest chance that it would ever be proved on this side of the grave? It was all nonsense. What was the use of bringing up as an excuse that the title was defective and could not be proved after estates had been in the Court for twelve years. Let them make a new title, just as the Parliament of 1847 did; let them give the tenant purchasing an indefeasible title over every corner, and the Court would be cleared. What was the second cause of delay? Why, it was one of the most absurd things that could be imagined. He had heard more than half-a-dozen Chief Secretaries explain the delay with excuses about turf and boundary, and one thing or another of that kind. Of course, they got these excuses put on their lips; they were the official mouth-pieces of the Land Judge's Court. They had no inspector belonging to the whole department; they had not a man they could send down to examine into the turf or boundaries or anything else.

Who settled these disputes? Why, the solicitors and Receivers. Outside Bedlam anything like that had never been heard. The fraud ought not to be persisted in for another hour. He would be told that there was no money to pay an inspector, but he could prove that, since the passing of the Land Act of 1903 two gentlemen to whom was paid £3,000 a year had not had a hand's turn to do. Why should not Mr. Stanilaus Lynch and Mr. Murrrough O'Brien be put to this work? If there was a will a way would be found, but there was no will or way in the Land Judge's Court for the settlement of these matters, and there never would be until Government took the whole question in hand.

When the Land Act was passed Trinity College received out of the Irish Development Grant £5,000 a year. The view of the Government was that they would meet with great loss in the sale of their estates, and as this was a great educational establishment it ought not to suffer by any legislation. None of the Irish Members liked it. But there was a common idea among Irish landlords that they ought to get the full price for their land plus the State bonus. But the bonus was granted in order to bridge the difference between the need of the landlord and the capacity of the tenant. It was never intended that the landlords should ask the highest price for the land and get a present of three years purchase from the State in addition. There had been cases in the Land Judge's Court in which Trinity College was greatly interested. One was that of a county Donegal case in which Trinity College was the owner of the head rent. The tenants had offered twenty-two years purchase of the second-term rents, and eighteen and a half years purchase of the non-judicial rents, the total purchase money offered being £42,300. Trinity College had a head rent of £1,788, and required twenty-five years purchase, or £44,705. Hence the terms were not agreed to. What was Trinity College given the £5,000 a year for if she was to demand these monstrous prices? There was also the Mansfield case in county Tyrone. An absolute order for sale was made and concluded with the tenants at seventeen years purchase in 1898. Nothing resulted. In June, 1899, Mr.

Barton, an Ulster land agent, applied for and got £77 for costs of negotiating the sale at the rate of 1 per cent. on the purchase money, and the sale was treated by the Court as a concluded transaction. Again nothing resulted. A new receiver was appointed and in February, 1900, the Land Judge ruled that there should be no further delay, but from that time to 11th January, 1904, nothing had been done. The moment, however, that the Land Act was passed they came into Court and asked for a settlement. The sale at seventeen years purchase went for nothing, and they demanded terms under the new Act. The case of the Massereene and Deane Estate was equally remarkable. In April, 1891, an absolute order for sale was made, but from 1891 to 1897, notwithstanding that order, there never was any real attempt to sell the property, though the encumbrancer pressed for the sale. On 15th July, 1897, the encumbrancer brought the solicitor before the Land Judge and charged him with the delay. No rule was made on that motion. In December, 1899, the solicitor was again brought up for delay, and an order was made that unless £5,000 was paid before February, 1900, the solicitor would be discharged. In April, 1900, the carriage of sale was transferred to another solicitor. In March, 1902, the offer of the tenant was accepted and the money was to be advanced by the Land Commission. In December, 1902, the Land Commission declared the sale off unless completed at once. Ultimately, the solicitors who had caused the delay made a motion to the Judge that their costs should have priority over the £5,000 due to the man who had lent the money. Although this had been going on since 1891, not a penny had been paid. The estate was solvent when it went into Court; now it was bankrupt. There was also the case of the Macfarlane Estate in county Tyrone. It entered the Court in 1881, when Mr. Gladstone's great Land Act was passed. Within the last two or three years the tenants offered eighteen years purchase for the whole estate and the Court agreed to accept it. A lady became the tenant of the sporting rights, and the whole sale of the property to a wretchedly poor tenantry living upon bits of bog had broken down because of the sale or letting to this lady. He was

Mr. T. W. Russell.

sorry to say that the lady was the wife of the Land Judge. It was unbearable that a case like that should come before the Land Judge for his sanction. He demanded that the Chief Secretary should tell them to-night what was really to be done about these cases. It was only fair to say, however, that Mr. Justice Ross did not sit when this particular case came up, his place being taken by Mr. Justice Meredith.

The last point to which he would refer was the position of the clerks in the Land Judge's Court. They entered the service fifteen or sixteen years ago; they were not civil servants, they had brought the office out of a condition of chaos and confusion; and now, because the work had decreased, they were being discharged and thrown on the world. They had no legal claim on the Government, but he suggested that as the Estates Commissioner's work was increasing and more assistance would be required in that department, instead of fresh and untrained clerks being engaged these men should be given the preference. In conclusion he appealed to the Chief Secretary to face this work, and not to be fooled as previous Chief Secretaries had been fooled by the officials of this Court. The work could be done, the Court cleared, and the estates sold, only by some one in the Chief Secretary's position grasping the nettle boldly, telling all concerned that the Court was established to sell estates, not to keep them in Court, and that no matter whose interests were concerned, so'd they must be. He begged to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the time has arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland in the interests of all concerned."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.) said he was very glad that his hon. friend the Member for East Kerry was successful in the ballot, and that he had brought forward this Motion, because the Land Judge's Court was such a perfect scandal that the oftener public opinion was brought to bear on it through the medium of this House, the better. On the Thames Embankment there stood a thing

called Cleopatra's Needle. Some people claimed for it that it was made 1,500 years before the Christian Era. He thought he might venture to claim for it that it was, perhaps, less clumsy to work the finest embroidery than the Land Judge's Court in Ireland was to sell the encumbered estates. This Court, as the House was aware, was presided over by Mr. Justice Ross, and if he were the best Irishman that ever lived, conscientiously striving to sell the encumbered estates for the benefit of both landlord and tenant, he could not make satisfactory progress, because he was hampered and impeded by a system that was invented many years ago when the Encumbered Estates Court Act was passed; and the rules thereunder were arranged, not to facilitate sales, but for keeping estates in Court, and now the whole thing had grown to be a huge rent-collecting machine. This Court was established in 1849 under an Act of Parliament called "An Act to further and facilitate the sales of estates in Ireland." It did not work very well, however, and to hasten matters, the Landed Estates Court (Ireland) Act was passed in 1858, and a permanent Court created for the sale and transfer of land. A set of complicated rules were made under that Act which were long ago out of date. Practically each case had to be started by a petition for sale; then there was an order for sale made; then a notice was served on all the tenants and a map was made; then the abstract of title came on and the tenants' objections, and then the rental was finally finished. Every opportunity was given to tenants and adjoining owners and their tenants to make any objection or claim they thought well of. An outsider was then the purchaser, and naturally enough he wished to know exactly what he was getting for his money. The purchaser was now the tenant, who knew exactly what he was buying, consequently the rules were behind the times. They had an energetic solicitor in Wexford who had sold over £750,000 worth of property, acting as tenants' solicitor. This was how it was done: A Wexford engineer was sent down to make a map. The landlord's solicitor drew the agreements up, the tenants' solicitor got them signed and the sale was finished in six weeks,

and this might include about 100 tenants. If such an estate were put into Court for sale, the order for sale would not be made for six months; the maps and rental, which the Wexford engineer finished in a week, would take six months more, perhaps six years, and then the proceedings in Court would take so long, before it would finally come on for auction or sale before the Land Judge, that half the tenants would have died, which would mean that the rental should be amended, and this would probably take a few months or years more. This was exactly what occurred on Lord Keane's estate, which was in his own constituency. It took two years to correct the mistakes made in the rental six years previous.

Now, even if the Land Judge had not such a system to contend with, his progress must necessarily be slow, because there was more work cut out for him than any man could do. This was what usually happened in the Land Judge's Court. One day each week was fixed for hearing cases under the 40th Section of the Land Act of 1896 and the 7th Section of the Land Act of 1903. During the other five days of the week, the time of the Court was taken up with motions dealing with disputes between mortgagees about their property, disputes between tenants about a right of way, a boundary or a fence, or turbary rights, disputes about some small charge on the property; applications to get a rent temporarily reduced, and small matters of that kind. There were usually two or three counsellors on each side, and as if five days in the week were not enough for these disputes, they were frequently carried into the sixth, whilst an estate where eighty or 100 tenants were concerned was rushed through in half an hour and as a rule nobody was examined, or only the Receiver of the estate, although according to the 40th Section, each and every one of the tenants had a right to be heard in reference to the price the Land Judge was going to fix; but it was not even pretended that the tenants should get a fair hearing. Again, sales were blocked by certain powers that were in possession of the Land Judge which enabled him to demand a higher price for the estate than the price fixed by the experts of the Land Commission. The price was fixed after examination and inspection by the experts, and

the Land Commission was prepared to advance the highest penny that the estate was security for, but Mr. Justice Ross virtually said—"What do I care about you or your price. You may be experts, you may know the value of land, but I have certain powers conferred upon me by the British Government, and I mean to exercise these powers, although I know nothing at all about land. I can demand whatever price I like for that estate. I want four years purchase more for that estate than your price, and except you give it there will be no sale." That was exactly what happened on the King Estate in his constituency. It had been in Court for some years. After the usual delays an agreement was arrived at between landlord and tenant, the price agreed to was eighteen years purchase, and this agreement was signed by the tenants and sanctioned by the Land Judge. A surveyor was sent down to survey the estate, and he did it in a most extraordinary manner. In some cases according to him the farmers had exchanged holdings, in other cases he gave a part of one tenant's farm to another, and in one or two cases he put two farms and a part of another into one, so that when the estate again came before Mr. Justice Ross there was nothing to be done only postpone the sale. But Mr. Justice Ross stated in the open Court that as the tenants were in no way to blame they should not suffer by the postponement. In the meantime the Land Act of 1903 was passed, and then the landlord demanded twenty-two years purchase. Did Mr. Justice Ross keep his promise? No, but he told the tenants they should amend their offer, and as they had now cheaper money to buy with, he would very soon fix the price for them, if they did not make a more reasonable offer to the landlord. Was that justice? If he agreed to pay a certain price for a thing to-day, was the bargain to be broken and must he pay more for it to-morrow because there was a reduction in the interest of money? Everything in connection with the Land Judge's Court seemed to be out of joint.

Another cause of expense, inconvenience, and delay, was that two Courts, separated from each other by about a mile, did identically the same class of work, and both, at the same time, dealt

Mr. French.

with the same estate, with messengers constantly going to and fro. Mr. Justice Ross was in the Four Courts, while the Land Commission Court was in Merrion Street about a mile away. Why could not the Land Commission sit in the Four Courts alongside the Land Judge's Court? The question arose, Did those gentlemen in the Land Judge's Court want to sell the encumbered estates? Many people were of opinion that they did not, because the more estates that were sold the less rosy would be the prospect of fat salaries with little to do. In this Court there was a gentleman called an examiner. What he examined or whom he examined it was not quite clear, as sales were very slow; but one thing was perfectly clear, and that was the salary paid to him was £2,000 a year. The Receivers were paid another £2,000 between them every year for doing little or nothing. The officers in the Land Judge's Court, and there was a large number of them, were all well paid with little to do. The solicitors on each estate, when all counted up, sometimes numbered fifteen or twenty on a single estate. And how were all those gentlemen that he had referred to paid? They were all paid out of the estates, and consequently they did not want sales. He would give the House an instance of how these gentlemen sold estates. In his constituency there was an estate called the Richards Estate, which was placed in Court some twenty-seven years ago. A list of rentals was prepared and it took ten years to prepare it. A list of rentals, as many hon. Gentlemen were aware, was a very simple document. It contained merely the names of the tenants, the name of the townland, barony, and county in which each one lived, the number of acres he held, the rent he paid, the gale days, and the nature of the tenancy. Any ordinary intelligent man could make out a list of rentals for, say, a hundred tenants in about a fortnight. But it took ten years to make out this one. Then fifteen years more passed by and nothing was done by the Land Judge except listening to endless disputes between the lawyers, and after twenty-five years the estate was just as near being sold as at the commencement, [and it would not have been sold yet only the tenants' solicitor hauled it out of Court. The sale realised £10,000. The cost was £2,000.

This was divided between the do-nothings of the Land Judge's Court, and they would have had more out of it only for the tenants' solicitor who effected the sale, and who felt himself happy to get a £50 note out of it. The very same thing occurred on the Edwards Estate, the Howlin Estate, and Lord Keane's Estate, all in his constituency. They were in Court for twenty or twenty-five years, and would be there still only the tenants' solicitor hauled them out of Court.

It was very strange that although it might take many years to sell an estate in Court, it could be sold in as many weeks outside. Suppose some merchants in London who did business by telegram and cablegram and wireless telegraphy, and who dashed through the streets in motor-cars, always making the most of their time, were told that it took over twenty-five years to sell a little estate in Ireland, that it took ten years to prepare a list of rentals giving occupation to half a dozen solicitors, eight or ten officers in the Land Judge's Court, presided over by the Land Judge himself, that fifteen years more passed by, the Land Judge listening to the endless disputes of the lawyers, without making any progress, and that after twenty-five years, when the estate came really to be sold, it was found that a new list of rentals had to be prepared, that the old one was useless, because the tenants were all dead except two, who were more or less immortal. What would the merchants say? Surely, Sir, they would say that those people employed in the Land Judge's Court should not be allowed to live in a civilised country, but that they should be deported to Central Africa or Arabia, where men are not much encumbered with clothes, and he was very much afraid they would insist that one or two right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench, who made ingenious excuses for them, should go with them to show how the agony was being piled on in other directions. On the Colclogh Estate, which was also in his constituency, there was going to be a labourers' cottage put on a farm. Mr. Norris Goddard, a solicitor from Dublin, a valuer, and Mr. Doolan, the agent, attended in state to oppose the cottage which was passed, and they charged the estate ten guineas each, or over £30. Besides this every tenant who

went into Court, numbering about 100, Mr. Norris Goddard appealed against. This brought himself and the valuer six guineas a case, or a total of £630. Doubtless Mr. Doolan, the Receiver, got a slice also. Did these people want the estate to be sold? Would anybody belonging to this estate bring on a sale except compelled by the Land Judge or by statute? Certainly not. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made a bold effort to settle the Irish Land question, but he would find that satisfactory progress could not be made except he took the Land Judge's Court in hand, and reformed it, because it was the greatest obstacle to the sale and transfer of land although it was established to sell estates.

He would respectfully submit the following reforms for the right hon. Gentleman's consideration—First, that the Return he moved for, a few days before the Easter recess, be granted; second, that the rules of the Land Judge's Court be recast; third, that one of those Irish Judges who were constantly being presented with white gloves be appointed to adjudicate on those minor matters that he had referred to and allow Mr. Justice Ross to apply himself to the 40th Section of the Land Act of 1896, and the 7th Section of the Land Act of 1903; also that more examiners be appointed; fourth, that Mr. Justice Ross be deprived of that power which enabled him to block the sale of estates by demanding a higher price for them than their value; fifth, that the Land Judge's Court and the Land Commission Court should be brought into close proximity to each other; and sixth, that all those gentlemen employed in the Land Judge's Court should be paid by the job, and that they should not get a single penny out of an estate until it was sold. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary promised immediately before Easter that he would see if some such Return as he moved for could be made out. This was the only bit of consolation they had ever got regarding this Return. He moved for it once or twice before, and he alluded to it in a little speech which he made in the House about three years ago. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone also moved for a like Return twice or three times. They were always told that the labours of making

out such a Return would be gigantic, and that the benefits would be *nil*, and consequently the Return could not be granted. Would it be difficult to put down on paper the number of estates in the Land Judge's Court; the names of the counties in which they were situated; the date on which each one was placed in Court; the rents as shown by the last Receiver Account; and what proceedings, if any, had been taken to sell the estates. It was idle to pretend that there was any difficulty in making out this Return. The reason this Return had not long ago been laid before the House was that those gentlemen employed in the Land Judge's Court, and the Land Judge also, were utterly ashamed of themselves at the slow progress made in the sale of estates. Could such cases as he had referred to, cases that were found everywhere all over the country, occur if such a Return were made out every three months? Could estates be kept nearly thirty years in Court? Would ten years be spent in preparing a list of rentals that a man could make out in a fortnight? Could thousands of pounds be spent in trying not to sell an estate? No, Sir, this House would never stand it. The public would not stand it. He respectfully appealed to the Chief Secretary to grant this Return. It was the first and most necessary step to drain this bog—this sink—the Land Judge's Court, in which estates were sometimes lost, and the owners were lost with them. What was the use of passing Acts of Parliament to facilitate the sale and purchase of land so long as there was a pitfall like this in the way.

Any person like himself, who had lived all his life amongst the Irish tenant farmers, could very easily distinguish the difference between the farmer who had purchased and the farmer who had not. As soon as a man became the owner of his farm, the terror of the landlord and the uncertainty of the Land Courts disappeared, and he settled down to improve and cultivate his farm according to the most approved methods. An air of comfort seemed to settle down all over the place, and prosperity bloomed round the homestead. This was a desirable state of things, a state of things that hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House should strive to bring about, in

Mr. Ffrench.

the interest of the Irish tenant farmers in the interest of the landlords themselves, and, above all, in the interest of the British Government. Who were the men that carried their flag to victory on many a hard-fought field? Well, Sir, to say the least, the Irish peasant soldier did his share, and he would venture to say that the British Government never made a greater mistake, never committed a greater crime against itself, not to speak of the crime it committed against the Irish nation, than when it allowed the Irish peasantry to be swept wholesale off the land.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) said he did not propose to make many observations on the concluding remarks of the hon. Member for South Wexford. He had often said that the transfer of the land to the occupying tenants was, in the view of the Government, the proper solution of the land question in Ireland. The hon. Member had asked whether it would be difficult to draw up a list of all the estates in the Land Judge's Court. It might be, but whether it was difficult or not such a Return would be quite misleading for any purpose the hon. Member had at heart. He would develop that at some length, because there was some misconception on this subject which ought to be cleared up. Hon. Members had often used words which had led him to assume that they held that every estate in this Court could be sold, even every bankrupt estate. This was not at all the case. There were a number of complicated and technical reasons why they could not be, and a Return of every estate would really throw no light on the problem they were discussing to-night. Some speakers, including his hon. friend the Member for South Tyrone, had taken a more pessimistic view than he himself had taken of the progress that was being made in the Land Judge's Court. The hon. Member for South Tyrone began by deploring the absence of the jury. He also had a very good case and he had to labour under a like disadvantage. He asked those who took the opposite view to himself to believe that he was as anxious as they were that the 7th Section of the Act of last year should prove operative. The hon. Member for South Tyrone,

to illustrate his view, quoted the remarks of Mr. Justice Bewley in 1897, but he should be able to prove that there had been continual progress, and that that progress had been more rapid since 1897. There had been a further acceleration since the year 1901, when they last debated the question of the Land Judge's Court, and the rapidity of progress had been still further accelerated since the Act of 1903 had come into operation.

The hon. Member for South Tyrone said that some figures which he had given ought to be discounted, from the fact that a number of solvent estates were taken out of Court. This was what, as far as he knew, all persons who had interested themselves in this matter wished to be the case. The great complaint was that they were in the Court. None of them ought to be in. He would show they were there for legal reasons, for Chancery reasons, and not because they were supposed to be insolvent when, as a matter of fact, they were solvent. If they were not there for legal reasons they clearly ought to be taken out of the Court. In these cases the procedure of the Court was analogous to the procedure of a Chancery suit in this country, and he did not suppose anybody would suggest that a Chancery suit could be carried out with the expedition of the mere transaction of purchase and sale. The hon. Member went on to declare that there always would be delay because solicitors and Receivers were interested in obtaining delay, but they were under the control of the Land Court Judge, who had been most zealous and successful in many cases. He had deprived solicitors of their fees in some cases and he had imposed fines upon them, and his orders had been peremptory that solvent estates should be taken out of Court and that insolvent estates were to be sold as quickly as possible. In fact, he had shown so much zeal and industry that at present there was no congestion in the Court at all. As to the specific cases quoted by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, the right hon. Gentleman declared that the worst use they could make of their power was to constitute the House a Court of appeal upon particular cases. They had not the facts before them, and it was not for them to

express any opinion; it was the duty of the Judge before whom the cases came to determine what was just. With regard to the case in which the owners of a head rent had asked for twenty-five years purchase, it would be an abuse of his position if he attempted to give any opinion upon prices in Ireland. As to the estate which, according to the version which had been given to the hon. Member for South Tyrone, would have been sold but eventually was not sold because the sporting rights had been hired by a lady, that case had not come before Mr. Justice Ross, before him, or before the House, and it would be improper for him to express an opinion upon it. With regard to the clerks in the Land Judge's Court who had been or might be relieved from their duties, he could not give an undertaking that a particular person should be employed, but one would naturally look to gentlemen who had experience and knowledge of the Irish land problem to fill vacancies and new posts under the Estates Commissioners. He quite agreed that they ought to get solvent estates out of the Court, and sell the insolvent estates as rapidly as might be to the occupying tenants. That was his view, and it was also Mr. Justice Ross's view.

The hon. Member for East Kerry went into the history of the Land Judge's Court, but he did not propose to go so far back as 1848. The hon. Member said that £23,000,000 worth of land was sold before that year. That was certainly a very large amount, considering to whom it was sold, and the conditions under which the transactions took place. The sales left all the differences between tenants as to questions of boundaries, turbary, and easements, precisely as they were. That was a very simple operation as compared with the operation of selling an estate to the tenants after settling all these disputed questions, and conferring, as by statute they were bound to confer, an indefeasible Parliamentary title on these purchasers. The hon. Member was good enough to supply him with the names of a certain number of estates he intended to refer to. He had made inquiries regarding them since receiving the hon. Member's letter, and he could point out how the matter stood with

respect to two of the estates. As to the Mahony Estate the tenants came to a voluntary arrangement with the owner to sell to them instead of to the Estates Commissioners under the procedure provided by the Land Act. In regard to the MacGillycuddy Estate what had taken place illustrated some of the problems which had perplexed hon. Members. The owner being only a tenant for life could only sell in the Land Judge's Court so much of the fee of the estate as would suffice to discharge the encumbrances paramount to the life interests. But as it was considered desirable that more should be sold an order was made by the Court to enable the owner to effect the sales. He could quite understand that the hon. Member who was interested in the tenants on these estates was disappointed at the delay, but he would see that the Land Judge's Court might be brought in at the instance of other parties, and that the Court might not be the best, but might be the worst, tribunal for having sales effected to the occupying tenants. If an estate could be taken out of the Land Judge's Court, and placed under the Estates Commissioners that would be for the good of all parties. It was for that purpose Section 7 of the Act of last year was passed, and there was every reason to believe that the section would work successfully.

There were two sides to the Court—the Land Judge's side and the Receiver's side. The petitions for sale on the Land Judge's side were not solely in respect of agricultural land. They were also in respect of house property in towns. He would not repeat those arguments, but merely state that he adhered to all he had said on previous occasions as to the unavoidable delay of procedure which attached to these cases. In spite of these difficulties, Mr. Justice Ross had been able to make great progress in recent years. The Receiver in the Land Judge's Court controlled all the cases which came from the Master of the Rolls, and from the Vice-Chancellor's Court, and all cases of property which belonged to minors—all cases, in fact, except those involving questions of lunacy. In order to prove that real and substantial progress had been made, he would apply the test of rental. In 1878,

Mr. Wyndham.

estates began to accumulate in the Court, and the rental of the properties in the Court amounted to nearly £1,000,000 a year. That was the amount in 1896 when the Act was passed, and the Judge was appointed. In 1897 it amounted to £795,000 a year. When last this subject was debated, the hon. Member for South Tyrone, on 21st February, 1901, stated that the amount was £639,000, and at present the rental of all the properties in the Land Judge's Court was, with the exception of lunacy cases, only £365,000. He would analyse these. The Chancery cases accounted for £213,750 a year out of the total of gross rental of £365,000. That left for properties in respect of which there were orders for sale £151,250. That showed a very different picture from that which was conjured up by the statement of the hon. Member opposite, that the property in the Court represented a rental of £700,000. But, all that was not in respect of agricultural land. Some of it was in respect of town property, something like £15,000, some £6,274 in respect of demesne land, and £20,530 in respect of grazing land, leaving £109,709 for agricultural land. That was the rental test as to the progress made in the Court. He agreed that they ought to apply the test as to the progress of purchases actually completed.

MR. MURPHY asked if the right hon. Gentleman would give the House an opportunity of testing the accuracy of the information by giving the names of the estates.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had taken great pains to analyse the details, and the hon. Gentleman might take it that the figures he had given were correct.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to give these figures in the form of a Return.

MR. WYNDHAM said that he would try to satisfy the hon. and learned Member, and would give such figures as would not involve a mass of printing, having nothing to do with land purchase at all. The hon. Member supposed that there was an enormous amount of

property which ought to be sold, and was not sold. Well, he would apply the test of purchases, and the amount of money advanced, to show the great acceleration there had been in the procedure of the Court, about which there was absolute knowledge. He would take the period from April, 1887, to the end of 1903. The amount of advances during that period was £3,811,321, but of this amount before the passing of the Act of 1896 only £847,992 was advanced, so that from 1887 until 1896 the rate of sale was about £84,000 a year. Since the Act of 1896 was passed, the sums advanced had amounted to £2,963,329. From April, 1897, to April, 1901, the sales had been at the rate of £276,686 per annum; but if the sales from April, 1901, to December last year were analysed, they were at the rate of £574,507 per annum, which compare still more favourably with the rate of £84,000 a year from 1887 to 1896.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: So much for the pressure of this House!

MR. WYNDHAM said that was a matter for congratulation. In this last period was included the months of cessation of business pending the new Act, but for which the figures would have been higher, as they must expect them to be in the future.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: After to-night.

MR. WYNDHAM said that there were also doubts about the bonus; but in spite of these causes of retardation during last summer, and during the time the Act was getting into operation, for sales under the Act of last year in the Land Judge's Court, and apart from Section 7, £133,320 had been already advanced. Under Section 7, eighteen estates had been sent to the Estates Commissioners, the rental involved being £9,088. This would give roughly about £800,000 or £900,000 a year as the rate at which purchase was now going on in the Land Judge's Court. At that rate, they would soon be in sight of the end. He was not surprised that the Estimates showed a reduction in the number of Receivers under this Court. He was informed by Mr. Justice Ross that Section 7 was

working most satisfactorily. That gentleman anticipated that the majority of the agricultural estates would be sold under it in a very few years time. That seemed to him as if it must be so, wherever the estates were solvent. The hon. Member for South Tyrone had referred to the insolvent estates, but there were some of these in Ireland where the legal complications were so great that they could not be unravelled in a moment. They were, however, in sight of the winding-up of the business of this Court in so far as it was the successor of the Encumbered Estates Court. The Land Judge expected to be able, at an early date, to take over a considerable amount of work from the Land Commission of a purely legal character, relating to investigation of title and distribution of purchase money. So far from it having been necessary to borrow another Judge to assist Mr. Justice Ross, such had been his industry that his share of the work would very soon be completed.

He took a sanguine view of the condition of things, and he had given figures to support a sanguine view. He would therefore pass to the Motion before the House. What did it say? That the time had arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland, in the interests of all concerned. He agreed with that. The Land Judge agreed with it. More than that, he was taking steps to secure that that should soon be the case. So far from regarding this Motion as a reflection on Mr. Justice Ross, he had great pleasure in asking the House to accept it. He regarded it, in all seriousness, as a tribute to the vigour Mr. Justice Ross had displayed, and as a monument of the success of the steps he had taken.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said he thought from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, that he had no conception of the working of the Land Judge's Court. He was quite prepared to admit that there had been an acceleration of sales from 1896 to 1901, and from 1901 to the passing of the Act of last year; but the figures since November last did not give a true picture of what had taken place. For a long time prior to the

passing of the Act last year sales had been practically hung up. Application was made day after day for postponement of the steps necessary to accomplish sales. The right hon. Gentleman was, he thought, not entitled fairly or reasonably to say that the rate of progress would be maintained in the future; and he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman would live to see his estimate falsified. The complaint of his hon. friend was in connection with estates under the 40th Section. During last year, those estates were hung up, pending the passing of the Land Act; and afterwards it was found that the Land Commission had enhanced the purchase price, and that the Land Judge imposed entirely new terms for purchase, raising the price by three, four, or five years. The Chief Secretary in his reply did not deal in any way with that grievance. Whenever it was represented to Judge Ross that the price of an estate should be increased he always assented; and it was practically in the hands of the Receiver or the solicitor having carriage of the sale as to what the price should be. In one case, Judge Ross stated that he could not reconcile his conscience to giving the tenants a reduction of 6s. in the £, although it was laid down in the Act of last year that that was a reasonable reduction. In such circumstances, it was impossible to expect reasonable terms for the tenants in that Court. The general complaint of his hon. friend was that, as a result of the Act of last year, all the estates in Judge Ross's Court had been increased in price. It was quite true that during the last six or seven years Judge Ross had, in a great measure, endeavoured to expedite sales; but his complaint was that wherever Judge Ross saw a possibility of increasing the price he increased it. He thought the Chief Secretary was far too sanguine in anticipating that the business of the Court would be rapidly concluded. He also thought that arrears

Mr. O'Shee

of rent should be included in the purchase price, which was only a reasonable interpretation of the section.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That the time has arrived for taking immediate steps to wind up the business of the Land Judge's Court in Ireland in the interests of all concerned.
—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

VIVISECTION OF DOGS.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said that in moving, "That, in the opinion of this House no operations for the purposes of Vivisection should be performed on Dogs," he did not wish to make any general attack on vivisection. He only asked the House to affirm that dogs should be exempt because they were more sensible to pain than other animals.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in the opinion of this House, no operations for the purposes of vivisection should be performed on Dogs."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) said that the hon. Baronet had not given any explanation of the Motion he submitted to the House; and he was strongly of opinion that the Motion should not be accepted without fuller information.

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 14th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Cambrian Railways Bill [Lords]; Elysée Palace Hotel Company Bill [Lords]; Gosport Water Bill [Lords]; Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill [Lords]; Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [Lords]; Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords]; New River Company Bill [Lords]; Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords]; University of Leeds Bill [Lords]; Victoria University of Manchester Bill [Lords]; West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment) Bill [Lords]; Yorktown and Blackwater Gas Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz.:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time Tomorrow.

SITE FOR DUKE OF YORK'S SCHOOL BILL [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 29th day of March last, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Site for Duke of York's School Bill [Lords].

St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Corporation of London (Southwark and other Bridges) Bill. Reported [Parties do not proceed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Young and Bell's Patents Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time.

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP No. 5).

Mr. COMPTON RICKETT reported from the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills, That the parties opposing the London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill had stated that the evidence of Mr. Harry Norias, Superintendent L Division Metropolitan Police, Kennington Lane, S.E., was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he

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had been instructed to move that the said Mr. Harry Noriss, do attend the said Committee upon Monday, 18th April, at eleven of the clock.

Ordered, That Mr. Harry Noriss do attend the said Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills upon Monday next, at eleven of the clock.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Cromarty, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

HOUSE-LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Paisley, against; to lie upon the Table.

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Paisley, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law: from Bottisham; Largs; Basingstoke; High Bentham; Failsworth (two); Masingham; Forest Gate; Woodbridge; Beccles; Aldborough; East Dereham; Sidcup; Hindley (two); Hindley Green; Hornsea; Dalkeith; Bracknell; Holt; Slough; Little Hulton; Sunbury-on-Thames; Wymondham; Hathersett; Blackley (two); Colne; Ripley; Worsbro' Bridge; London; Blaina; Trinant; Tredegar; Wrothen (two); Pennerley (two); Perkins Beach (two); Aston; Wattlesborough Heath; Pontesbury; Snailbeach (two); Minsterley; Westbury; Meadow Town; Brynmawr; Stamford; Leeds; Beccles; Norwich; and Bournemouth; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against: from High Wycombe; Deptford; Sheffield; Lichfield; Tamworth; Mexborough; and Brierley Hill (two); to lie upon the Table.

TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE).

Petition from Luton, for withdrawal; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1897.

Copy presented, of Sixth Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Report of Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland. Vol. II., containing Minutes of Evidence, Appendices, and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Promotion of Assistant Clerks—Medical Examination.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that Second Division clerks, on promotion to the First Division, are not required to pass any further medical examination, he will put assistant clerks who are promoted upon the same footing.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

The Civil Service Commissioners will not in future require a fresh medical examination in the case of the promotion of assistant clerks to the Second Division, provided that there is nothing in the report as to the candidate's health received from the department in which he has been serving, and nothing in the previous medical history of the candidate

which renders it desirable that a fresh medical inquiry should be held.

Anthrax in Norfolk.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if his attention has been called to the increase of anthrax in Norfolk; and whether, to aid in checking this and other contagious diseases, the Board of Agriculture will give compensation to the extent of one-third of the value of all cattle dying of such diseases where the cases have been duly and properly reported to the authorities.

(Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.)

The position of Norfolk with regard to anthrax in recent years shows no very material change. The number of outbreaks reported was ten in 1901, nine in 1902, twelve in 1903, and six during the current year. Under the law, as it at present stands, compensation is only payable where animals are slaughtered to prevent the spread of infection. Slaughter in the usual manner is not to be recommended in cases of anthrax, where all spilling of blood should be avoided. The payment of compensation in cases in which animals die from anthrax and other contagious diseases would entail a very considerable charge upon public funds without any equivalent advantage to the public. I am afraid there is no probability of our being able to submit any proposal to Parliament in the direction suggested.

Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland)—Amount Available for Distribution.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can state what amount was available for distribution amongst the local authorities for the financial year ending 31st March last, under Section 2 (5) of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, as amended by the Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1898.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.)

The amount available for the financial year ended 31st March last cannot be

stated at present as the final payment for that year into the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account has not yet been made.

Solicitors Struck off the Roll.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask Mr. Attorney-General if he will state what is the number of solicitors who have been struck off the roll for malpractices in this country during the past five years.

(Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.) The following are the particulars of solicitors struck off the roll for malpractices during the last five years:—

Year.	After Conviction.	Under Solicitors Act, 1888.
1899 .	7	15
1900 .	13	21
1901 .	5	26
1902 .	7	17
1903 .	6	19
	38	98
Total 136		

Emigration and Immigration Statistics and Board of Trade Report thereon.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the President of the Board of Trade when the statistical table relating to emigration and immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1903, and the annual Report to the Board of Trade thereon, will be circulated to Members.

(Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.) I hope that this Report may be distributed in about a month's time.

Exports of Wheat and Flour from India.

MR. HUNTER CRAIG (Lanarkshire, Govan): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the ports from which wheat and flour have been exported from India for the year 1902-3, and to which countries and ports have they been shipped, together with the respective quantities of wheat and flour.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.)

The exports of wheat and wheat flour from Indian ports during the year 1902-3 were as follows:—

	Wheat.	Wheat Flour.
	cwts.	cwts.
From Calcutta . . .	1,052,978	68,859
From Bombay . . .	390,748	553,024
From Kurachi . . .	8,848,234	96,188
From Madras . . .	81	3
From Burma ports . . .	109	3

It is impossible to state to what ports these exports went, but the quantities exported to various countries are returned as follows:—

Wheat.	Thousands of cwts.
To United Kingdom . . .	6,683
To Belgium . . .	878
To France . . .	23
To Egypt . . .	2,346
To Aden . . .	17.5
To Arabia . . .	170
To Hong-Kong . . .	19
To Persia . . .	93
To Turkey in Asia . . .	18.5
To Australia . . .	25
To other countries . . .	19

Wheat Flour.	Thousands of cwts.
To British East Africa . . .	88
To Egypt . . .	7
To Mauritius . . .	112.5
To Portuguese East Africa . . .	8.5
To Aden . . .	150
To Arabia . . .	136
To Ceylon . . .	114
To Straits Settlements . . .	5.5
To Persia . . .	82.5
To other countries . . .	14

The exports to Egypt include large quantities consigned to Port Said to await orders as to ultimate destination.

Prosecution of Mr. Tilak.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if

he will state what expenditure was incurred by the Government of Bombay in the prosecution of Mr. Tilak; and, having regard to the fact that the action resulted in a complete acquittal, will he state on whose advice the prosecution was undertaken.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the strictures pronounced by the Chief Justice of Bombay on the criminal proceedings taken under the sanction of Government against Mr. Tilak for forgery and perjury; whether he is aware that this prosecution, which ended in an acquittal by the High Court, lasted over one and a half years, at a cost to the Government of about a half lakh of rupees; whether he will state who are the persons responsible for the prosecution and what notice is being taken of their conduct; and what compensation will be paid to Mr. Tilak.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) My attention has been drawn to the judgment of the Chief Justice of Bombay, as reported in the newspapers, overruling the judgment of the Court below, which had been adverse to Mr. Tilak. I have no official information on the subject, but I understand that the proceedings were instituted, not by Government, but by the direction of a district Judge, who considered that Mr. Tilak had given false evidence in a case that was tried before him. This direction he had power to give under Section 476 of the Criminal Procedure Code; and the fact that the Court of Final Appeal took a different view of Mr. Tilak's conduct does not appear *prima facie* to be a ground for compensation.

Indian Police Commission—Issue of New Orders.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India when the issue of his Orders on the Report of the Indian Police Commission may be expected.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) I have not yet received the opinion of the Government of India, which has been in communication with the various local

governments and administrations on the subject of this Report. Until I do so, it is impossible for me to say when the issue of Orders upon it may be expected.

Irish Water Bailiffs.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish Technical Department will instruct the Shannon Board of Conservators, known as the Limerick Board of Conservators, to discontinue the practice of employing as water bailiffs persons who had previously been prosecuted, convicted, and fined by the Killaloe Bench of Magistrates for illegal fishing.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Water bailiffs are appointed by the local boards of conservators, and the Department exercises no control in the matter. I am inquiring, however, as to the matters of fact alleged in the Question.

The King-Harman Estate.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the issue of a circular by the firm of Messrs. Whitney and Moore, Solicitors, Dublin, to those tenants on the King-Harman (Kenagh) Estate, who refused to sign purchase agreements in consequence of the prices asked by the vendors of the estate, threatening to apply to the Estates Commissioners to exclude them from the purchase unless they sign said agreements within ten days; and, if so, will he state what action he intends to take to preserve the rights of such tenants so threatened.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Estates Commissioners have no knowledge of the circular in question. Before allowing the holding of a tenant to be excluded, the circumstances of the case will be carefully considered and investigated by the Commissioners.

Mr. John Robinson's Farm at Ballinacross.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that Mr. John Robinson, sub-sheriff of county Longford, has

offered to sell his farm at Ballinacross, county Longford, through the Estates Commissioners, for the benefit of the evicted tenant, Miss McGweney, who is living in poor circumstances in the neighbourhood, the price to be left to arbitration; and, if so, will he direct the Estates Commissioners to communicate with Mr. Robinson with a view to the acceptance of his offer, and the restoration of the evicted tenant.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No such offer has yet been received by the Commissioners. If one be made the application of the evicted tenant's representative will be considered.

Imprisonment of Soldiers in Devizes Gaol.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the offences for which twenty-six soldiers, during the year 1903, were sentenced to imprisonment in Devizes Goal were of a civil or military character; and whether it would be possible, in the latter case, that imprisonment for such offences should be carried out in a military prison.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Of the twenty-six soldiers committed to Devizes Civil Prison during 1903, twenty were convicted of offences of an ordinary criminal character which necessitated their serving their sentences in a civil prison, four of the remainder were convicted of offences of a military character prior to the 31st February when the new regulations came into force. Under these regulations such prisoners would now be committed to a military prison. The remaining two prisoners were committed to Devizes Prison in error, and, on the error being discovered, they were transferred to a military prison.

Report on Trinidad Riots.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is now in a position to state when the Report of the Chief Justice of British Guiana relative to the disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, will be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Further Papers relating to the disturbance

at Port of Spain in March, 1903, including the Report of the Chief Justice of British Guiana, have now been laid.

Use of Plague Serum in Johannesburg.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the results of the serum inoculation for plague in India, he will prohibit the use of plague serum in Johannesburg.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I am not prepared to interfere with the local medical authorities in this matter, and I am not aware of any reasons for the suggested prohibition of the use of plague serum, to which no objection is taken by my medical advisers.

Income-Tax Deductions from Salaries of Army Civilian Clerks in South Africa.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that civilian clerks engaged for duty with the Army in South Africa are charged for income-tax, which is deducted from their salaries; and that these clerks were engaged in South Africa, and are domiciled there, where they pay rates and taxes; and, if so, whether he will take steps to have the money which has been deducted refunded.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) Civilian clerks engaged for duty with the Army in South Africa draw their salaries from Imperial funds, and consequently are liable to income-tax, subject to the usual abatements, under the Income-Tax Laws.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Army Finance.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War have the arrangements yet been settled to ensure the financial control of the Treasury and of this House under the new financial scheme recommended by the War Office Committee of Three; is it intended that the Treasury, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and the Public Accounts Committee shall exercise the same powers as at present, that the Estimates shall be presented in

their present form, and the sums voted be appropriated as at present by the Appropriation Act; or, if any changes are proposed, what are those changes; who will be the accounting officer for Army expenditure under the new scheme; is it proposed that the four Military Members of the Army Council, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, or the eight Major-Generals of districts shall have any power of deflecting moneys voted, from one Vote to another, without the assent of the Treasury; and can he undertake that an opportunity shall be given to this House of discussing and expressing its opinion upon any proposed financial changes before these are carried out.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The financial control of Parliament and the Treasury will remain unchanged. The Treasury, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and the Public Accounts Committee will exercise the same powers as at present. It will be necessary to rearrange some of the Votes, but the Estimates will be presented in practically the same form as at present, and the sums voted will be appropriated as at present under the Appropriation Act. The Director of Army Finance will be the accounting officer for Army expenditure. Neither the Major-Generals nor the Army Council will have any power to deflect moneys voted from Vote to Vote or Sub-head to Sub-head, without Treasury sanction.

The Pompadours.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, taking into consideration the restoration of numerical titles to battalions of the Line, he will favourably consider the claim of the 2nd Essex to be recognised under their old name of Pompadours, and to wear the purple facings they have borne from 1780 to 1881.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: [Apart from any question of the restoration of the numerical titles to regiments of the Line, the title of "Pompadours" for the 2nd Essex has never been officially

recognised. As regards the facings it would appear impracticable to give one battalion of a regiment different facings to the linked battalion.

Fatal Accident at Rathcoursey Beach.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the verdict of the jury at the coroner's inquest recently held at Rathcoursey, county Cork, in connection with the death of Naval Pensioner Daniel Driscoll by the explosion of a live shrapnel shell; whether steps will be taken to give effect to the recommendation of the jury, with a view to prevent similar accidents in future; and whether the claim of the widow and children to compensation will be favourably considered.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: A full report of this matter has now been forwarded and is receiving careful consideration.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Will the War Office recognise their responsibility in the matter. This beach is frequently strewn with shells and the authorities do not take the trouble to warn the public of the danger of handling them.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: That is a legal question. If the facts were as stated I should have thought warning was given.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman no such steps are taken by the military authorities.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Cannot you make use of the shells in Tibet.

The Sunken Submarine.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the reasons for the failure of the Admiralty salvage appliances to raise the Submarine A1 during the one or two days of fair weather immediately succeeding the location of the vessel after the disaster which befel her.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (MR. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The weather at the time referred to was not favourable for the employment of lighters for raising the wreck, as the swell caused the wire hawsers to carry away, and thus prevented the attachment to, and lifting of, the vessel.

Boers and the Transvaal Labour Ordinance.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the opposition of Generals Botha and Delarey and the Dutch element in the Transvaal to the Chinese Labour Ordinance has been practically withdrawn.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): My hon. friend will understand that the answer to this Question must be in some sense a matter of opinion. I should like to say that on 23rd January last a very important and representative meeting of the Boers was held at Pietersburg. The chairman of that meeting said:—"The importation of Chinamen in no way affects the Boers, and I advise you to leave it alone." He went on to say in another part of his speech that if the Kaffirs could be made to work the labour question would not arise. At the conclusion of that meeting a letter was read from General Botha in which he said "that matter (referring to Chinese labour) was one which the Government of the country must settle for themselves." My own opinion, firmly held, is that these extracts which I have read correctly represent the attitude of the Boers themselves.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will get the same hon. Member to put another Question on this subject a little later on.

DR. MACNAMARA: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay the evidence on which he bases his answer before the House?

***MR. LYTTELTON:** It is in the Blue-book, and has been in the possession of the House for some time.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the number of Kaffirs is totally insufficient at the present moment?

[No answer was returned.]

Plague in Hong-Kong.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has received a report on the plague from the Governor of Hong-Kong; and, if so, can he state the number of cases of plague reported there during the first three months of this year, and the number of deaths.

***MR. LYTTELTON:** According to the weekly telegraphic reports from Hong-Kong on the subject, which are regularly communicated to the Press as soon as received, there have been eleven cases of plague and eleven deaths at Hong-Kong this year up to the 9th of April. I have received no detailed report as to the occurrence of plague during the current year, but I have given instructions that a report of the acting medical officer of health on the epidemic of plague during the first seven months of last year, which has just been received, should be sent to the hon. Member.

Canadian Steel and Iron Bounties.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the amount per ton granted by the Canadian Government in the shape of bounties on the output of the Canadian steel and iron industries; and what representations have been made by His Majesty's Government to the Canadian Government with a view to the reduction of any such bounties.

***MR. LYTTELTON:** Chapter 6 of the Canadian Acts of 1897 fixed the bounties on iron and steel as follows:—\$3 a ton on steel ingots manufactured from ingredients of which not less than 50 per cent. of their weight consists of pig-iron made in Canada; \$3 a ton

on puddled iron bars made from Canadian-made pig-iron; and on pig-iron manufactured from ore, \$3 a ton on the proportion produced from Canadian ore, \$2 on the proportion produced from foreign ore. During the year ending on the 30th June next, the bounties are fixed by a subsequent Act at 90 per cent. of the above rates, and they will be gradually reduced to 35 per cent. of the above rates in 1907. No representations have been made by His Majesty's Government to the Canadian Government with a view to the reduction of these bounties.

Suez Canal Convention.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can explain the grounds on which His Majesty's Government have agreed by their joint Declaration with France, of 8th April, 1904, that the execution shall remain suspended of the last sentence of Paragraph One and the whole of Paragraph Two of Article VIII. of the Suez Canal Convention of 29th October, 1888, which paragraphs prescribe for the meeting once a year of the Agents of the signatory Powers, under the presidency of a Turkish or Egyptian Commissioner; have any, and, if so, which, of the other seven out of the nine Signatory Powers of the Convention been consulted respecting the alteration thus proposed to be made therein, and have they consented to the alteration; and do His Majesty's Government propose, without obtaining the assent of the other co-Signatory Powers, to hold themselves relieved from the obligations of this portion of the Convention while requiring the fulfilment of its remaining obligations.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The execution of the portions of the Convention referred to has, as the result of our occupation of Egypt, remained suspended ever since its signature. None of the Signatory Powers have at any time claimed that they should be executed. The question whether a formal communication shall be made to them on the subject will be considered

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: The noble Lord has not answered any of my Questions. Have any of the other Signatory Powers been consulted; have they agreed to the alteration?

EARL PERCY: None of them have been communicated with on the subject.

The Mission to Tibet.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India a Question of which I have given him private notice, namely, whether any information has been received at the India Office corroborating the statement in *The Times* of to-day that 200 additional Tibetans had been killed in further military operations.

EARL PERCY: My right hon. friend has asked me to say that he has received no information in addition to that which has been already published, but that a telegraphic inquiry has been addressed to the Viceroy of India asking whether the statement in *The Times* is accurate.

Inland Revenue—Illegal Demands.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to cases in which the Inland Revenue has obtained, under threat of legal process, payment of claims which have been afterwards judicially declared to be legally untenable; whether, notwithstanding such decisions, the Inland Revenue retains the money so illegally demanded and paid; and, if so, whether he will cause this practice to be discontinued.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): No such case has been brought to my right hon. friend's knowledge; but, if the hon. Member will give details of specific instances, he will have them inquired into.

Post Office Savings Bank.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that there was, on 31st December, 1903, in the accounts of the Post Office Savings Bank an excess of liabilities over assets of £10,000,000, the

Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt have informed the Treasury of the deficiency in order that the amount of such deficiency may be issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or out of the growing produce thereof, in accordance with the provisions of 24 and 25 Vic., c. 14, s. 6.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: It is only when the assets of the Savings Banks Fund are insufficient to meet the claims of depositors that the Act requires an issue to be made from the Consolidated Fund. No necessity for such an issue has arisen.

Adulterated Spirits.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the attention of the Government has been called to a recent decision of the Justiciary Appeal Court of Scotland, declaring it illegal to describe and sell as brandy a mixture of patent spirits and brandy, and upholding a conviction by the Sheriff Court of Hamilton, under the Food and Drugs Acts, for this offence; whether he is aware that the officers of Excise and Customs are compelled by their regulations to allow, in the Government bonded warehouses, German spirit to be labelled as brandy, and English spirit as Scotch whiskey; and whether he will see that such legislation is promoted, or such alterations made in the Excise and Customs regulations, as will make it impossible for these frauds to be perpetrated under official supervision.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The regulations of the Boards of Customs and Inland Revenue merely prescribe that Revenue officers are not to concern themselves in any way with labels placed on spirits issued from bond for home consumption, beyond seeing that the labels do not contain any expression implying official supervision. It is not possible under the rules that German plain spirit should be labelled in bond as brandy.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is it not the fact that officers of Excise are compelled by

the regulations to permit these frauds to be perpetrated.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: No.

MR. MACVEAGH: I have seen the regulations, and it is so.

Argentina Cattle Trade.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he will now take into consideration the admission of live cattle and sheep, for slaughter at port of entry, into this country from Argentina, in view of the time which has elapsed since the permission to admit such live cattle was withdrawn, the probability that disease has ceased in the Argentine provinces, and the promptitude with which the last outbreak was detected and entry of contaminated cattle stopped.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): Foot-and-mouth disease existed in Argentina so recently as February last, and it would not, therefore, be possible for the Board, consistently with their statutory obligations under the Diseases of Animals Acts, to withdraw the prohibition against the importation of animals from that country.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): What period must elapse between the announcement that the Argentine is free from disease and the admission of the cattle to this country?

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: It must be a good long time.

Alien Criminals.

MR. STUART SAMUEL (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will say what is the average number of aliens sentenced to terms of imprisonment of over one month in the United Kingdom during the last five years.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I can only refer the hon. Member to the tables

which were prepared specially for the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, showing the alien prisoners (*i.e.*, those who declared themselves to have been born abroad) received during the five years ended March, 1903, into prisons in England and Wales. From these it would appear that the yearly average of those sentenced to more than one month's imprisonment was for males 607·2 and for females 54·8, exclusive of averages of 45·4 males and 0·6 females who were sentenced to penal servitude.

Adult Male Aliens in the United Kingdom.

MR. STUART SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the total number of adult male aliens over the age of sixteen resident in the United Kingdom according to the census returns.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I cannot give the precise figures asked for without somewhat prolonged inquiry. Perhaps it will serve the hon. Member's purpose if I state the number of aliens over the age of *fifteen* as shown in the census tables. There were 139,724 male aliens of fifteen years and upwards resident in England and Wales in 1901, and 11,113 in Scotland. In Ireland, where the age classification adopted in the returns is different, the number would appear to be about 5,900.

British Trade with Tunis and Madagascar.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what was the amount of imports and exports of British goods into Tunis and Madagascar respectively, in the years immediately preceding the last agreements with France relating to those two countries; and what are the amounts of such imports and exports in 1903.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The Convention between Great Britain and France relating to Tunis was ratified in October, 1897. In 1896 the value of our direct imports from Tunis was about £62,000, and of our direct exports of British and Irish produce to Tunis about £216,000. In

1903 our imports amounted to about £254,000, and our exports to about £362,000. There has been no agreement with France relating to Madagascar before that recently signed. Our imports from Madagascar in 1903 amounted in value to about £58,000, and our exports of British and Irish produce thereto to about £35,000. In 1895, the year before the French law declaring Madagascar a French Colony was passed, our imports from that country amounted to £139,000, and our exports of British produce thereto to £66,000.

Wireless Telegraphy.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can now state what arrangements have been made with the Post Office for facilitating the receipt and forwarding of Marconi telegrams.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): Negotiations on the subject are still in progress. It will, however, be quite impossible to give the information the hon. Member seeks by way of Question and answer, but I hope during the course of the session to make a statement on the subject of wireless telegraphy generally, and the arrangements which I hope to conclude with the Marconi Company in particular.

Dundee Mails.

SIR JOHN LENG: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why, although a mail bag for Dundee is carried in the newspaper train leaving King's Cross at 5.15 a.m., and the newspapers are delivered in Dundee at 3.37 p.m., the mail bag is not carried forward from Edinburgh to Dundee, and the letters are not delivered before 7 p.m.; and whether arrangements can be made to secure an earlier delivery of the mail in Dundee.

LORD STANLEY: The acceleration of the 5.15 a.m. train from King's Cross was carried out experimentally by the railway companies some time ago. There are certain practical difficulties in the way of using the accelerated service for the mails for Scotland, but the matter

is being considered, and I will communicate with the hon. Member on the subject as soon as I am in a position to do so.

Architect of New College of Science, Dublin.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): On behalf of the hon. Member for South Dublin, I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can now give the name and qualifications of the architect for the proposed new College of Science at Dublin.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Mr. Aston Webb, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, with whom will be associated Mr. T. M. Dean, an Irish architect who has already been engaged upon public buildings in Dublin.

MR. BOLAND: Why was not an Irish architect selected?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: It was first offered to an Irish architect, but he could not see his way to undertake it. There is an Irish architect associated with Mr. Webb in the work however.

Persecution of Jews in Limerick.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the refusal to deal with, and intimidation of, members of the Jewish persuasion, and to the fact that in some cases violence has been used and many are at present starving by the refusal of dealers and shopkeepers to sell to them; and will he order an inquiry into the whole matter with the view of protecting the rights of these people.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): Persons who formerly dealt with members of the Jewish faith in Limerick, in the course of trade, have ceased to deal with them, but any moneys due are being gradually paid. The police received special instructions to use every exertion to protect the Jews from acts of molestation or violence; eight such cases have been prosecuted and in two others proceedings are pending. It is not correct to say that individuals are starving; they are able to obtain supplies and necessaries in the locality.

This deplorable exhibition of hostility to the Jews has formed the subject of repeated investigation on the part of the authorities, who will continue to afford every protection to the Jews in the pursuit of their lawful avocations.

MR. SLOAN: If I give the right hon. Gentleman cases where shops have refused to deal with these individuals will he have them investigated?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes. Any information showing *prima facie* evidence of the law having been broken will be carefully considered.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Is there any intention to introduce legislation to safeguard the people against extortionate usurers who charge 200 or 300 per cent. profit on shoddy articles.

[No answer was returned.]

Derry Prison Matron.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mrs. Mc'Connell, matron of Derry Prison, and widow of the late W. L. Mc'Connell, who was a Government official in Letterkenny, describes herself as unmarried, and signs official documents under the name of Miss O'Rourke; and whether, in view of the fact that it is contrary to prison service rules for any matron to get married while in the service, he will explain why the governor has neglected to report this matter to the Prison Board.

MR. WYNDHAM: Miss O'Rourke, the matron of the Londonderry Prison, states that the allegation in the Question is without foundation. A similar allegation was made in 1897, when she was matron of Waterford Prison; it was investigated by the Prisons Board, who were of opinion that the charge was groundless.

Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a speech delivered by the Bishop

of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise on the 28th ultimo at Longford, criticising the work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and their expenditure of public money during the past four years, and stating that all their efforts have been unsuccessful in materially reducing the flow of emigration; and if, under these circumstances, he would consider the advisability of adopting other plans and methods to provide employment for the young men and women in the small towns and villages, and to apply the funds which are at the disposal of the Department for the purpose of developing local industries.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have seen a newspaper report of the speech. The matters dealt with are not, however, such as can properly be discussed by means of an answer to a Question. In respect to the number of emigrants from Ireland in recent years, I may point out the yearly average for the ten years from 1885 to 1894 (both inclusive) was 61,310, whilst in the subsequent period from 1895 to 1903 the yearly average fell away to 39,843—a reduction of 35 per cent. The number of emigrants in January, February, and March last are fewer, by 538, than in the corresponding months of 1903, and lower than in any corresponding month during the past four years. The Department does not propose to depart from the general lines of policy described in its published reports. The full fruits of that policy, which is mainly educational in its operation, cannot be expected to appear for some years to come, and the Department has had sufficient evidence to confirm it in the course it has adopted in co-operation with the statutory representative bodies associated with the work of the Department. So far as the present powers of the Department admit, its funds are applied in aiding schemes for the promotion of rural industries.

Irish Industries.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will take into consideration the question of granting loans out of the money now in the hands of the Department of Agriculture and Technical

Instruction in order to aid and improve existing industries in Irish towns and villages, and so enable small woollen and other manufacturers to procure modern machinery and successfully meet the foreign competition, such machinery to remain the property of the Department until the loan has been repaid.

MR. WYNDHAM: The question of aiding small woollen industries by way of loan for the purchase of machinery has been under consideration, but the Department is advised that further legislation would be necessary to bring this purpose within the scope of its powers.

Limerick Telegraph Learners.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state how many male and female learners are at present employed at Limerick who are now fully qualified to discharge the duties of sorting clerks and telegraphists; and whether there is any probability of such officers being placed on the establishment within the next twelve months.

LORD STANLEY: There are at present nine male and five female learners employed at Limerick. Four of the male and all the female learners are fully qualified to perform the duties of sorting clerks and telegraphists. It is anticipated that appointments as sorting clerks and telegraphists may be found in the course of the next twelve months for three of the male and for two of the female learners at Limerick.

Limerick Postal Staff—Holiday Grievance.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why several members of the Limerick staff were compelled to go on annual leave in January, notwithstanding the fact that the Department says that the leave period should be confined between the months of March and October, why in many cases the leave period of fourteen days was split up so as to give a week in January and a week in November; and why, in the period from the 20th February to the 25th March, no officers went on leave.

LORD STANLEY: Inquiry is being made on the subject, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Moy Post Office—Extra Fees.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can explain under what circumstances extra fees were charged for the use of Moy Post Office on the 1st instant; what number of extra fees were charged and the total amount realised; and whether, in view of the fact that dealers, shipping and railway agents were in attendance at the usual monthly fair, he can state the reason why arrangements were not made to suit public convenience.

LORD STANLEY: I will have inquiry made in the matter, and communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Cork Post Office—Promotions.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Cork): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether in making the promotions granted under the in-door revision just sanctioned for Cork, he will carefully consider the claims of the senior class of sorting clerks; and whether he will carefully guard against the passing over senior officers fully qualified to perform these higher duties.

LORD STANLEY: I will carefully consider the qualifications of the sorting clerks and telegraphists in question, and will endeavour to secure that the officer who is promoted is not only fully qualified, but the best qualified, for the discharge of the duties of the higher class.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is the noble Lord aware that the selection of junior clerks for promotion over the heads of seniors is causing the deepest dissatisfaction at the Cork office?

LORD STANLEY: All promotions are brought before me, and, with a view to securing proper efficiency in the service, I do not select the senior men unless they are best qualified to do the work.

Annual Leave in the Cork Post Office.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain

why the recommendations of the Tweedmouth Committee respecting the restriction of the annual leave to the better months of the year (from March to October, inclusive) were not observed at Cork, when ten or twelve officers were compelled to go on leave during the month of February, and where many other officers are detailed for leave in November; why the officers despatched on leave in February were not permitted to choose a space in the annual leave sheet, a privilege which all other appointed officers enjoy; and why those officers were ushered on leave without the notice customary on such occasions.

LORD STANLEY: I will make inquiry as to the circumstances referred to in the hon. Member's Question and will communicate the result to him.

The Anglo-French Agreement.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Convention recently concluded between Great Britain and France has to be submitted for final ratification, so far as France is concerned, to the French Chamber; and, if so, whether similar opportunities of discussion will be afforded to the House of Commons at an early date.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I understand that, according to the French constitutional usage, the Agreement between Great Britain and France must be submitted to their Chamber before final ratification. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, that is not the constitutional practice in this country. But I think it is most desirable that there should be a discussion in this House on the subject. In any case a Bill will have to be brought in dealing with portions of the Agreement, because, as no doubt hon. Members are aware, there can be no cession of any territory of His Majesty without the consent of Parliament.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Does the treaty not expressly stipulate that it shall be subject to ratification by both Parliaments?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Whether it is stipulated or not, there are certain portions of this treaty which require the assent of Parliament.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman refers, relating to parts of the subject, give an opportunity to the House of discussing the whole subject?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: On that, of course, it is not for me to offer an opinion. I may say I am very desirous that it should be so. So far as I am concerned, I should think it most desirable, in the general interests of Parliamentary business, that we should have one discussion, and that an adequate discussion. If that discussion can be taken on the Second Reading of the Bill, I think it would be a very convenient course from every point of view.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Can arrangements be made so that the discussion will take place simultaneously with the discussion in the French Chamber.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot give any pledge. The French Chamber does not reassemble for some time, and I think we had better keep our proceedings independent of the French Chamber, though I should be glad if the two discussions were as nearly simultaneous as possible.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Will it be possible to discuss on the Bill two very important declarations in the treaty affecting other matters?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a Question which should be addressed to Mr. Speaker and not to me. I do not imagine, with all deference to the Chair, that it would be possible for Mr. Speaker to give any opinion until the Bill is before the House. The Bill is being prepared. As these negotiations, although relating to different subjects, are a single great transaction, I think it would be fitting that an opportunity should be taken of discussing the whole subject, and that we should not deal with it piecemeal.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury did His Majesty's Government consult the Government of Morocco before agreeing to the declaration of 8th April, 1904, recognising a right in France to keep watch over the tranquillity of that country, and declaring that the Governments of France and England will not permit the erection of any fortifications or of any strategic works whatever on certain parts of the Moroccan coast; have they had any communication with the Spanish Government regarding the Spanish interests involved, and when will Papers be laid upon the Table of this House containing correspondence that has passed on the subject with the Governments of France, Morocco, and Spain respectively; does the prohibition of any strategic works whatever include a prohibition of the construction either at Tangier or elsewhere on the Moroccan coast of harbours suitable for the accommodation of men-of-war or of destroyers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Government of Morocco was not consulted. In regard to the second Question of my hon. friend His Majesty's Government have been in communication with the Spanish Government. I am not aware that there is anything in these communications which can with advantage be made public. As regards strategic works on the Moroccan coast, my hon. friend is, of course, aware that if a harbour is built which will accommodate merchant ships it is impossible to prevent ships of war from making use of that accommodation.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the arrangement which prevents the erection of any strategic works include harbours.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is held to include military harbours.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: My hon. friend asked a Question with regard to the condition of the treaty that its terms should be approved by the respective Parliaments of the two countries. I find that these words exist in the preamble to the Convention:—"That the plenipotentiaries . . . have

agreed as follows, subject to the approval of their respective Parliaments."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. I do not think there need be any misunderstanding on the point. There are portions of the treaty relating to the cession of territory which require the assent of Parliament, and there are also provisions in the treaty which require the voting of money by Parliament. Parliament must be consulted on both those points. But on other parts of the treaty Parliament need not be consulted, though I think it is desirable that the House should have an opportunity of discussing so great an international instrument.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury how it is proposed to provide for the payment by His Majesty's Government of the indemnity stipulated by the Convention with France of 8th April, 1904, to be paid to French citizens; will the Convention providing for that payment, and for certain French rights on the coast of Newfoundland, be submitted in any, and, if so, in what manner to the approval of the Colony of Newfoundland; and in what manner will it be submitted to the approval of this House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As I think I have already indicated, the indemnity will be paid by this country, and of course an Estimate will have to be presented for that payment. The Newfoundland Government need not be consulted with regard to that payment, as they will not share in it. They will have to be consulted as to the regulations which will have to be put in force upon what was known as the treaty shore. I think I have already answered the last part of the Question.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I presume there will be a money Bill with regard to this.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not sure. I should think that the matter could be dealt with by an ordinary Estimate.

Army Reform.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether

the Government has resolved to abandon its scheme of Army reform in order to adopt *en bloc* that put forward by the War Office Reconstitution Committee.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman appears to think that Army reform and War Office reform are incompatible alternatives. That is not the view of His Majesty's Government. We hope to deal with both.

MR. BLACK: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the Army Corps scheme has been abandoned by the Government?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the hon. Gentleman had better wait until he hears the general scheme of Army reform which we hope to be able to lay before the House.

Government Fiscal Policy at the General Election.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government has determined to ask the electorate at the ensuing general election for a mandate to impose protective duties in favour of selected manufactures over and above duties of a retaliatory character, if so, has the Government determined which manufactures shall be protected, and on what principle has the selection been made.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman appears to desire that I should give him not only a preliminary sketch of my election address, but also the details of the first Budget which I should introduce when I returned to Parliament. I think the demand is excessive.

Scottish Education Bill.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he proposes to take the Second Reading of the Scotch Education Bill; and whether he will postpone it until county councils and other public bodies have had time to consider its provisions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I am not yet in a position to fix a day.

Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is now able to make any statement to the House as to the composition of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders and as to the terms of reference thereto.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot make a statement to-day. I hope to be able to make a statement early next week.

SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY].

(Considered in Committee.)

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,839,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Supply and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) asked the Secretary of State for War whether he could make any statement with regard to the armament and the increase of the Militia Field Artillery.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) said they had not taken into consideration the extension of the Militia field batteries, and no provision was made for it in the scheme of re-armament. He would prefer not to discuss, on the present occasion, the question of the armament of the Militia Artillery and the Militia Field Artillery. No provision had been made beyond the provision of reserve guns for the three batteries of Field Artillery which at present existed in the Militia.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) moved to reduce the Vote of £2,839,000 for the repair and supply of warlike and other stores by £100,000 in

order to protest against continued expenditure upon obsolete guns for the Artillery. The question of quick-firing guns had, he said, been raised over and over again during the last ten years, and for the last four years the answer had been that the guns were quick-firing; but, when cross-examined, it was explained by War Office representatives that they meant the spade equipment, which was not quick-firing, though an improvement on the old pattern. It still remained that our artillery guns did not fire one shot to four shots by the guns of other artillery and were really obsolete and of no use. A considerable Vote was going to be spent on guns and gun-carriages, and they were being told that guns and gun-carriages of the new pattern were not to be introduced in the English Artillery this year. Those to be made were to be sent to India and India was to pay the cost; but the Artillery at home was apparently going to have guns made of the old pattern. Some of them had been made quite recently, and some, he believed, were at present being made. He protested that it was perfectly useless to waste the taxpayers' money on making guns which were acknowledged even by the War Office itself to be of an obsolete pattern, and he declared that it ought not to be allowed by the House. There should, he urged, be no further shilly-shallying about the matter. He drew attention to the fact that the Garrison Militia Artillery were being taught on guns still more obsolete, and they would therefore be unable to use the guns they would have to use if we were at war and they were put on coast defence. It was really most important that our troops should be given modern instruments to be taught on; and this system of producing obsolete guns should be done away with.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That item B (Guns and Carriages) be reduced by £100,000."—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner.*)

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) did not think the last speaker was altogether correct in what he had said about quick-firing guns. He

held that the Government did not deserve the strictures passed on them by the hon. Member and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean, from time to time, in connection with this question. What were the facts? France and this country were the only countries in the world which had quick-firing guns. The German Government endeavoured to re-arm their artillery in 1899, and they spent £3,000,000 in doing so. But recently they found that the guns were obsolete and had to be altered, and they would probably have to spend another £1,500,000 or £2,000,000 on re-armament. Nobody knew exactly what the Russians had got, but it was supposed that they had a certain number of quick-firing guns. The Italian Government had partially re-armed their artillery, and had spent about £1,000,000 three-and-a-half years ago in doing so, with the pattern of the German quick-firing gun. But the Italians, too, had found that the pattern was practically obsolete by this time, and they had the whole of their work to do again. In this country we had the Erhardt gun, which was bought by the present Secretary of State for India when he was at the War Office. The gun was highly unsatisfactory with reference to its carriage, but it really was a quick-firing gun and was used as such with desirable results. There was no doubt the French had a quick-firing gun, but they took uncommonly good care that nobody should find out what the secret was, though he believed it was connected with spiral and compressed air. They had some of these guns with their forces in China, but they allowed nobody to see them, and sent them home again as soon as they could, so that the invention should not be pirated. He could not help thinking the hon. Gentleman the Member for Lichfield was wrong in his aspersions on the War Office in regard to this matter, and that the Government, if they had taken the advice that some of them gave them when the late Mr. Powell Williams was at the War Office, would have constructed their guns in a hurry and would have had the work to do over again.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said that although this Vote was

reduced by half a million of money as compared with last year, the reduction was more apparent than real, inasmuch as the Secretary of State had announced that in the course of the next two years three or three and a half millions sterling were to be spent on the manufacture of guns. It had also to be remembered that in the course of the last three years there had been an expenditure of five millions sterling on artillery. Such expenditure could not go on without a reasoned explanation on the part of the War Office, not only of the amount they were going to spend, but also of the objects on which the expenditure was to be made. As to quick-firers, the Swiss had a far better gun than the English or the Germans, and probably than the French, for their gun would fire seven aimed shots per minute as against the one aimed shot of our gun. The question to which he desired particularly to direct attention was that of calibre, the great importance of which the Secretary of State did not appear able to realise. In March of last year, in reply to a Question, it was stated that there were six different calibres for movable guns and three for heavy ordnance. Valuable evidence had been given as to the waste caused by this variety of calibres, for in Question 18510 before the Royal Commission, General Marshall, of the Royal Artillery, stated—

“I wish to call attention to the number of different natures of guns employed—a matter of serious importance. The difficulty of distributing so many sorts of ammunition amongst the various units operating in a vast country was enormous. It is a matter of Imperial importance to insist on the same patterns for home, India, and the Colonies. The following should meet all field requirements—field artillery guns, horse artillery guns, field howitzers, and a heavy battery such as 4·7 or 6-inch guns.”

That would have made four different sorts of guns instead of fifteen, as was the case in Africa, and it was obviously much easier and cheaper to carry one or two than fifteen sorts of ammunition for as many different kinds of guns. The Secretary of State had never said a word as to the character of the guns that were to be manufactured, first of all, for India as an experiment, and then, if they were a success, presumably to be foisted on this country. If there was to be a repetition of the manu-

facture of a great number of calibres, he would certainly vote for the reduction now proposed and any other that might be moved on the subject. Another point was that it ought to be possible to manufacture one kind of wheel for transport wagons, mule wagons, and field and horse artillery. By such an arrangement the cost would be greatly reduced, and the convenience of wheel and horse transport considerably increased.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said the question of guns was very complex and required much knowledge of a detailed character, but there were one or two general points on which he desired information. The allocation of £373,000 to armaments and £130,000 to field artillery indicated a general policy, as to the correctness of which he was not at all satisfied. In the main, our military armament must be field artillery, as the Army was for field service abroad, but consideration of those forces which were precluded from serving abroad at once raised the question of the nature of the guns with which these should have been armed. The circumstances under which their guns would be brought into operation had to be considered, and that affected the calibre of the guns. The purpose of the Militia and Volunteer Forces was to resist foreign invasion, which must come from an attack delivered by troops landing from ships. The debarkation of an army on a smooth water surface was impossible under modern conditions of fire if resisted by even light artillery and a moderate force in position. Therefore to arm the Auxiliary Forces with a gun not applicable to the purpose of destroying transports was a mistake. The relative amounts to be spent on heavy and field artillery raised the question of the purpose for which the heavy artillery was required. It could only be to arm the forces whose object presumably was to ward off an attack by ships, so he thought the War Office were overdoing it. As the armament at our naval ports was to be used against ships, and as the guns of ships were to be used against ships, there was a possibility of standardisation in regard to the armament of naval ports and the guns of ships. In this way they could create a reserve of

guns and could practically have mounted on their works guns available for any naval necessities which might arise. He invited the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the broad question. He would also like some more information with regard to the howitzer and as to what had actually been done to develop greater accuracy in high angle firing. He did not ask for detailed information, but he wished to know how far the attention of the War Office had been paid to the development of high angle fire of certain classes of ordnance to be used on certain occasions. There were circumstances under which high angle firing was extremely necessary and desirable, and he should like the right hon. Gentleman to give them some information as to any experiments made in this direction.

Mr. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) criticised the Secretary of State for War for his attitude towards the question of standardisation of guns. Before he was in office, he was continually calling the Government to account because the calibres of guns in India were not the same. The fact of there being no standardisation of guns must cause an immense amount of trouble, and if the Secretary of State for War would give to standardisation the same attention he gave to the subject before he was in office, he would meet the criticism of many Members on the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. LYELL (Dorsetshire, E.) alluded to the armaments of the Garrison Artillery and asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he could not take the Committee into his confidence with regard to the policy he was pursuing in this matter, because, after all, the policy of substituting obsolete guns for slightly less obsolete guns was not economical.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER referred to the observations of the hon. Member for East Bristol who, he thought, always talked in a *de haut en bas* fashion of the War Office. That hon. Member thought it had never occurred to them to make any inquiries of foreign countries. He was mistaken; they had made inquiries of foreign countries. The proof of the fact was furnished by the demand

that was now being made upon the House. But they had held their hand with regard to the construction of a quick-firing gun until they were satisfied that the progress of foreign nations was such as to make the new departure advisable. The information they possessed would allow them to manufacture a gun which would at any rate be equal, and he thought more than equal, to the gun which was now being manufactured or which was actually in use on the Continent. The hon. Member talked about foisting off guns upon India. He assured him that there was no question of an experiment in regard to the guns sent to India. All the experiments had been undertaken and had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion before a single gun was issued, either to India or to the Army elsewhere. They were, for reasons which he gave on a previous occasion, supplying these guns in the first instance to India, but there was no question at all of the guns being of an experimental character. The hon. Member had asked him for details, but he would need to be excused from going into very minute details before these guns were manufactured. The House of Commons was entitled to ask for anything, but he thought hon. Members would agree that there were some things that perhaps had better not be asked for. The assurance they would desire was that this gun, in the opinion of all those who had been concerned in its manufacture and—more important—in the opinion of those who had dealt with it from a practical point of view, had justified the descriptions he had given of it as being at least equal and, in the opinion of many good judges, superior to guns which were now being manufactured for Continental armies.

The hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth took some exception to the apparent disproportion between the figures given for guns and carriages. He pointed out that they ought always to keep in mind the paramount necessity of mobile defence whether on land or on sea. But he did not think really that an examination of those figures would enable him to enforce the argument pursued in this case. The sum

of £373,000 was asked for to provide armaments, and £133,000 was for field artillery. The effective charge for field artillery was of course much more than £170,000, in view of the fact that they were manufacturing different patterns. Of course the additional sum was required for the British Army in India. The Mowatt Report, as hon. Members knew, dealt with the fortification of the coast fortresses. The result of the programme—the details of which he was very intimate with—was to reduce very largely the number of guns in our forts all over the world. The reduction had been made partly because some of the guns were obsolete, and because it was part of a considered programme upon which a small commencement had been made this year. The hon. Member for Great Yarmouth asked if the War Office were aware of the importance of improving and extending the possibilities of high angle firing. They were aware of the importance of that question, and they had that problem in mind. They were now making an experiment, which was of the greatest possible interest, with a gun larger than had ever been used before for that purpose.

The hon. Member for Mansfield and the hon. Member for Bristol had addressed to him Questions of great importance. He was rather astonished that the hon. Member for Bristol should suppose for a moment that he had abated his interest in a question in which he had always shown such a deep concern, or that he could fail in any endeavour he had made to put into execution his own very frequently expressed views in favour of standardisation, not only in guns, but in everything appertaining to warlike stores. He could give the hon. Member for Mansfield the best proof of his good intentions in this matter, by telling him that when he was in another Office he did take a considerable part in introducing the greatest step in the standardisation of artillery that had ever been taken in this country. It was true there would be a discrepancy in the calibres of the two new field guns, but when they remembered that there was a very great difference between the weight of the two projectiles, it would be seen that it was not without reason that they were varying the calibres of those guns. With re-

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

gard to the general range of guns, the hon. Member knew that in the past there had been a lamentable superfluity of calibres. This year they were using the 9·2 gun, which was also a naval gun, and not only so, but they had for a long time been using a 12-pounder quick-firing gun, which was a gun used in the Navy. A large number of obsolete calibres had been entirely eliminated. It was true that there was still a difference between the heavy gun, for the use of the Army in the field, and the 4·7 gun in the Navy; but the weight of the projectiles of these guns had not exactly the same relation to each other as the calibres. Steady progress was being made in the diminution of the calibres, and the Committee might rest assured that no effort would be spared to reduce the calibres so far as they could be usefully reduced, and to extend the system of standardisation.

The hon. Member for East Dorsetshire had drawn a pitiable picture of the state of a battery of Militia Artillery in which he was interested. He asked the hon. Member to give him particulars of that battery, for he could not reconcile the description of the obsolete 6-inch guns with his own knowledge of the artillery as it was at present. There were several types of breech action in the 6-inch guns, but that was inevitable in view of the demands of the service. The earlier type of the breech-loader had been relegated to the Militia, but he could not accept the description that they were obsolete guns. He could state from his own knowledge that there had been an immense improvement in the armament of all the Reserve Forces. The process of manufacturing guns was expensive and tedious, and it was not possible to pass on to the Auxiliary Forces the guns which were still required for the Regular Forces, but at no time had progress been so rapid, as in the past five years, in providing improved armaments. As soon as the new guns in the programme already announced were manufactured the 15-pounder guns in the hands of the Royal Artillery would be transferred to the Auxiliary Forces. Whatever might be the gravamen of the charge in the particular case referred to, they

were doing all they could to remove the objection.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked whether it was not the case that the Militia Garrison Artillery were now being trained every year at the places to which they would be sent for mobilisation, and that, therefore, they were using modern guns. Could that system not be extended so as to cover the cases dealt with just now.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the right hon. Gentleman had touched on a most important point. For the most part the artillery were being trained at the places where they would undergo mobilisation. It happened that there were certain units of Militia which were not attached for mobilisation to any particular place.

*COLONEL WELBY (Taunton) said the question raised by the hon. Member for Lichfield was one of very great importance. He thought the Secretary of State for War had given a very satisfactory answer. In regard to the new quick-firing gun, he thought it would be adverse to the interest of this country to have the whole of the details given in public. They must trust the War Office to keep the secrets of valuable new inventions. It was unquestionable that we could not have the Auxiliary Forces provided with the most modern weapons. It would involve an enormous cost, which he ventured to say the House would never authorise. At the same time he thought the Committee should be assured that both forces were armed with guns which would be likely to be of use in case of invasion. We rightly trusted very much to our Navy. A most terrible disaster had happened to one of the great battleships of the Russian Navy. It seemed to be an accident of a kind which might happen to a British ship as well as to a Russian ship. Such an accident might upset the whole of a scheme of defence of this country. We ought, therefore, to be prepared against invasion, and, having the experience of the South African War behind us, an assurance should be given to the Committee that there would be in the case of invasion, not only a satisfactory mobilisation of the Auxiliary Forces, but that these forces would be armed

with satisfactory weapons. He thought if money were expended in providing the Reserve Forces in this country with weapons as good as those provided for the Reserve Forces in Continental countries, it would be well spent. The hon. Member for Lichfield had called attention to the important matter of standardisation, and what had been stated by the Secretary of State for War might be taken as an assurance that this was being carried out as far as possible.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER said he wished a more explicit answer from the Secretary of State for War. Was it to be understood that the field artillery gun would be paid for this year out of this Vote? He understood that some of the guns included in this Vote were really not field artillery guns. The assurance he wished from the right hon. Gentleman was that no money would be spent on any field artillery gun which was not a quick-firing gun.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: That is so.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER asked leave to withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could state what proportion of the new batteries would be made in the Government arsenals and what proportion would be given out on contract?

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) called attention to an item of £31,000 for "cordite, gunpowder, etc." He understood that some alteration was being made at present in regard to the manufacture of cordite, and, that being so, he did not see why so much should be spent at present in providing additional cordite. There was an Estimate of £382,000 for "small-arm and machine gun ammunition," being £40,000 in excess of the amount for the previous year. He could not understand why so much money should be spent on that item when we were only engaged in a small war in Somaliland and a smaller war in Tibet.

He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give some information in regard to this large expenditure. He thought he had better protect himself by moving the reduction of the Vote by £200.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item C (Ammunition) be reduced by £200."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he could not give precisely the various qualities of the cordite. There had been a change in the quality of the cordite, especially of that for use in the Navy. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that the quality was calculated according to a given velocity for each gun. The Department was manufacturing according to the existing demands. The increase was not large. Last year a comparatively small amount was asked for, because there was a surplus over from the war in South Africa which had not been exhausted. Now they were going back to the normal demand and the increase was only £40,000.

MR. WEIR said that that last explanation was so far satisfactory. But the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to an inquiry in regard to another point, said that this was a question of erosion of the barrels of the guns and not of velocity. He had raised that very point ten years ago in connection with the Lee-Metford rifle. The right hon. Gentleman told the Committee that this increase was only £40,000; but there ought to have been a decrease of £140,000 this year, instead of an increase of £40,000, when they recollected the large stock left over from the late war. He had no desire to divide the House, but he was not satisfied to see such large sums of money expended.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that there was a time when it was in doubt as to whether it was necessary to adopt this particular quality of cordite, and there was a moderation in its manufacture. At present there was no such hesitation; and the Department was manufacturing cordite according to its needs. The

Mr. Weir.

question of erosion did not arise on this Vote.

MR. WEIR said that was not a satisfactory explanation from a Minister who was receiving a salary of £5,000 a year. This question of the erosion of the barrels of rifles was of vital importance to the country; but the right hon. Gentleman had given no satisfactory explanation as to why there should be such a large increase in the money demanded for small-arm ammunition. He, however, would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

***MR. AINSWORTH** (Argyllshire) said that he would be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would inform the Committee whether he would take into consideration the advisability of supplying the Volunteers with ammunition at the same rate as it was supplied to the Militia and Yeomanry.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would make inquiries in regard to that matter. In answer to the hon. Member for Brightside, he could state that the allocation of orders would follow the ordinary rule—one-third of the total would be given to the Ordnance Factories; and the remaining two-thirds to the trade.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said that he was unable to understand the correspondence which appeared in the Report of the Auditor-General in regard to the cost of the new rifle with which the Service was to be armed. It appeared to him that a payment had been made to the London and Birmingham Small Arms Company for rifle ranges, and not on account of the new rifles. Why should a payment be made for private rifle-ranges belonging to a private company? The correspondence showed that the matter was still regarded, as it were, as a payment in advance for the new rifles. The Treasury at first objected to the payment, but subsequently assented to it on the conditions contained in the correspondence. The Committee ought

to be informed how much had been spent, and in what direction it had been spent.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said on a point of order that no money was being taken for the purpose mentioned by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. WHITLEY said that, as he understood the matter, arrangements were being made with two companies in anticipation, apparently, of the manufacture of the new rifle.

***THE CHAIRMAN** : It would be disastrous to the whole system of discussing Estimates if matters were discussed which were not contained in the Estimates at all. The Secretary of State for War stated that no such payment as the hon. Gentleman imagined was contained in the Report ; and, obviously, therefore the subject cannot be discussed on this Vote.

MR. WHITLEY said he would ask where the amounts referred to in the correspondence with the Treasury appeared ?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would repeat that the House of Commons was not asked for any money for the purpose mentioned by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER asked if the Secretary of State would give the Committee some idea as to what the payments for rifles would be. He wished to know how the money was to be spent. Was it all to go to the Birmingham Small Arms Factory ?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (**MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT**, Cheshire, Macclesfield) said that there was no money in the Estimate before the Committee for the purpose referred to by the hon. Gentleman.

***COLONEL WELBY** said he wished to know what was the definite policy of the War Office in reference to swords and lances in the mounted branches of the Army. Were those weapons to be abolished, or was the reduction in the Vote merely automatic. The matter was of importance, as the German and

other Continental armies had not decided to abolish the lance and sword ; and, in the event of war, the British Army might be at a disadvantage.

***COLONEL LEGGE** (St. George's, Hanover Square) said he was glad his hon. and gallant friend had called attention to the question of the retention of the lance. He mentioned the matter a year ago and was informed that the decision was arrived at as a result of the recommendation of Sir Ian Hamilton. He had great respect for Sir Ian Hamilton, but he thought it would be desirable that the War Office should, before deciding, have taken the opinion of cavalry officers. Having commanded two cavalry regiments he had great faith in the lance. It would be seen from the Blue-book that most of the officers who held high command in South Africa who gave evidence before the Commission were in favour of the retention of the lance except two who were not cavalry officers. Under these circumstances he submitted that it was very desirable that the Army Order issued last year for the abolition of the lance should be reconsidered and the lance retained. We were apt to lean too much upon the experience we gathered in South Africa, but even there an urgent request was sent to Pretoria for lances, and he would not be at all surprised if on the occasion of a future war they found all the commanders writing home for lances. Lately in Somaliland, a correspondent, in reporting a pursuit by mounted infantry, stated at the end that had they had a regiment of Bengal Lancers they would have done much greater execution. He hoped, therefore, this matter would be reconsidered, and that the lance would be retained not only for parade purposes, but also for effective service in the field.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) congratulated the hon. Member for St. George's in having referred to this matter. There was considerable misconception in the mind of the House and the public in regard to the lancers. In recent years military tournaments had become popular, and the public had in consequence become more or less conversant with the way in which the lance and the sword respectively were

used in those contests. But in those tournaments the lancers were purposely handicapped. If a man were allowed to use a lance in the normal way in which it was used in war, that was to say, to put it in the rest and charge in the ordinary manner, everyone would admit that there could be no doubt as to the result—the man with the sword would not stand a chance. The country in South Africa was in the highest degree unfavourable for the use of cavalry, and only suited to the use of mounted infantry which used the rifle and only used their horses to get from place to place. No mounted infantry man was a true cavalry man. But everybody knew that in the time of the Indian mutiny the lance was known to be a terror to the mutineers. It was the habit of the mutineers when the dragoons came by to fall upon their faces, and all the dragoons could do was to prod them slightly on the back as they passed, but the lancers in every case pinned their man. He did not suppose it would ever fall to the lot of this country to engage again in war upon the Continent, but if it did, the entire country from the Pyrenees to Russia was one great plain which had no ground in which infantry could take cover; there were no such obstacles as were to be found both in this country and Ireland; and he was prepared to assert that in the next European war we should see cavalry play a much more important part than ever it had played in the past. If we, under such circumstances, were brought into conflict with a foreign nation, and had no lancers, and our troops were brought face to face with the lancers of that nation they would sweep away all who were not so armed. He hoped, therefore, the lance would not be abolished simply because in the case of South Africa we were fighting under conditions which were never likely to occur in any other part of the world.

SIR ELLIOTT LEES (Birkenhead) said he could imagine circumstances arising even in modern warfare in which the use of the lance might be advantageous, and he could conceive other conditions when the use of the battle-axe might also be advantageous, but those occasions were so remote and so rare that, in his opinion, it would not be wise to train troops in the use of either one or the

other. He could not see much difference himself between the character of the country in the North of Europe and that in which we were operating in South Africa, and he thought it would be most unwise to neglect to take advantage of the experience we had obtained there. Against anything like proper scouting in any country except one so enclosed as England shock tactics must in future disappear. That might be too sweeping an assertion, but he firmly believed that we should do well to accept the judgment of Lord Roberts that mounted troops must be used more for rifle tactics than for shock tactics, and that the lance with all its historic and chivalrous associations must disappear as the true cavalry weapon of the future. He hoped we should not as a nation be so mad as to disregard the lessons of the late war.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked whether the hon. Baronet intended to suggest that the Prussians were in favour of diminishing the number of Regular cavalry, and were opposed to the lance. If not, the quotation he had given was useless, and his argument fell to the ground. It was difficult for the ordinary member of the public to avoid accepting military authority on subjects of this kind, and such authority was entirely in favour, not only of the retention of Regular cavalry for shock tactics, but of increasing the Regular cavalry in proportion to the infantry. Military opinion in France and Germany was distinctly in that direction, in spite of the difficulties connected with the training of cavalry and the short service system. He could not help thinking that the prejudice against the lancers in particular came from the public eye being attracted by the showy and out-of-date guise in which the lancer appeared in time of peace, with pennant and polished tip on the lance. But the lancer in time of war was a very different person, and the great preponderance of military opinion in the world was in favour of opportunities for shock tactics continuing and becoming proportionately even more important. The most recent investigation on the subject had been by our own War Commission, and it was almost the only point on which that body made a definite recommendation, viz., that the number of our mounted troops

should be increased, though it was true that they left open the question of whether the increase should be in Regular cavalry or in mounted infantry. The evidence of the present general commanding at Aldershot, and others with large South African, experience was entirely in favour of the increase of Regular cavalry as against mounted infantry, while the Esher Committee had incidentally declared in favour of the creation of mounted infantry regiments. His own opinion, based on what he believed to be the weightiest military authority, was in favour of both increased cavalry and increased Regular mounted infantry regiments. If the War Office were able, under the new scheme, to diminish, as he thought they should, the number of infantry battalions, a portion of the saving ought to be devoted to mounted infantry and an increased cavalry force. The existence of mounted infantry made the existence of cavalry even more necessary. There were cases in the late war of the mounted infantry getting into such a condition that cavalry would have had great opportunities against them. In Prussian opinion it would be most unsafe to give up the lance. The opponents of that weapon were mostly those who opposed shock tactics altogether, but if the continuance of Regular cavalry as opposed to, or together with, mounted infantry was contemplated, the weight of military authority was in favour of the continuance of the use of the lance. We were somewhat haphazard in the adoption and the discarding of weapons. We suddenly gave up mountain guns, without any authority on which to base the decision. In every other country the tendency was to increase mountain artillery, but while we retained it in India, we had none in this country. In the same way the War Office seemed to have decided to give up the lance here, although it was retained on a very large scale in India. He submitted these facts to show that the decisions were come to in a haphazard fashion without being properly thought out.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) heartily supported the decision of the Government. The decision was not one out of which any popularity could be

gained, inasmuch as it ran counter to many prejudices and sentiments, but, having seen the use of the lance on the Indian frontier and during the Boer War, he could not understand how anyone who looked at the matter from an impartial point of view could possibly prefer the lance to the rifle. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why not have both?] They could not have both with efficiency. It was true that the lance was not so noticeable in time of war as in time of peace, but even then the lance-pole, showing up above hedgerows or kopjes, was a sure tell-tale of the movements of mounted men. He hoped the Government would go boldly forward and throw away "ironmongery" altogether. Modern war was fought with firearms, and if cavalry were to play a great rôle on the battle-field in the future they would have to use modern weapons, and not the sharp sticks and long irons with which the wars of savagery and mediæval chivalry were conducted. If the Boers had imitated the Germans, adopted Regular cavalry and the lance, and had tried to employ shock tactics, they would have been overwhelmed. Thousands of British cavalry were engaged during the late war dragging sword and lance from one end of the country to the other, and it was only at Elands-laagte that they were used with any effect. He earnestly hoped the Government would adhere to their decision to discard the lance, and that they would boldly face the problem of the creation of a great rifle-armed cavalry combining skill in the management of horses with the highest development of firing tactics.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that in regard to the question of the use of the lance he found himself in the position of succeeding to a decision which had already been arrived at. That decision was the outcome of the opinion of a large number of officers, among whom were cavalry officers. At the same time he admitted that there was a body of opinion among the cavalry in favour of the restoration of the lance. He was not himself prepared to express an opinion one way or the other, but it had struck him, as a civilian observer from outside, that the conclusion was come to with some haste. He was not, however, prepared to say that, having done his best

to obtain the opinions of representative officers since he had had an official opportunity of doing so, there was anything like the preponderance of opinion in favour of the restoration of the lance which some hon. Members supposed. He believed shock tactics against cavalry were nearly unknown. As regarded a conflict between cavalry and infantry, an officer had expressed to him the opinion that in general it did not really very much matter what weapon was put into a cavalry man's hand for shock tactics, provided he had confidence in it and mastery of it. The bishops formerly went into battle armed with the mace, perhaps so as to avoid shedding blood, but he believed they used the weapon very effectively. There had been a partial solution of this question in the direction suggested by the Member for Birkenhead. A large addition had been made to the cavalry forces of this country of men who relied to a very large extent on fire tactics. He referred to the Yeomanry. He was afraid that his contribution to the debate was necessarily somewhat lame. He had asked the opinion of the Army Council on this question, and it must lie with them whether they should recommend the re-introduction of the lance. He believed that at present the balance of opinion was against taking that course. A new cavalry drill-book, which had just been compiled by the authority of and under the direction of Lord Roberts, certainly did not tend to promote the view of those who were in favour of the reintroduction of the lance. He was aware that the opinions expressed in that book were not universally accepted in the Army. But the Army Council had authorised the publication of that book in what might be called an experimental form. A question of this sort was one which could never be definitely concluded. The necessities and experience of the day might in time point to a change. At present he believed there was a predominant opinion in the Army against the adoption of the lance, and in favour perhaps, of an extension rather than a contraction of the mounted infantry. He would inform the House at the earliest opportunity if any change of opinion was arrived at by the Army Council. Until a change of opinion had occurred he did

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

not think even a debate in that House ought really to settle the question.

*CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.) said he was very much surprised at the remarks of the hon. Member for Oldham, because the hon. Member had seen the effects of the use of the lance both in India and Egypt. Surely it must be within the hon. Member's recollection that there was a celebrated charge at Omdurman made by lancers which led to a very considerable execution of the enemy. He was astonished that the hon. Member for Oldham thought that was unworthy of mention. With regard to the South African War, it might be within the recollection of the House that at Elands-laagte the 5th Lancers did charge and did considerable execution. The South African War, however, was not a fair instance, because there was no cavalry at all to oppose them, and it was very difficult for the British troops to pursue the enemy. To him there did appear to be some danger in treating the question in this way, and nobody in the Army knew exactly where they were in these matters. A few years ago both front ranks of lancer regiments, and the Dragoon Guards and dragoon regiments were armed with the lance; but now in consequence of the recent Army Order the lance was only to be used for ceremonial purposes. He did not think that it was wise to altogether abolish the lance, and he thought it was advisable that some regiments, at any rate, should be trained to use the lance, which was a difficult weapon to learn to use, and they required competent instructors to teach men how to use the lance. If they abolished all the lancer regiments and the use of the lance, they would place the cavalry in a very difficult position when an emergency arose. The late Secretary of State for War had told them that he would carefully weigh the opinions he received upon this question from the military authorities in India before a final decision was taken. The greater proportion of the cavalry in India was armed with the lance, and he thought the House should be told what were the views of the Indian military authorities in regard to its use. It was by

no means certain that they would not have to send out regiments to fight against savages again, and, if they abolished the lance, cavalry regiments would be deprived of the advantages of using that weapon; and if at the last moment a commander asked for a regiment armed with the lance there would be no troops available who had been taught to use that weapon. There were only six lancer regiments out of thirty-one cavalry regiments, and, if the Secretary of State and the Army Council thought they could reduce the number of regiments using the lance, let them at any rate decide to retain the present number of lancer regiments properly instructed with the lance. As regarded the various weapons used by cavalry, one officer had given evidence that the best weapon to use was a battle-axe, and there was considerable influential opinion before the Commission that the day of shock tactics was not yet finished. He hoped that when the question of making the cavalry drill-book permanent was considered by the War Office Council they would come to a decision to retain the lancer regiments.

COLONEL BOWLES (Middlesex, Enfield) said now that this question had been so fully debated he should like to allude to another subject, namely, the place where our rifles were being manufactured. The country took a very great interest in the question as to where our rifles were being made, and he invited the Government to state what proportion of the new rifles was to be entrusted to the Government factories for manufacture and what proportion was to be given to the trade.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER said he was afraid that instead of small arms being manufactured at Woolwich in the future a large amount would be sent to Birmingham. He did not think that was a good plan, and as far as possible they ought to manufacture the rifles at their own factories. It was all very well to talk of using the contractors in time of war, but it was not the business of the Government to support the manufacture of small arms as a trade. He thought it would be better to have the small arms manufactured at Woolwich,

and in order to make sure that he would get an answer in regard to this matter he moved to reduce item "D" by £100. The previous Secretary of State for War gave a pledge that the opinion of the Indian military authorities as to the use of the lance would be reported to the House. It was very important that the Indian authorities should be consulted on this important question, and it would be well to have their view put before the House as soon as possible. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to state what was the cost of manufacturing a rifle at Woolwich and what was the price paid to contractors for a similar weapon made in Birmingham. His impression was that the rifles manufactured in the arsenal cost the country less.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D (Small Arms) be reduced by £100."—(Mr. Courtenay Warner.)

*MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green) said that since he became a Member of the House he had repeatedly called attention to the manner in which Ireland was treated in connection with the supply of articles used by the Army. He had never got a satisfactory answer from the occupants of the Front Government Bench on that matter, but he would continue to direct attention to the subject. In the evidence the Duke of Connaught gave before the War Office Commission some time ago, he stated, when referring to the way Ireland was treated with respect to supplies for the Army, that the work could be done cheaper, more expeditiously, and to the advantage not only of the country but of the Army, if it were done in the districts where the troops were located. Why should the people of Ireland be asked to contribute to the enormous sums voted for the upkeep of the Army when they did not receive a single benefit from the Army? The opinion of the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland should be given effect to in this matter. He appealed to hon. Members opposite to support that view, and to give Ireland a chance of supplying some of the materials which were required for the Army.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St Patrick) said he was pledged to the trades

unions with which he was identified in Ireland to bring this matter forward on every available opportunity. It was of wider scope than had been indicated by his friend and colleague the Member for the College Green Division. In this country the people were engaged in the fiscal controversy.

***THE CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Member must confine himself to small arms, lances, guns, swords, and so forth. These are the only matters now before the House.

Mr. FIELD said there were no small arms manufactured for the Army in Ireland, but surely when the people of that country were taxed they had a right to ask that some of the money should be expended there. When an Irish Member wished to bring this matter before the House he was ruled out of order on all sorts of technicalities, and the result was that they could never get it discussed. As an old Member of the House he said they were entitled to consideration in this matter.

***THE CHAIRMAN:** Old Members should set a good example. I must ask the hon. Member to speak to the question now before the Committee. If he can show that in the manufacture of small arms Ireland is not properly treated, he is quite within his rights in raising the question now.

Mr. FIELD suggested to the Secretary of State for War that the best thing he could do would be to start a small arms factory in Ireland. Surely if they could build ships at Belfast there was no reason why skilled Irish artisans should not manufacture small arms which could be utilised not only for the Army but for the Constabulary.

***MR. NANNETTI** asked whether he would be entitled, when the whole Vote came before the Committee, to raise the whole question of supplies for the Army.

***THE CHAIRMAN:** It depends what the hon. Member calls the whole question. Anything that relates to the matters included in Vote 9 he will be entitled to raise on the whole question, but he

Mr. Field

cannot raise discussions on matters which are not included in this Vote.

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said that during the coming year it was anticipated that there would be about 125,000 new rifles provided. Of these 71,000 were for India, 15,000 for the Navy, and 5,000 for the Colonies. For the British Army other than in India there would be 35,000 new rifles in addition to the 15,000 provided in the year just closed. In addition to that, 60,000 old rifles would be converted. The hon. Member had asked how the work was divided between the Ordnance Factories and the trade. The former got one-third, and the latter two-thirds. That was quite in accordance with the ordinary practice, and there was very good reason for it. The hon. Member seemed to think that all the work in time of peace should be done in the Ordnance Factories but it was necessary to keep the trade employed in time of peace, so that they might be available with their plant in time of emergency. The hon. Member had also asked as to the price of the rifles. It was cheaper to make the rifles in the Ordnance Factory than to get them from the trade.

COLONEL BOWLES: How much?

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said that he believed that the comparison was as between £3 10s. and £4 10s. The hon. Member for College Green raised the question of stores being obtained in Ireland. He wished to say in the most general terms that a fair share of the supply of stores would be given to Ireland.

COLONEL BOWLES said there was an extraordinary difference between the cost of the rifles supplied by the trade at £4 10s. each, and those made in the Ordnance Factory at £3 10s. each. He contended that far too large a proportion of the manufacture of rifles was given to the trade. The Indian Government had been very unfairly dealt with in this respect, and he was not surprised that the Indian Government was about to set up a Small Arms Factory of its own, because they found they had to pay £4 10s. for rifles which they could make for £3 10s.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he had listened with the greatest astonishment to the statement of the hon. Gentleman. He was surprised that the hon. Gentleman should be responsible for an Estimate which showed that the country was paying, without adequate reason, £70,000 a year more for rifles than they could manufacture them for themselves. The hon. Gentleman said that, in order to support a certain firm, the War Office was paying £4 10s. for a rifle which could be manufactured for £3 10s.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said that the firm referred to did not get a single order.

MR. DALZIEL said he thought the London and Birmingham Small Arms Company had received sufficient money during the South African war to keep them going for very many years.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said that the hon. Member imputed a grossly discreditable action to the Government, and one which he absolutely repudiated.

MR. DALZIEL said he would suggest to the hon. Gentleman that he should keep his head perfectly cool. What he had said was that, for the sake of a particular firm, or for the sake of particular firms, or for the sake of private trade—whichever way he liked to put it—£4 10s. was being paid for a rifle which could be made for £3 10s. That was a very serious admission to make at a time when the people of this country were not getting much relief from taxation. He had no other alternative than to protest against such a system.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said he did not want to do the Government an injustice. It was only fair to acknowledge that their reason for giving their work to factories carried on by private companies was based upon public policy, so that when large quantities were required on emergency these factories could be called on to supply them. But he would point out to the Government that it was a very bad policy to keep their own machinery idle and run the plant of private companies. It would be more prudent for the Government themselves

to have a reserve plant to fall back upon in case of emergency, and infinitely cheaper to keep their existing plant going, even if they had to increase it for special emergencies.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER** said that the question was not a simple one. It was on all fours with the question which he had had to consider at the Admiralty in connection with the manufacture of heavy guns. When he compared the prices of naval contract work for heavy guns with the prices of the Royal Arsenal, he thought that the difference was too large, and he inquired into the justification for that difference. He could truly say that the result of that inquiry was to convince him that the difference was not unreasonable, after allowance had been made for the fact that the contracting companies had to pay interest on their capital, to make provision for bad debts, and to make profits. The hon. Member would find that there was nothing unreasonable in the difference in the two prices referred to, when the conditions under which the work was carried out were considered. He did not agree that as a matter of policy they should carry out all the work in their own workshops. Opportunity had been taken at Woolwich of increasing the plant, and allowing a certain portion of it to stand idle, to be utilised in a case of emergency. That had not been found possible with regard to heavy guns, but to a certain extent it might be desirable with regard to the Small Arms Factory. He did not think there would be any effective economy if they were to enlarge their Small Arms Factory, and instal plant which they should only use in case of war. He had followed the whole course of the ammunition demand during the South African war, and he was convinced that it was a great advantage to have a reserve supply, both of small arms and ammunition, in the possession of private firms, and that some price should be paid for that advantage. His hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Enfield Division appeared to imagine that the difference between the cost incurred in Government factories and that charged by private firms was too great. He did not agree.

COLONEL BOWLES said his contention was that a proportion of the work smaller than one-half should be given to the trade.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that the hon. Gentleman should allow a little more freedom to those who were responsible for the supply of stores. The allocation of the orders was not arranged in any haphazard manner or without regard being had to a guiding principle. There was nothing extravagant in the prices that were paid, and that being so, was it not advisable to have two strings to their bow. No one could dispute that there must be a margin between the trade cost and the cost in the Government factories. He hoped his hon. friend would accept his assurance that there would be regular and continuous work in the Government factories, but, in the interests of the State, it was necessary to keep up the demand from the two great manufacturing centres which supplied small arms.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said he wished to express his satisfaction at the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. His own opinion was that the principle adopted should be the reverse of that enunciated by his hon. friend. If the War Department did not give a large proportion of the ordinary demand for small arms to the private trade, the capital necessary in order to supply the Government in the case of emergency would not be forthcoming.

MR. H. J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth) said he wished to ask whether in regard to the price of £3 10s. proper allowance had been made for depreciation in building and machinery.

*MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said he gathered that the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite was that rather than give orders to private factories the Government factories should be extended and new machinery provided. If the Government accepted that advice and, in cases of emergency, employed a considerable number of workpeople for a limited period, the grievances of those workpeople would be brought before the

House as soon as the emergency was over and they were out of work again. As representing a constituency where there was a large number of works for the manufacture of guns and ships, he thought the country generally got the advantage of those works, and he therefore sincerely trusted that the Government would continue to give a fair proportion of orders to private firms. They had heard that when the new guns were provided the old ones were to be given to the Auxiliary Forces. The hon. and gallant Member for Taunton had said that they could not afford the expense of providing the most modern guns for the Volunteers, but when the new rifles were provided he presumed the existing rifles of the Regular Army would go to the Volunteers or Auxiliary Forces. Could the Secretary for War, under certain well-defined regulations for the protection of the Government, arrange that the rifle clubs throughout the country should get the discarded rifles at a reasonable price? If that could be arranged it would give great satisfaction and be the means of enabling large numbers of the inhabitants of this country who could not see their way to join the Auxiliary Forces to learn the use of the rifle.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) said the statement as to the relative cost of the rifle given by the Secretary for War was absolutely unreliable. The Government were paying 25 per cent. more for rifles in the open market than they could manufacture them for in the most extravagant way possible. Why were they doing it? What were the firms which they were dealing with, and were they manufacturing a relatively superior article? Of course it was right for the Government to have two strings to their bow, but had they any arrangement with private firms that they did not make the rifles for foreign countries or for natives whom we might have to fight in South Africa? Had they any arrangement that when they had given a pattern of their own rifle, which ought to be the best in the world, the contracting firms did not make an identical rifle for other countries? There could be no doubt that there were firms in the country, and plenty of them, capable of making a rifle at the same price they were paying

now, which gave 15 to 20 per cent. to the shareholders.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs) said he could not understand how there could be any such difference as that mentioned by the hon. Member for Enfield between Government work and private work. Private manufacturers had to pay no more for their material, and had certainly not less efficient labour, and it therefore became a question of how the difference could be accounted for. One presumption was that the cost of the buildings, depreciation upon which had to be allowed for in private establishments, was wiped off in the case of the Government against the taxpayer whenever completed. Depreciation on tools, machinery, and other charges were generally not taken into account by Government, and such a thing as rent was also unknown, so before the official cost was compared with that of a private firm the two establishments ought to be put on exactly the same footing.

MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.) said he desired to be quite clear as to what cost was included. Was it merely the prime cost of the armaments, or would it also include all the costs that ought to be included, such as a proper charge for superintendence, the cost of machinery, and a proper sum for the depreciation of machinery? If it included those it would make an immense difference in the price of the rifle made by a private firm and that made by the Government. In his own constituency a firm tendered for the manufacture of fuses, and found they could not come within 40 per cent. of the price at which fuses could be made at Woolwich. That tender necessitated the putting down of very expensive hydraulic machinery for making the fuses. It was necessary in some cases to make a sacrifice in order that the country might have a number of firms available who were able to supply these articles in time of need. But the sacrifice was not so great as it appeared. He wished to know whether in the figures quoted to the House all these necessary calculations had been taken into account.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the cost given of the articles made by the Government included 10 per cent. for depreciation of machinery and 5 per cent. for depreciation of the building, and, of course, all the out-of-pocket charges and every charge for the ordinary management. It did not include items which were naturally included in a private firm such as rent, interest on capital, and profit. He pointed out that the direction which the hon. Member for Enfield desired to take was not that which the Government had been recommended to take. The whole matter had been considered by the Mowatt Committee which recommended that, so far from reducing the proportions of distributions, the Government should increase it by giving two-thirds of the work to the trade and doing one-third itself. And they justified that advice by saying that such a policy would result in these firms being available in time of war.

COLONEL BOWLES said the reason for the Small Arms Factory at Enfield was because in the time of the Crimean War the trade broke down so hopelessly that the Government had to start a factory of its own.

MR. DALZIEL expressed the opinion that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had left the situation exactly where it was before. They were paying £1 more for rifles than it cost the Government to make them. Repeated Questions had been put to the Government on this matter but they had not evinced the slightest desire to answer them. The only point brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman for the payment of this extra £1 to these private firms for rifles was that these firms made bad debts. They did not make bad debts with the Government and if they made bad debts with the Governments of other countries why should we step in and pay more in order to cover those debts. A more feeble argument was never put forward by any Government. The whole tendency of this debate had been to condemn the Government. So far as this Vote was concerned the country would not assent to what was practically a Vote in aid to provide for the bad debts of a private firm.

*MR. RENWICK reminded the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State of the Question put in an earlier part of the debate as to the supply of discarded service rifles to rifle clubs.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said they would have to look forward for a long time before they got the new service rifle; but when the time came he would give the matter his sympathetic attention as he believed it would make the work of rifle clubs more effective and make their expenses less.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER thought some misconception had arisen upon this question. These contracts had been confused with others on a much greater scale. This was not a question of protecting a great trade; this was a small trade that was being propped up by the War Office. No answer had been given to the Question as to who were the firms, and his impression was there were only two or three who comprised the trade. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of uncertainty. There was no question of uncertainty in this case, this was a contract the War Office gave out regularly year after year. If it was a question of keeping up a great trade it might be worth while to make a sacrifice, but here there was no question of keeping up a great trade. It had been stated that they were now paying £4 10s. to the trade for the manufacture of a rifle, when they could make rifles in their own factories at a cost of £3 10s. The Swiss Government made a good rifle for 30s. As they had not received a satisfactory answer upon this point he should insist upon taking a division as a protest against this propping up of a small industry. He was not interested in any way, and he was speaking simply in the interests of the country and the taxpayers who were heavily involved and who were being robbed. He hoped the House would enter a strong protest against this practice which he hoped would be stopped in the near future.

*MR. NANNETTI complained that the tradesmen of Ireland were not given any chance at all to compete either for the manufacture of small arms or anything else. He wished

to have an expression of opinion from the Front Ministerial Bench as to whether Ireland in the future was going to be given a chance in these matters or not. Would the Government give contractors in Ireland a fair opportunity without imposing upon them the harassing conditions which were put upon them at the present time. The Financial Secretary to the War Office stated that the time might arrive when they would have an opportunity of competing, but that would be he supposed when the millennium arrived. Some hon. Members argued that it was necessary for the Government to have their own factories when an emergency arose, and other hon. Members asserted that it was necessary to encourage private contractors as well. In these matters they did not take Ireland into consideration at all except when they wanted men to fight their battles. It was quite time that the Government gave Ireland a fair proportion of the work towards which Ireland had to pay a large proportion. They did nothing but rob Ireland and then they expected Irishmen to be devoted and loyal servants of the British Empire; but they never would be loyal so long as such injustices were done to them. It was a scandal to talk of the claims of Sheffield and Enfield, which had been fully recognised by the Government, while the claims of Ireland were entirely ignored. It was painful to him to have to appeal to the House in this manner, but it was his duty as a representative of one of the great manufacturing cities of Ireland to show that there was one representative at least ready to stand up in this House and give expression to the views of Ireland upon this question. He was surprised at the silence of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sloan) on this question. When in Belfast recently some prominent manufacturers complained to him of the manner in which they were treated by the Government in this matter. It was a great injustice to compel them to pay such heavy taxes, year after year, without giving them a fair proportion of the work. A great deal of the Government work could be done cheaper, better, and more expeditiously in Ireland, and he hoped that before long British justice would come to their aid and demand

that a fair share of the money spent upon the upkeep of the Army and Navy should be spent in Ireland.

MR. WEIR said that some time ago he asked the right hon. Gentleman to state what proportion of the improved pattern of rifles were manufactured in Government factories and what proportion were made by private contractors. The reply given to him was that the details of orders given to private firms could not be published. The right hon. Gentleman refused to give detail; then, but he had had to give those details in this debate at the cost of two and a half hours of the time of the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that private firms received £4 10s. for making a rifle, whilst the Government factory at Enfield produced the rifle for £3 10s. He sympathised with his hon. friend the Member for Dublin in his effort to get work for Ireland, and he should be glad to find some of the rifles produced in Scotland where there were plenty of men idle. Eleven years ago when he raised this question he was informed that large orders had been sent to Birmingham as well as to Enfield. He never could understand why so many orders went to Birmingham, and he wished to know if larger orders were now being sent to Birmingham than was the case eleven years ago. He had never been interested, even to the extent of a penny, in any gun factory, but he desired to know, and the Committee were entitled to know, the names of the firms to which orders had been given.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER was understood to say that the firms were the Birmingham Small Arms Company and the London Small Arms Company.

MR. WEIR was glad the information had been extracted at last.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said that as it appeared to be suggested that he had kept back the information, he would explain that the Question put conveyed such a disrespectful suggestion

that he deliberately declined to answer it.

MR. DALZIEL said that such an idea never entered his mind, and the hon. Member was the last who should have suggested it. If his remarks were susceptible of that interpretation he was extremely sorry and would at once withdraw them. He still thought, however, that his demand for the names of the firms who received the contracts was a fair request and one that ought to have been acceded to.

MR. WEIR said that if the question had been answered in the first instance much time would have been saved. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would say how many rifles had been ordered from each firm? He understood that 70,000 had been ordered outside Government works, and that the orders were equally divided between the Birmingham and the London firms. Was that correct? The rifles cost £1 apiece more when made by outside firms, so that £70,000 of the taxpayers' money was being thrown away. He strongly protested against such an extravagant system by which these private firms were bolstered up and enabled to pay large dividends to their shareholders.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE remarked that our rifles had always been dearer than the Continental rifles, owing to the larger number of pieces in the construction, although, roughly speaking, the foreign rifles were as good as our own. In every case the cost had been considerably reduced after the process of manufacture had gone on for some time, and he desired to know for how long the War Office were bound to pay £4 10s. for the contract rifle now?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the right hon. Baronet was perfectly correct in his remark. The Question he had put was an important one which he could not answer straight away. It had been the case that prices fell after regular manufacture was established, and he hoped it would be so in the case of this

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rifle. He suggested that the right hon. that both firms were practically Gentleman should put down a Question Birmingham firms. on this subject.

Question put.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER pointed out that the London Small Arms Company had its factory at Birmingham, so The Committee divided:—Ayes, 142; Noes, 198. (Division List No. 77.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
Brigg, John
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremor, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Edwards, Frank
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Burdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John

Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, A. (Durham)
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Keasley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. Jn. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)

O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowden
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tillet, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES, Mr. Courtenay Warner and Mr. Theodore Taylor.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.

Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George

Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coddington, Sir William
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manx)
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
 Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby (Linc.)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.

Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kerr, John
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.)
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Moon, Edward Robert Percy
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Welleseley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.

Raach, Sir Frederic Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Sharpe, William Edward P.
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheff'ld)
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und-Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quinn, Major W. H.
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

*MR. NANNETTI said that in connection with the Vote for miscellaneous stores he wished to raise the question of the supplies for canteens in Ireland.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT said it would not be in order to raise the question of the canteens on this Vote.

*MR. NANNETTI said he assumed that the Vote included a certain sum of money for the payment of the officials connected with the canteens.

*THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot discuss payments for wages under a Vote for miscellaneous stores. Obviously that cannot be done.

*MR. NANNETTI asked whether the refreshments to the troops were not supplied by the officials of the canteens as stores and supplies and could he not discuss them.

*THE CHAIRMAN: There are no salaries for officials on this Vote.

*MR. NANNETTI said the men who served in the canteens were not civilians.

*THE CHAIRMAN: This Vote is for stores and not for men.

*MR. NANNETTI: One moment, with all due respect to you. I do not think it is fair to try to rule any Member out of order in this way, even though he be a mere Irish Member.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think the hon. Member is justified in using such an expression. If anything, I have given him a great deal more rope than other Members. I must ask him to accept my ruling when I tell him that he cannot raise the point he wishes to raise on this particular Vote.

*MR. NANNETTI: I, of course, accept your ruling. It was the tenor of your own observation that led me so far to forget myself.

COLONEL LEGGE asked whether any steps had been taken to reduce the weight carried by cavalry horses. In dragoon regiments the weight was something like twenty stone. He had been informed, in answer to former inquiries, that the question was under consideration. He hoped the War Office would be able to devise some means of reducing the weight. At present a saddle weighed two and a half stone without anything at all on it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he raised this question twelve or thirteen years ago. He at that time gave the weight of the saddle used in British cavalry regiments, and pointed out that in other countries a lighter form of saddle was employed. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had stated that the weight carried by a

cavalry horse was twenty stone. He believed that in the Blues and the Life Guards the weight of trooper and accoutrements and saddlery was twenty-three stone, which was enough to kill any horse. The matter had not been attended to from that day to this, and he hoped the Secretary of State for War, in whom the Committee recognised a determined reformer, would do something to have the weight reduced. In what direction it should be made was not for him to say.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said that he wanted to ask two or three Questions as to Items F and G. Under Item F there was a sum for Miscellaneous Services, £345,000, and under Item G Equipment Stores, there were various amounts totalling in all £465,000. Were these what he might call the remnants of the Mowatt Commission? The House had been promised a week or two ago the Report of the Commission itself, but it had not yet been issued, and he thought that the Secretary of State should be able to state—as it was germane to this discussion—that it would be shortly available to hon. Members. Another Question he had to put was, whether the War Office were going to establish a buying section in connection with the Ordinance Department? If so, that would be against the recommendation of the Dawkins Commission, which was composed pre-eminently of business men; and he would attach much greater weight to their recommendations than to those of the Committee of Three.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster) said he wished to ask whether Item G., "Transport Vehicles," included ambulance waggon?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS said he wanted to know whether any progress had been made by the Department in improving the ambulance waggons which had caused so much suffering during the war in South Africa. He was aware that prizes had been offered for an improved ambulance waggon; but he was not aware as to what result had followed from that

offer. Those who were in South Africa knew that the ambulance waggons then in use in the British Army were most unsuitable; and it was important to know whether any improvement had been made upon them.

SIR CARNE RASCH said he would like to associate himself with the hon. Gentleman who had spoken as to the weight which was put on cavalry horses. All the ironmongery they had to carry was ridiculous. But it was still more ridiculous that the light cavalry should absolutely have to carry a stone more weight than the heavy dragoons! The hon. Member opposite said that the Commission which sat under the presidency of the Secretary of State for the Home Department suggested that a reduction of the expenses of cavalry officers might be affected by doing away with gold lace on the uniforms. The object of that was to get into cavalry regiments the sons of country gentlemen who could shoot and ride—not the sons of South African millionaires or young men of the Marshall and Snellgrove type. He had never been able to understand why saddlery was given as part of their kit to officers of the 6th Dragoons and not to the 5th Dragoons.

MR. NANNETTI said that it had been proved before the Royal Commission on the subject that waggons, carts, ladders, and other materials used by the Army could be made with advantage in Ireland. He had in his possession a return which stated that for the year 1902 nearly £4,000 worth of brushes had been sent over from Woolwich for Army purposes in Ireland. He thought the House would agree with him that he had a right to stand up there and say that Irish manufacturers should have a proportionate share in that expenditure. The Duke of Connaught had stated publicly that it was ridiculous to send to Woolwich for a cart which could be better produced in Ireland. He had letters from the Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Dundalk, Newry, Enniskillen, Athlone, and Mullingar Cart and Wagon Builders Societies protesting against the system of importing these articles and asking him to make a protest against the continuance of the practice. Hon. Gentleman opposite spoke about things being dumped down in England from

Germany and France; but they never remembered that they were parties to dumping English goods on Ireland. He moved the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That Item F (Miscellaneous Services) be reduced by £100."—(Mr. Nannetti.)

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.) said he supported his hon. friend in the reduction he had moved on this Vote, as a protest against the way Ireland had been treated in this regard. The present Commander-in-Chief in Ireland was in favour of the change advocated by his hon. friend.

MR. WEIR called attention to the item of £336,000 spent on stores and complained that all these stores were manufactured in England, although there were workmen in Scotland quite as competent to manufacture them as any in England. Scottish workmen were capable of manufacturing these stores quite as well and more cheaply than English workmen, and it was a scandal that all this money should be expended in England and not a shilling of it in Scotland. If the division was pressed he should certainly support it.

MR. FIELD said he had been in communication with the authorities for the last ten years on the question of the establishment of depôts for stores in Ireland. He asked that these depôts should be used in the same way as the depôts in England, and that the people of Ireland should have an equal opportunity with the English for tendering for such stores. When Irish Members proposed something that would decrease cost and increase efficiency, and at the same time give some satisfaction to the Irish working man, it seemed most unwise, from a Treasury point of view even, for the Government not to accept that proposition. Why should Irish manufacturers be placed at a disadvantage and have to bear the expense of sending their goods to Woolwich instead of being able to send them to the depôts in Dublin? He did not ask for anything unreasonable, and he expected a sympathetic answer to his complaint. He was certain that if this question was considered in

an impartial spirit it would be found that he was only asking for something that would be found to be of advantage to the War Office as well as to England. This was not a small matter. It was a great principle, which was that the Irish people should have equal opportunity with the English to tender for these stores, and he hoped to be assured, when the right hon. Gentleman replied, that Ireland would receive the fair play to which she was entitled.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said some misconception appeared to have arisen with regard to this matter. It seemed to be supposed that the Government selected the persons from whom they ordered stores. That was not so. There were classes of goods that were manufactured cheaply and on a large scale in Ireland, and the tenders of Irish manufacturers for those classes of goods had been accepted. There were other classes of goods either not manufactured at all or only manufactured in a very small way in Ireland, and for those classes Irish manufacturers did not tender. The hon. Member appeared to think also that Ireland was unfairly treated by reason of the goods manufactured there having to be inspected at the central depot in England, but that was a matter which affected everyone alike, it being necessary to inspect the goods, which had to be according to sample, at the central depot where the sample was kept. No obstacle was thrown in the way of Irish manufacturers by reason of that inspection, because the only cost entailed was the cost of returning the rejected articles, and that did not affect the manufacturers very largely. As they were proposing to decentralise the commands of the Army; and with the commands the buyers of the Army, it would naturally be the case that a great many more stores would be purchased locally. That change would lead

to a very great development of local buying of small articles. He did not think the local buying of large quantities of stores, which were made in large quantities, would be an advantage.

* MR. NANNETTI said that although the statement of the right hon. Gentleman held out some hope for the future he could not accept it as an answer to his complaint. All he asked was that the Irish people should have an equal opportunity with other people to tender, and they had not so long as everything had to be sent to Woolwich. Therefore, however favourable the answer of the right hon. Gentleman might be considered to be, he must divide the Committee on this question.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE asked what the method of buying was going to be with regard to this decentralisation of stores.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the matter was now under consideration.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT earnestly appealed to the hon. Member for the College Green Division not to divide the Committee, but to be satisfied with the favourable reply given by his right hon. friend.

* MR. NANNETTI said he should be the last man in the world not to consider the convenience of Members of the House, but he had a duty to discharge to his constituents, and until this system was killed he should be compelled to divide the Committee on every occasion when it was discussed.

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 107; Noes, 190. (Division List No. 78.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Burt, Thomas

Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)

Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)

Mr. Field.

Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Fenwick, Charles
 Field, William
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Hammond, John
 Harrington, Timothy
 Harwood, George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lambert, George
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 London, W.

Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Murphy, John
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
 O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 O'Shee, James John
 Partington, Oswald
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)

Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Jn. Cathart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 White, Patrick (Meath, North)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr.
 Nannetti and Mr. Mooney.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Boussfield, William Robert
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lances.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coddington, Sir William
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred

Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
 Elibank, Master of
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manch'r)
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fison, Frederick William
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
 Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby (Linc.)
 Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Groves, James Grimble
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'n derry)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tyne & W.)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.)
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hickman, Sir Alfred

Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Biokersteth
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kerr, John
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
 Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N. R.)
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Henage
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archib Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Malcolm, Ian
 Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Moon, Edward Robert Paoy
 Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur

Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretzman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Rigg, Richard

Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Scott, Sir S. (Murylbone, W.)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty

Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheff'ld)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburch, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

BAKER STREET AND WATERLOO RAILWAY BILL (BY ORDER).

As amended, considered,

A Clause (Application of Company's Acts), brought up and read the first and second time, and added.

*MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) said in moving the Motion standing in his name he would explain in the briefest possible manner the reasons which led up to it. Its object was to carry out a Parliamentary bargain that had been made in 1900 at the time of the passing of the Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Act. At that time the vestry of St. George-the-Martyr, now merged in the corporation of Southwark, was the local authority which had to deal with the matter, and they were strongly opposed to the Bill and presented a petition against it. The promoters of the Bill then sought an

interview with the local authority as a result of which the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn by the local authority and conditions made by which the chairman of the vestry, the present Mayor of Southwark, should give evidence in support of the Bill, whilst a promise was made by the promoters of the Bill to make an underground station and subways near the Elephant and Castle. One of the clauses of the Bill provided for this, and there was no doubt the company honestly intended to carry out the arrangement made with the vestry. Negotiations in regard to the details were continued for a long time between the borough engineer and the engineer of the company, and last year the borough of Southwark approved the plans of the Waterloo and Baker Street Railway, and granted permission for the erection of a hoarding at the place where the shaft was to be bored. All went well up to 28th July, 1903, when the town clerk of Southwark received an intimation from the engineer of the company to the effect that the company did not intend to erect either the underground station or the subways. At this period the vestry of St. George-the-Martyr had been incorporated with the borough of Southwark, whilst the interest of the original promoters of the company had been acquired by Mr. Yerkes and his friends. Notwithstanding this intimation interviews took place between the parties, which resulted in the following letter

being addressed by Mr. Yerkes to the Southwark borough engineers—

3rd November, 1903.

Dear Sir,—Since we had the pleasure of a visit from you and some of the members of the Council of the Borough of Southwark I have looked very fully into the matter of using the centre of the street for our Elephant and Castle Station and find that it cannot be done except at great expense. I appreciate fully the claim made against the company, that is, that it was agreed to at the time the Bill was passed, but I do not feel that we are at all responsible for that, for the reason that it was done by entirely different parties, who were our predecessors and from whom we purchased the company then being constructed. We are, however, still in hopes that some passage-way can be made connecting some of the corners of the street without causing a great expenditure of money, and this will receive our attention.

Yours truly,

(Signed) CHARLES T. YERKES.

Arthur Harrison, Esq.,
Borough Engineer,
Town Hall,
Walworth Road, S.E.

He admitted that the claim of the borough of Southwark was a genuine one, but got out of the responsibility by saying they were not the parties who originally entered into the undertaking. That was true, but he (Mr. Causton) would have thought that when a Parliamentary bargain had been entered into that bargain ought to be carried out by those who had taken over the responsibilities of the original company.

A great many concessions were given as a *quid pro quo* for the subways. The local authority had always had its eye on the question of subways at this point, and thought on this occasion that they had their opportunity to get them by making the concession which they made to the company. Those concessions were admitted to be not small concessions. He appealed to the House to respect Parliamentary bargains that might be made. It was well known that by such bargains a vast amount of time and great expense was saved. Although this bargain was not recorded, it was an honourable understanding under which the vestry withdrew its opposition and it ought to be carried out. One of the concessions made to the company was to allow it to make its tunnel at depths varying from eighteen inches to eighteen feet instead of sixty feet below the

surface which saved a considerable expense to the company. He could give other instances, but he thought that was sufficient to show what had been saved by the concessions. The company would, under their altered arrangements, save considerable time and labour, as Mr. Galbraith the engineer admitted in his evidence before the Committee, and he stated that one of the reasons for not carrying out the bargain was that they could open the railway eighteen months earlier if instead of making this underground station they made it elsewhere. His point here was that the company had decided to remove their station, and by so doing they were going to save an enormous sum of money, and that therefore they ought not to object to carrying out this bargain as to making the subways. Another reason which weighed with the vestry in withdrawing their opposition was that the company was going to turn the Indigent Blind School site into a generating station which would be a very valuable ratable property to the borough. Now there was not to be a generating station at that point but merely sidings and consequently there would be a considerable rating loss to the borough.

The Motion he had before the House said in effect that this line should not be opened until the subways were made, but that would not necessitate any delay in the actual opening of the line, because the work was not sufficiently advanced to be affected by the making of the subways. There was absolutely no difficulty with regard to the construction of them, and the borough had no desire to put the company to any excessive cost in their construction. All they wanted under this new arrangement was the subways. The necessity for these subways at this spot was even greater now than when the Bill was passed having regard to the very great danger to pedestrians through the advent of electric trains, which came from all parts, travelling very rapidly and thereby increasing the danger to foot-passengers at this crossing. When this matter was before the Committee the Committee came to the conclusion that they could not compel the company to construct the subways in event of the station not being

made, and he did not blame the Committee for not going behind the Act of Parliament, but at the same time he was going to ask the House to support him and say that Parliamentary bargains must be carried out, and that what the Committee could not do the House would. Attempts had been made to compromise the matter, and he believed that the company would be willing to make a contribution to the cost of the subways if the borough would construct them. But the corporation had not the power to construct them. It might go to law and get a verdict, but that they did not wish to do. All they desired was the subways, and that the company should construct them. He thought he had now said sufficient to make the matter clear, and, without occupying further time, he begged to move the clause standing in his name.

A Clause (Company to construct subways at Elephant and Castle).

"The Company shall not open for public traffic Railway No. 3 by the Act of 1900 authorised to be constructed or any part thereof until they have constructed and opened for public traffic subways for foot-passengers near the Elephant and Castle in the general lines shown on the plan signed in duplicate by William Robert Galbraith and by Arthur Harrison, and referred to in Sub-section 17 of Section 30 of the Act of 1900 (For the protection of the Vestry of the Parish of Saint George-the-Martyr, Southwark)."—(*Mr. Causton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

*MR. REA (Gloucester) said his hon. friend had appealed very eloquently to Mr. Yerkes and his friends for a contribution towards the cost of these subways, but it would perhaps surprise the House to hear that when the Bill which was now being considered was before the Committee there was no mention in it of the Borough of Southwark. No part of the powers asked for by this Bill had to be exercised within the limits of that borough when the Committee were asked to give an opinion on another Act of Parliament passed in 1900. He did not deny that there had been a great deal

of bargaining before the Act of 1900 was passed, but the bargain was embodied in Sub-section 17 of Clause 30 of that Act, from which it would be seen that it was a very different bargain from what his hon. friend had represented. He submitted that the hon. Member had rather misrepresented the powers conferred on the company by the Act of 1900. Since the Act was passed the company had done what they could to design a station under the road at this point, but they had proved to the satisfaction of the Committee that, if it was not an absolute impossibility from an engineering point of view, the difficulties were almost insuperable, and that not only would the expense be very great, but that if they succeeded the opening of the line would be delayed at least eighteen months. The Committee were asked to modify an Act passed in 1900 in reference to a matter which was not then before the Committee and which was not before the House in the present Bill; they were asked to interpret a clause in the sense of imposing on the company an obligation to construct something which the Act said they "may," but not that they "must" construct. Three things were clear to the Committee—first, that the Parliamentary bargain was embodied in Sub-section 17 of the Act of 1900; secondly, that the section did not impose an obligation to construct a station; and, thirdly, that the company were under no obligation to construct subways apart from the station, and that they had no powers to make subways apart from the works. If the obligation existed, the Borough of Southwark had its remedy at law, and it was not the duty of the Committee to give a decision on a point of law with which the Bill before them had nothing whatever to do. Since the Act of 1900 nothing had passed except that the borough council had received a letter from Mr. Yerkes. That letter, however, could have no bearing on a Parliamentary bargain entered into before 1900. If it was a contract it could be enforced, but it did not seem desirable to the Committee that they should enter upon a legal argument as to whether or not the letter did constitute a contract. He might add that the conclusions of the Committee were clear and unanimous.

Mr. Causton.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) contended that as a station was being actually built within thirty or forty yards of the Elephant and Castle the argument based on the non-construction of the station fell to the ground. The question was really one of public necessity against private interest. A certain bargain was entered into between the Borough of Southwark and the company; the company passed its rights on to another company, who then declared that they were not bound by the bargain of their predecessors. If such a plea was to be accepted there would be an end to all Parliamentary bargaining. As consideration for the bargain the Borough of Southwark granted many important concessions, and the question was whether the company should now carry out their share in the transaction. He took no objection to the action of the Committee, but the House itself had power to overrule its Committee when the public interest required it, and that was what the House was now asked to do.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said the hon. Member for West Newington evidently knew nothing about the question. In 1900 the original company—the London and Globe—obtained optional powers to construct an underground station at the Elephant and Castle, and if they constructed that station they were to make in connection therewith certain subways. The London and Globe became bankrupt and its powers were purchased by Mr. Yerkes' Company, who decided, in consequence of the great difficulty and public inconvenience involved, not to construct the station. The whole question turned on the words "may" and "in connection therewith." If the contention of hon. Members opposite was correct, the Borough of Southwark had their remedy at law. Any damages they obtained would be in the form of money, and the borough, being the street authority, could then construct the subways. Under the circumstances he hoped the House would uphold the decision of the Committee.

*MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby) said that no one had

denied that a Parliamentary bargain was entered into, and the question of whether or not that bargain was correctly expressed in the Act depended upon the construction of the clause. One construction put forward was that the subway was to be built only if the station was constructed. On that point much difference of opinion existed, and the Borough of Southwark were advised that that was not the true construction of the clause, but that the company were bound to build the subways before Railway No. 3 was opened for traffic. The House of Commons did not exist for the purpose of encouraging people to go to law, but to see that Parliamentary bargains were carried out. Mr. Yerkes himself had written a letter in which he admitted the claim, but contended that the present company were not responsible inasmuch as the arrangement was entered into by their predecessors from whom they purchased the undertaking. That being so, the company ought to be shown that, in this country at any rate, we insisted upon people who purchased properties carrying out the bargains made by their predecessors.

MR. CUST (Southwark, Bermondsey) said that in this case they had a deliberate act of bad faith on the part of the railway company. It would be very bad for the expedition of private business in that House if the promoters of any company, especially a railway company, after entering into what was accepted as a *bona fide* arrangement on both sides, should be allowed to abscond with the plan and avoid their liabilities. That seemed to him to have happened in this case.

*THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith) said that he would support the action taken by the Committee in this matter, who had heard the evidence and the arguments of counsel. The speech of the hon. Member for Gloucester showed that he had a full grasp of the question with which he had to deal. Whether or not there had been a Parliamentary bargain in 1900 did not seem to him to be very relevant, because the result of the bargain, if there was one, was embodied in the Act of

Parliament of that year. The hon. Member for Rugby seemed to set aside that Act on the ground that some verbal or other arrangement had been come to, but he had always understood that they could not give any evidence of a verbal character to set aside an agreement embodied in writing, far less an Act of Parliament. If the Borough of Southwark thought that their rights were being trampled upon and the conditions imposed were being set aside by that Act, the proper course for them to have taken at the time would have been to have come to the House and declared that the clause did not embody the bargain which had been made. The proper body to interpret the Act now was the courts of law. To his mind it was clear that what Parliament intended to do was to tell the company that they might make the station, but that if they made it they would have to construct for the public benefit certain subways "in connection therewith." A great deal had been said about Parliamentary bargains, but surely Parliament as well as the company should carry out its part of the bargain. The company would really have grievous cause for complaint if a permissive form of words in the Act were to be construed as imposing an obligation. For these reasons he should support the action of the Committee. At the same time he was bound to say, as he said to the parties when they came to his room, that he thought it obviously desirable from the point of view of all parties that an arrangement should be made in the matter. There were certain expressions in the letter of Mr. Yerkes which led one to think that he was not fulfilling the whole of the conditions which his predecessors had entered into. He was certainly surprised to find those expressions in the letter of a gentleman so astute as Mr. Yerkes, and for that reason he suggested an arrangement to the parties—namely, that the borough and the railway company should share between them the expense of making these subways. That would be a very desirable settlement for the benefit of the company and the public also, and he had hoped that some such arrangement would have been arrived at. Possibly something of the sort might be done before the Bill went to another

place. On the strict legal interpretation of the documents, however, it seemed to him that the Committee was perfectly right in rejecting this clause. For that reason he should support the hon. Member for Gloucester.

*MR. BAMFORD SLACK (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) said that apparently the hon. Member opposite was ignorant of the fact that this station was going to be constructed a few yards from the original site. He thought the House ought to take cognisance of the fact that the railway company was moving the site of their station in order to relieve themselves of the obligation they incurred when they made their previous bargain to construct these subways, and it was only when the new company came into existence that this bargain was departed from. The bargain as contained in Section 30 (17) of the Act of 1900 was as follows—

"The company may construct an underground station with all proper and convenient lifts shafts way chambers and offices under the roadways converging near the Elephant and Castle and in connection with shall in addition to the said works construct and maintain subways near subway No. 2 for the accommodation of pedestrian traffic and such subways and the entrances thereto shall be constructed at the same time as railway No. 3 is constructed and shall be opened for public traffic at the same as railway No. 3 or any part thereof is opened for public traffic and shall be made on the general lines shown in the plan signed in duplicate by William Robert Galbraith on behalf of the company and by Arthur Harrison on behalf of the vestry and at such levels as may be agreed between the company and the vestry."

With reference to the answer given to the hon. Member for Southwark to the effect that the borough council had a remedy in damages in a Court of law, he did not see why they should be put to that expense. The ratepayers did not want damages, they wanted subways. They could not, by an action at law, obtain specific performance of their bargain against the company so as to compel them to make the subways. The only practicable remedy of the borough council was not to bring an action for damages but to ask the House to pass his hon. friend's Instruction so as to compel this company to fulfil the bargain which had been made by the original company.

Mr. J. W. Lowther.

*MR. BAILEY (Newington, Walworth) said that as a South London Member he felt very strongly upon this question. It appeared that the first company arranged certain matters to the satisfaction of the Southwark Borough Council, and then the project was sold to another company which refused to carry out what the former company had agreed to do. If the new company bought the undertaking they also bought the liabilities. He thought that, when a bargain of this sort

was arrived at, the House ought to insist upon it being carried out to the letter. He thought the original arrangement made by the Committee should be carried out, and he should support that course because it was for the benefit of the district he represented.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 133; Noes, 143. (Division List, No. 79.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John (Stirling)
Allen, Charles P.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremor, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alwred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Edwards, Frank
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Foster, Sir Mich. (Lond. Univ.)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)

Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horner, Frederick William
Horniman, Frederick John
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kerr, John
Kilbride, Denis
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macdonald, John Cumming
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McCrae, George
McHugh, Patrick A.
McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)

O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Plummer, Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton David James
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Spencer, Rt. Hon. C.R. (Northants)
Sullivan, Donald
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tillet, Louis John
Tuff, Charles
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
Welby, Sir Charles G.E. (Notts.)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Causton and Mr. James Bailey.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O

Arrol, Sir William
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur

Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Cochran, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C.R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Elibank, Master of
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc.)
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gardner, Ernest
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gore, Hn G.R.C. Ormsby-(Salop)
 Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-(Linc.)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Gretton, John
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry)

Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
 Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Berkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowther, Rt.Hn. JW (Cum. Penr.)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Kean, John
 Malcolm, Ian
 Maxwell, Rt.Hn. Sir H.E. (Wigt'n)
 Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)

Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellealey
 Percy, Earl
 Perks, Robert William
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Reddy, M.
 Renwick, George
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rose, Charles Day
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Scott, Sir S. (Karylebone, W.)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lanca.)
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walrand, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H. (Yorks.)
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Russell Rea and Mr. Nichol-
 son.

Amendments made to the Bill.

Bill to be read the third time.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAIL- WAY BILL [By ORDER].

As amended, considered.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said he wished to draw the attention of the House to an attempt on the part of the company to deliberately annex by physical force certain lands near their railway at Holywell Station. The company employed a number of navvies to take and hold possession of the land which they claimed. The title to a portion of that land was the subject of litigation, but another portion without doubt or question belonged to Mr. John Philip Jones of Holywell, the title having

been admitted by the railway company. For several months up to June last men were stationed as sentries near the land day and night to watch Mr. Jones; when he appeared a whistle was blown and men, sometimes numbering 100, would muster to occupy the land and prevent Mr. Jones from committing any act of ownership on it. On 13th June, 1903, Mr. Jones removed a fence erected by the company and instructed two workmen to level the ground. Later in the day, having received a message, he returned with ten men. He found about eighty navvies who, acting on instructions, had forcibly prevented his men from doing their work. The navvies, all strangers to the locality, were in charge of a railway inspector, who, in turn, acted under telegraphic instructions from headquarters. Mr. Jones warned the men they were trespassers, told them

what he was going to do, and tried to make a gap in the fence. It had since been found, and the company had admitted that he had a right to do this and that the company had no right to obstruct him. He was violently assaulted; the men whom he had taken with him were similarly treated. The company called this a technical assault. Unfortunately Mr. Jones and some of those with him bore the marks of this technical assault to this day. The wrongfulness of this action had been admitted in the most practical manner by the company, who had agreed to pay substantial damages for the assault. There was no question as to their having been entirely in the wrong. The blame did not rest with the navvies who only acted under orders. When they were appealed to some of them said, "We are paid for doing this, we would not do it of our own accord." He was sure they would not, because so far as his own experience had gone the employees of the company with whom the public came in contact in stations and on the railway treated the public with the greatest courtesy. The real responsibility rested with the people in high places who gave the instructions and who ought to have known better. Apart from the illegality of it, this was, to say the very least, a most undignified proceeding on the part of a powerful and wealthy corporation. Let the House just think of the procedure adopted--posting sentries to give warning of Mr. Jones's approach, manœuvring a hundred navvies to prevent him from having access to what had been admitted to be his own property, culminating in a physical contest lasting several hours in which Mr. Jones and several men with him were severely injured. He was afraid that in matters of this kind it was the deliberate policy of the company to crush small people who stood in their way. In this particular instance they had come across a man who refused to be trampled on, and if anything of the kind was attempted again, he hoped that Parliament would take drastic action to prevent its recurrence. There were other questions under the Bill which were the subject of litigation, and upon them he made no comment. But he feared that the acquisition of some of the land in-

cluded in the Bill boded no good to the port of Greenfield. It had been the settled policy of the company to do all they could to block up the small ports on the Dee. From their own business standpoint it might be to the advantage of the company to abolish competition by water, but the public had a right to protest against it. He did not propose to divide the House against the Bill which contained some useful and necessary powers in regard to the company's undertakings in various parts of the county, but he thought that Parliament, which had granted a valuable monopoly to the company, should be made cognisant of proceedings of the kind which he had described.

Bill to be read the third time.

SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,839,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Supply and Repair of Warlike and other Stores, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

MR. COURTENAY WARNER moved to reduce Item G (Equipment Stores) by £100, in order to call attention to the accoutrements supplied to the Militia. He complained that the Militia were brought into ridicule by being compelled to wear accoutrements of different patterns. This was one of the great grievances of the Militia, and it had been going on for years. He hoped the War Office would attend to the matter and see that the Militia got proper treatment in respect of accoutrements.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item G (Equipment Stores) be reduced by £100."—(Mr. Courtenay Warner.)

*COLONEL WELBY said he was entirely on the side of the hon. Members who had spoken in favour of lessening the weight carried by the horses, but it was a far more difficult matter than they seemed to realise. His own experience was that year after year new saddles and new methods had been tried with the view of lessening the weight. Every kind of saddle and attachments had been tried, but the real difficulty had not been solved. The experience of cavalry officers was that a saddle which was too light had a tendency to cause sore backs. He believed an improved saddle was in process of being made. It would be satisfactory if some of them could see it and judge whether it was going to be the saddle of the future. The difficulty of getting a newer and lighter saddle had been, he believed, the necessity of disposing of the present stores. But it was well worth the consideration of the Secretary of State to see whether the existing saddles of the old-fashioned heavy pattern could not be altered to a newer and lighter pattern, and if that could not be done, whether it would not be for the benefit of the country that they should be sold, even at a considerable loss, and replaced by new saddles. He quite recognised that in connection with all changes which involved expenditure it was the duty of those who were responsible for the finances to act carefully, but if the authorities were satisfied that a permanent improvement could be made he was sure the House would never refuse to grant the money necessary for carrying it out. He had not to-day heard from the hon. Members who had spoken a single suggestion of practical value as to how their wish in this matter could be given effect to.

Mr. BURDETT-COUTTS asked the Secretary of State for War what answer he had to give in regard to ambulance waggons.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said they had a new ambulance waggon which they believed to be of a very improved

character. With regard to the remarks of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Taunton, he said he was not at all unacquainted with the importance of the question he had raised. There was a large stock of saddlery and harness which had proved a great obstacle, but he had made inquiries, and it was possible that they would be able to modify the difficulty. The real remedy, so far as he was able to understand the question, was not to be found entirely in the alteration of the cavalry saddlery, but in providing auxiliary transport which should carry some of the weight now carried by the horses. It was in that direction that their efforts were tending. The matter was not nearly so simple as some hon. Members seemed to think, and a great deal of expert knowledge was being applied to the question.

*MR. NANNETTI asked what arrangements were being made in regard to the supply of saddlery for the Army. He did not wish to depreciate the quality of the work done in this country, but he thought Irish tradesmen could produce saddles which were quite as satisfactory. They had in Ireland a saddlery workshop built at considerable expense, where formerly new saddles were made, but now it had been turned into a place merely for repairs. He wished to know why that change had been made. He objected to Ireland being made the dumping ground for work done in this country, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman, when carrying out the scheme of reorganisation, would see that work for the Army would be done locally whenever that was practicable. He was constantly receiving letters from people in the places where the troops were stationed complaining of the present system of providing Army supplies, and if nothing was done to remedy the grievances he would be obliged to bring the question up again.

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 109; Noes, 163. (Division List No. 80.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.

Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)

Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William

Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Cawley, Frederick
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Cremer, William Randal
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Field, William
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Hammond, John
 Harrington, Timothy
 Harwood, George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Horniman, Frederick John

Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lambert, George
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 McCrae, George
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 Partington, Oswald
 Power, Patrick Joseph

Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Slack, John Bamford
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C. R. (Northants)
 Sullivan, Donald
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Tillet, Louis John
 Tomkinson, James
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (York, E.R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr.
 Courtenay Warner and Mr.
 Dalziel.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline Fitzroy
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarras, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manoh'r)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bignold, Arthur
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Brodick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Chapman, Edward
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.

Davenport, William Bromley-
 Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Duxford, Sir William Theodore
 Doke, Henry Edward
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants. W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manoh'r)
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fison, Frederick William
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gardner, Ernest
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby-(Salop)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Grettton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)

Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.)
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hosier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kerr, John
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N.R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Maadona, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)

Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire)
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Moon, Edward Robert Paoy
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pryneman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward

Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.

Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
 Yerburch, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Ailwyn
 Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that the cost of submarine services charged on this Vote amounted this year to £73,000, which shewed a reduction on last year of £37,700. He welcomed that reduction, if it were an indication of a change of policy with regard to submarine mines in the hands of soldiers. He felt very strongly on this question of submarine mines. The whole policy of submarine mines was to close ports. That might be a good policy for a weak nation, but not for a great sea Empire like ours, whose policy should be to keep our ports open. It had been plainly shown during peace operations that soldiers, knowing nothing of ships, were not the people to handle such weapons as submarine mines. He remembered a story told by Lord Charles Beresford that he once got a message from a military officer saying, "For God's sake take your ship out of that position, because it is on the top of one of my submarine mines." In this connection he could not help referring to events passing in the Far East, and expressing the sympathy they all felt for the gallant men who had suffered a great disaster, and

the gallant Admiral who had fallen. Though they did not yet know all the facts, they did know that one of the Russian ships was sunk by one of her own submarine mines. Surely, then, it was time for us to wake up to the importance of this question and the policy of submarine mines, first, as regards its applicability on an extensive scale to British ports; and second, of the necessity of having them in the hands, not of soldiers, but of men who had received a naval training.

SIR CHARLES DILKE said that his right hon. and gallant friend seemed to think that they might be faced with the fact that in the event of war the British Army would be the gravest enemy of the British Navy. The difficulty of soldiers recognising their own ships was known to all sailors. It was almost impossible to teach the soldiers not only in this country, but in other countries, to distinguish the ships of their own fleet from foreign ships. The question, however, was one obviously of the greatest difficulty. There was a tendency at the present time to rely on mining for the defence of ports, but he agreed that the duties which had to be carried out

on water would probably be better conducted by men trained to the sea than by the Royal Engineers, and he was sure that the Secretary for War, who had been connected with both services, would give the question his earnest attention.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would answer the question at once. This was one of the most important questions touched upon that evening. The reduction of the Vote was the result of the suspension of the policy hitherto prevailing, and was in consequence of the decision arrived at that the matter should be investigated before the system was indefinitely prolonged. He did not think, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was justified in saying that in the event of war the British Army might prove the greatest enemy of the British Navy. If there was a danger, he thought that it was more likely to be created by the Navy than by the Army. On behalf of the Department he could say that nothing would be more congenial to the views of the War Office than that it should be divested of the duty of controlling the naval defence of strictly naval ports. The subject was one of great difficulty, and it could only be satisfactorily solved by an agreement between the two services, which was likely to be effected through the Committee of Defence. As to the mixed defence of a maritime port, he had in his mind many specific instances of ports which in war must be used principally by the Navy, and he drew a distinction between these ports and other commercial ports occasionally used by the ships of the Navy. He believed that the chances of confusion were very great in ports where the shore defences and the maritime submarine

defences were controlled by the Army, and to which access was imperatively demanded at any hour of the night or day by the ships of the Navy. His view was that a solution would ultimately be found by an arrangement in the direction he had indicated, that the defence of maritime ports would be in the hands of the maritime authority, who alone could work in full sympathy with naval commanders and be acquainted with tides and other matters in relation to seamanship and naval requirements, while the defence of fortresses *qua* fortresses would be left in the hands of the Army. If he had been betrayed into speaking his mind openly on this question, he hoped his words would not be interpreted into a statement that the question was in a state when such an arrangement could be adopted; but he hoped consideration might result in an arrangement more satisfactory to his hon. and gallant friend than the one which was so distasteful to him and which was so little based on the true theory and practice of war.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne) asked if it was intended to ask for any more money for the Somaliland expedition?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said none was asked for in this Vote.

Question put, and agreed to

Resolution to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That a sum, not exceeding £1,918,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Staff for Engineer Services, and Expenditure for Royal

Engineer Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at home and abroad (including Purchases), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he noticed that expenditure under the Vote was classed in divisions corresponding to the Army Corps system. Was it possible yet to say under what arrangement the Votes would be provided in future?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said it was not proposed to continue the classification. In future the Estimates would be prepared in reference to districts, which in general outline would correspond with those in the Report of Lord Esher's Committee. The exact form was under consideration, the Army Corps organisation would not be continued, and there would be substituted for it another form of divisions not based on the Army Corps organisation.

MR. PEEL asked for information in reference to the construction of barracks at Tedworth on Salisbury Plain. He also asked whether the whole policy of keeping such a large force for exercise on Salisbury Plain was to be reconsidered. He explained that he spent five weeks there last year and had come to the conclusion that they could not possibly have a worse place in which to permanently station a large number of infantry. It was a most depressing and lonely place and would lead to a large number of desertions.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said that in a single sentence the Secretary of

State had buried, or had pronounced a funeral oration over, six Army Corps. What an extraordinary contrast to the important debates which ushered them into existence! He questioned whether the subject would have been so treated had the right hon. Gentleman's colleague, the late Secretary of State for War, been sitting in his usual place. The whole scheme was now dismissed in a contemptuous fashion. Its author had been contemptuously discarded for the present Secretary of State, and it only remained to be seen how long the new system would last. These eight divisions might be set aside the day after tomorrow, and they would have new Estimates in a new form, new works promoted on a new scale, and the country committed to more barracks as it was committed to the late scheme. He wished to call attention to the large item for the Engineer staff. So far as he understood, they were mainly Engineer officers in civil or *quasi*-civil employment whose services ought to be borne on the Votes for other departments.

*COLONEL WELBY commented on the item for window blinds for officers' quarters. He said it was apparently an enormous sum, the expenditure of which was to be spread over four years, and he would like to know if officers themselves would have to provide renewals when the blinds were worn out. He pointed out that this item of £48,000 should show those who were in favour of providing officers with furniture, how great the cost to the country of that system was.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) asked whether the Secretary for

War could state that all expenditure for construction under the Army Corps system had been stopped and whether any other expenditure would be incurred in putting the new scheme in force.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER** said he entirely declined to accept the description given by the hon. Member for East Bristol of what he had just said. He was guilty of no discourtesy. He was asked a plain and simple Question and he had given a plain and simple answer, and he thought the hon. Member might have spared him such a reflection. With regard to the barracks on Salisbury Plain, he had stopped the construction of any further infantry barracks there, and also at Stobs in Scotland. He thought it was undesirable, except on grounds of the strictest military necessity, to quarter troops in these unattractive localities. With regard to the question of the hon. Member for South Molton, he thought there had been no cost incurred in connection with the Army Corps scheme which would become a bad debt; that was to say, no cost had been incurred which would not be usefully employed under any system which might be decided on. He could assure the hon. Member that his alarm, lest the adoption of a new system should create a new cost which would outweigh the economy likely to be effected, was unfounded. Unless all his calculations were mistaken the result of the economy would be substantial. He would take into consideration the remarks of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Taunton, and if his hon. and gallant friend would put down a Question he would have

careful inquiry made into the matters he mentioned.

MR. WHITLEY asked if any contracts had been entered into in connection with the Army Corps scheme which had been so suddenly stopped.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that the hon. Member might understand that.

MR. WHITLEY said he thought it was rather curious that the sudden stopping of the Army Corps scheme should have been announced to the House in such an informal manner. There was on the Table of the House a Resolution affirming in the most solemn manner that it was desirable to have the Army Corps system. He would, therefore, suggest that the Government should take formal action to rescind that Resolution. He desired to direct attention to the increase in Item A. for Engineers in North China. Did it indicate that a new development of policy in that country was being adopted? If so, some information should be given to the House on the subject. He would move a reduction of the item by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That Item A (Salaries, etc., of the Staff for Engineer Services) be reduced by £100."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that Great Britain, like other Powers, was retaining a certain number of troops in China, and associated with them were some Engineer officers, who naturally came under this Vote.

Question put.

The Committee divided :— Ayes, 88 ; Noes, 144. (Division List No. 81.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cawley, Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galw'y)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fuller, J. M. F.
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy

Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
London, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)

O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Ure, Alexander
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Whitely and Mr.
Charles Hobhouse.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)
Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets)

Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manchester)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Fyler, John Arthur
Gardner, Ernest
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'RH'mlets)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (Salop)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'n'derry)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)

Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Kewick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N.R.)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Hcnage
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdonald, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire)
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)

Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Munts, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne

Reid, James (Greenock)
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles

Take, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburch, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Ailwyn
 Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

• Mr. COURTENAY WARNER said he did not quite understand the reply of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to Item C.

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [13th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said that the Bill was mainly legislation by reference, against which it was the duty of every independent Member to protest on every available occasion. As it stood, it was absolutely impossible for any hon. Member to understand precisely what the Bill meant. He

understood that some Memorandum had been issued, and an attempt had been made to explain what the Amendments were; but that was not, in his opinion, sufficient. He hoped that next year all the Amendments would be embodied in the Bill. With reference to Courts of inquiry conducted by Volunteer officers, he thought there was confusion as to the form in which such inquiries should be carried on. The main point was whether officers conducting such inquiries could compel witnesses to take an oath. It was obviously improper that Volunteer officers should compel witnesses to be sworn when they had no power. He hoped some guidance would be given by the Attorney-General in the matter. Only last year the Financial Secretary to the War Office voted against the Bill, and made a most impassioned appeal against it. He himself wished to protest against the Bill being taken at such an hour.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said he would point out that this was not a case of legislation by reference, but of amending a statute which already existed. A series of Amendments was proposed, and the effect and object of the Amendments was.

explained in the Memorandum. He agreed that the Army Act should be reprinted, because in its present form it was not easily intelligible. With regard to the other point raised, it was true to say that statutory authority was wanted for the administration of an oath. Administration of the oath had only taken place in the case of Volunteers in two cases at the outside, and where it had taken place it had been through inadvertence. It was, however, in the interests of the Volunteers generally, and more particularly of the accused, that the evidence should be on oath, but it might be a question whether the Volunteer Acts should not be altered so as to confer the power of administering an oath. He was authorised to say that care should be taken in the future that nothing not strictly legal within the powers conferred on the authorities in Courts of inquiry should be done.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said he wished to congratulate the War Office on the improvements in procedure which had been announced. They would remove many of the difficulties connected with legislation by reference. He quite recognised that the Secretary of State for War was doing all he could to alter the existing system in that respect.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said with reference to the schedules containing the prices to be paid to licensed victuallers for soldiers' rations, the Secretary of State had made a promise which he hoped would be carried out. Only 1½d. was, however, allowed for a soldier's breakfast, and the Committee were entitled to know what was provided for it.

Sir Robert Finlay.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield) said that all the information was contained in the schedule. The soldier's breakfast consisted of half a pound of bread and a cup of tea.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working and administration of The Cheap Trains Act, 1883, and to report whether any, and, if so, what, Amendments are reasonable and necessary to improve the service of Workmen's Trains in the Metropolis and elsewhere, and to secure the provision of the accommodation required by workmen by all Railway Companies.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bowles, Mr. Gallo-way, Mr. Leverton Harris, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Levy, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Lough, Mr. Nannetti, Captain Norton, Mr. Peel, Mr. Matthew Ridley, Sir Harry Samuel, Mr. Sheehan, Mr. Ure, and Sir Thomas Wrightson were accordingly nominated members of the Committee.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—
(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes
after Twelve o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 15th April, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

An Asterisk () at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for additional Provision in the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Tottenham Improvement Bill. Ordered, That the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Acton Improvement Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (King's Consent signified). Read the third time, and passed.

Colney Hatch Gas Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3). Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Earsdon, the Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, and Longton, the Henley and Wallingford, the Wallingford and Crowmarsh, and the Whitchurch and District Joint Hospital Districts. Ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. "To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Earsdon, the Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, and Longton, the Henley and Wallingford, the Wallingford and Crowmarsh, and the Whitchurch and District Joint Hospital Districts." Presented accordingly, and read the first

time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 152.]

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP C).

Mr. CAWLEY reported from the Committee on Group C of Private Bills, That Mr. Remnant, one of the Members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901)
AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Huddersfield in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL)

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Barnsley (two); Falkirk; Rochester; Eccles; Mere; Kilburn; Weymouth; Tenbury; Cheetham; Staincross; Helensburgh; Rutherglen; Llanganor; Stranraer; Kirkintilloch; Berwick-on-Tweed; Newton Heath; Potton; Lochgilphead; Birmingham; Ashton-under-Lyne; Street; Wibsey; Gravesend; Portobello; Manchester; Lewin's Mead; Hatfield Broad Oak; Briton Ferry; Neath; Tabor Bryncaws; Maesteg; and Nantymoel; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.

Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MORTGAGE OF PREMISES BILL.

Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Huddersfield, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Birmingham; and Cannock; to lie upon the Table.

M.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th March; *Mr. Nannetti*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 126.]

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 3rd March; *Mr. John Morley*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 127.]

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum Explanatory of Amendments proposed to the Army Act."—(*Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 125.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

The King-Harman Estate.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of William H. Plant, tenant of part of the lands of Toome and Barry on the King-Harman (Kenagh) Estate; whether he is aware that in the Pink Schedule these lands are described as of very poor quality, and that the tenant on being pressed to purchase at the same price as the good lands on this estate wrote to the solicitors offering to do so if the holding was inspected by an officer of the Estates Commission; and, if so, will he direct that before this sale is given effect to, inspection will be made.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No agreement to purchase has yet been lodged by this tenant. There are no Pink Schedules attached to the fair-rent files in his case. Should the vendor apply that the holding in question be excluded from the lands to be declared an estate, the circumstances and offer made to the tenant will be carefully considered and inquired into by the Estates Commissioners.

Salvage of Damaged Submarines.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether submarine vessels belonging to His Majesty's Fleet are so fitted that they may be easily grappled and raised in the event of their being so injured that the crew are unable to bring their vessel to the surface; whether A1 Submarine could have been raised to the surface within forty-eight hours in the event of her crew having survived the shock of collision; and whether His Majesty's Fleet possesses any special salvage vessels or apparatus for the speedy recovery of vessels sunk in a harbour fairway during war-time, or whether they are entirely dependent upon private firms for such work.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) No special means are provided, these vessels are easily grappled owing to their shape. In the case of the A1 no difficulty was experienced in passing hawsers under the vessel and attaching to lighters, and this was done by the dockyard; but, through the send of the sea, the hawsers parted, and the Commander-in-Chief then reported that there was no alternative but regular salvage operations. With regard to the second part of the Question, it is impossible to say; the crew of the A1 were probably drowned at once. The Admiralty have no special salvage vessels and are dependent on private firms for such work. At each dockyard port, however, there are very experienced divers, and a number of craft, that could be utilised for raising vessels.

Construction of Battleships by Foreign Countries.

MR. YERBURGH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the battleships now under construction in Russia number nine, in Germany eight, in the United States thirteen, and in Great Britain eight; whether the projected battleships are for Russia four, for Germany two, for the United States one, and for Great Britain two, making the total of battleships building and projected for Russia thirteen, for Germany ten, for the United States fourteen, and for Great Britain ten; and, if so, whether he can state the total tonnage of the battleships

building and projected for each of the above countries.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The answer to the first part of the Question is "Yes." The projected battleships for Great Britain and United States are as stated in the hon. Member's Question, but nothing is known of any projected battleships for Russia and Germany beyond the four recently laid down by Russia and the two by Germany, and which are included in the total of battleships building. The total tonnage of battleships building and projected is:—Great Britain, 187,000; Russia, 125,270; Germany, 103,976; United States, 209,180.

Salvage of Submarine A 1.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, are the Admiralty aware that there are in existence British Salvage Companies of great experience and proved ability; and can he explain why none of these companies was called upon to undertake the raising of the sunken Submarine A 1; and why the work was committed to the Swedish Neptune Salvage Company of Stockholm without any opportunity being afforded to any British company to undertake it.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The Admiralty is aware of the existence of qualified British Salvage Companies, and has already made use of their services. But the Neptune Salvage Company were successful in raising H.M.S. "Howe" in 1893, and having one of their ships (the "Belos") at Portsmouth at the time of the recent accident, their offer was accepted by the Commander-in-Chief so as not to lose valuable time.

Morning Delivery of Letters in the City of London.

MR. ALBAN GIBBS (London): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that, in parts of the City of London, the morning delivery of letters does not take place until nine o'clock or later, and that complaint has been caused thereby; and whether he will arrange that the first delivery may be concluded earlier.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I find that as a rule the bulk of the letters for the first delivery in the City of London are delivered by 8.30 a.m., and that, with very few exceptions, the whole of the delivery is completed by about 8.45 a.m. It would not be practicable to afford an earlier service without excluding a large number of letters from the delivery, thereby giving rise to grave complaint.

Board of Education and Proposed New Voluntary Schools.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what decision the Board has come to with regard to the application to provide a new voluntary school at Hayward's Heath.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board is, to-day, informing the local education authority for East Sussex of their decision that the present deficiency of school accommodation at Hayward's Heath will best be met by the immediate provision of a council school, and that, on hearing from the local authority that they are prepared to provide such a school, the proposal to provide a new voluntary school will be refused.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what decision the Board has come to with regard to the application to provide a new voluntary school at Barton-on-Humber.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) A public inquiry was held here on 24th March. The Board hope to receive the report very shortly; they understand that the delay in receiving it is due to the need of some further statistical information.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what decision the Board has come to with regard to the application to provide a new voluntary school at Plaistow.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) A public inquiry was held here on 11th April. The report of the inquiry has not yet been received.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what decision the Board has come to with regard to the application to provide a new voluntary school at Weymouth.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board are in communication with the local authority, and no decision has yet been come to.

Sale of Green Plovers during the Close Season.

MR. SCOTT-MONTAGU (Hampshire, New Forest): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that last week several dead green plovers were being offered for sale in Leadenhall Market at the same time as their eggs; and whether, in view of the provisions of the Wild Birds Protection Acts, he will inquire into the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have caused special inquiry to be made, and am informed that there is no evidence of any plover recently killed in England having been sold in Leadenhall Market, and that the plovers which are being sold there are frozen.

Excise and Customs Revenues on Liquor and Drugs in India.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state what was the total amount of the net Excise and Customs revenues on liquor and drugs consumed in India during the years 1901-2 and 1902-3.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The net Excise revenue of India from liquors and drugs for 1901-2 and 1902-3 was £4,025,770 and £4,384,181 respectively. As regards Customs revenue, the receipts from drugs other than opium are not stated separately in the accounts, but are included with those from chemicals, dyes, etc. The net Customs revenue from liquors and opium for 1901-2 and 1902-3 was £464,481 and £504,261 respectively.

Salaries of Irish School Teachers.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieu-

tenant of Ireland whether he can state if the King's Scholars who were in training at the time of the abolition of the results system received any special consideration, in view of the fact that they signed agreements with the Commissioners of National Education to adopt the teaching profession; whether there was an understanding that their initial salaries would depend upon their classification and position in school, and would in most cases range from £70 to £150; and whether they have been paid the initial salary of £56 irrespective of their positions as principals or assistants.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed by the Commissioners that in the case of teachers who had entered as King's Scholars for the year of training 1899-1900, special consideration is given to any promotion in classification to which they would have been entitled under the old rules when fixing their future incomes from the State. All candidates for entrance to a training college must make a declaration that they intend *boni fide* to follow the profession of teacher in national schools, elementary schools in Great Britain, Army or Navy schools, Poor Law schools, industrial or reformatory schools. There is not at present, and there never was, any understanding that the initial salaries of such teachers when employed would range from £70 to £150 per annum. The incomes of such teachers vary with the circumstances of their employment.

MR. MACVEAGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state when teachers entering the service of the National Board in July, 1900, and receiving favourable reports are entitled to an increment, and from what date the increment will accrue.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The claims for increments of good service salary of teachers entering the service in July, 1900, will be considered this year, and if increments are granted they will accrue from the date subsequent to July, 1900, on which the teachers have completed three years' good service.

Hutting Accommodation for South African Permanent Garrison.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for War if there exists any Parliamentary Paper showing the hutting accommodation being provided for permanent garrisons at various stations in South Africa other than Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Simon's Bay, Ladysmith, and Durban; what force is to be kept at Potchefstroom, Standerton, Middleburg, Kroonstadt, and Harrismith respectively; at what number of stations it is intended to keep troops; and whether military advice has been the basis of the decision as to the dispersal of troops.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) (1) No Parliamentary Paper has been issued showing the hutting accommodation which is being provided for the permanent garrison for South Africa. (2) The force to be kept at the stations specified in the second Question is as follows:—Potchefstroom: one regiment cavalry, three batteries, Royal Field Artillery, one field company, Royal Engineers, one battalion infantry, Line. Standerton: one regiment mounted infantry, one battery, Royal Field Artillery (and Brigade Head Quarters), one battalion infantry, Royal Garrison Regiment. Middleburg (Transvaal): one regiment mounted infantry, one battery, Royal Field Artillery, one and a half battalions infantry, Line. Kroonstadt: nil. Middleburg (Cape Colony): one regiment cavalry, three batteries, Royal Field Artillery, one field company, Royal Engineers, one battalion infantry, Line. Harrismith: one regiment mounted infantry, one battery, Royal Field Artillery, one battalion infantry, Royal Garrison Regiment. (3) The following stations in addition to the above have been allotted permanent garrisons. Pretoria: one regiment cavalry, two batteries, Royal Horse Artillery, one field troop, one field company, one telegraph section, Royal Engineers, two battalions infantry, Line, one battalion infantry, Royal Garrison Regiment. Bloemfontein: one regiment cavalry, three batteries, Royal Field Artillery, one field company, Royal Engineers, two battalions infantry, Line,

one battalion infantry, Royal Garrison Regiment. Barberton: one half battalion infantry, Line. Naval Base (Cape Colony): two companies, Royal Garrison Artillery, one fortress company, Royal Engineers, two battalions infantry, Line. (4) The above distribution of the troops is based on military advice.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. BOUSFIELD (Hackney, N.) said that in moving the Second Reading of the Bill he was bound to confess that the subject matter of it was somewhat dull, and that there was nothing exciting in it. It was, however, a Bill of considerable practical importance—of even urgent practical importance to large classes of the community. Except for the last clause in it, which referred to the metric system, he believed there was no portion of the Bill which would be considered as otherwise than non-contentious. The measure, it was true, touched—though only to a very slight extent—upon very disputatious questions. It touched, for instance, the fiscal question; it also affected the religious question, because the principles embodied in a just system of weights and measures and true balances were the moral foundation, more or less, of our civilisation. He thought he would have the sympathy of the House with him in regard to the general principles of the Bill. The measure was divided up into three parts. There was the last clause to which he had already referred, and which was not a vital part of the Bill; and another portion which referred to certain small details, the object being to supply omissions in the present Act. They were essentially matters of detail which had cropped up in the course of the working of the Weights and Measures Acts, and which certainly deserved careful attention. But this, after all, was a matter for a Committee of the House, it did not involve any question of principle, and he did not think he need take up any time in explaining the details to the House. The broad question with which the Bill had to do was that of securing greater uniformity in the administration

of the Acts relating to weights and measures. It was, of course, no use having a uniform system of weights and measures unless, in practice, they could secure such uniformity in the administration of the system as would give, in practice, that which was supposed to be, in theory, secured. For instance, in one district twenty ounces was considered to be the measure of a pint, and in another part of the country twenty-one ounces, and how could they get uniformity of standard in practice unless they had equal measures of capacity in the different parts of the country? Moreover, in one part of the country the balance which was considered to be a true and just and a lawful instrument for measuring weights was in another part considered as an unjust and illegal instrument for ascertaining weights. Here again they had uniformity in theory, but not in practice. The principle of the Bill, so far as it might be said to have any principle, had reference to this question of securing uniformity of procedure. One did not desire to embarrass the local authority in the detailed administration of the system. The system was to have the law administered as far as possible by the local authorities; but, of course, the central Government would like to secure a certain measure of uniformity which was not inconsistent with perfect freedom on the part of the authorities who were to administer the law on the lines laid down by the central authority. The Bill provided for securing some such uniformity, and it would give power to the Board of Trade to make regulations with reference to the administration of the Acts, and it would also supplement those Acts with details which would carry out the principles embodied in the generalities of the existing Acts. That was a system which had been largely adopted for legislative purposes.

Perhaps it would not be out of place if he were to give the House a little sketch of the history of this matter as it stood at the present moment. The matter had been considered to be urgent for some ten years past. The first Weights and Measures Act was passed in 1878; there was a second Act in 1889, and in the early nineties it was felt that so many discrepancies and

defects had been developed in practice that further legislation was necessary. The matter was seriously considered at that time by a conference of inspectors of weights and measures and of manufacturers of weighing machines. The inspectors of weights and measures came from all parts of the country, and were a body of men deeply skilled in their particular department. They had to test all balances and to stamp weights and measures, and that was a matter which required a considerable amount of technical skill. The inspectors meeting together were enabled to exchange views so as to get those which obtained in all parts of the United Kingdom. The result of their deliberations was the appointment of a Committee to take into consideration all these matters. That Committee, which was presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division, held no fewer than sixteen meetings, and they issued a very admirable Report. They also sent a deputation to the President of the Board of Trade—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon—who went into the matter very thoroughly and gave it his most careful and sympathetic consideration. It was a good many years ago, but, so far as he remembered, the right hon. Gentleman had no substantial criticisms to offer on the Amendments which were proposed, and he certainly was very sympathetic in regard to the Bill. At the same time a circular was issued by the President of the Local Government Board to a large number of local authorities, asking for their views in regard to the proposed Amendments. He (the speaker) himself asked a Question in the House upon that point, and his impression was that the reply he received was to the effect that something like one-third of the local authorities throughout the country had expressed themselves favourable to the Amendments which were proposed. It was said that the local authorities were apathetic in the matter, but it must be remembered that some of them were to be numbered among the sinners, and it was only natural that they should not agree to have their faults made manifest to the public. As the result of what then occurred, he introduced a Bill, and that Bill had been brought in year after

Mr. Bousfield.

year. The fortune of the ballot, however, had been against him until the present year, and this was the first occasion on which he had had an opportunity of bringing the matter under the direct consideration of the House.

He might also say that the Association of Municipal Corporations had considered this subject. It did so in March of last year, and, on the motion of Sir Homewood Crawford, solicitor to the City of London, seconded by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, the following resolution was passed—

"That the Weights and Measures Acts urgently require amendment, for the protection of the public, and to secure uniformity of administration; and that it is desirable that this Association should approach the Board of Trade and urge upon the President the necessity for the introduction at an early date of a Government Bill dealing with this important subject."

The Executive Council of the same society also subsequently passed another resolution on the lines of that proposed by Sir Homewood Crawford. It was—

"That the Weights and Measures Acts urgently require amendment, for the protection of the public, and to secure uniformity of administration; and that the President of the Board of Trade be urged to introduce at an early date a Government Bill dealing with this important subject."

The municipal corporations were likewise requested to pass a resolution in support of an amendment of the Weights and Measures Acts, and to communicate the same to the President of the Board of Trade. Resolutions in similar terms to that adopted by the Executive Council of the Association of Municipal Corporations were passed by the Corporations of Birmingham, Blackburn, Bournemouth, Bootle, Blackpool, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Clitheroe, Doncaster, Dublin, Dumfermline, Edinburgh, Folkestone, Glasgow, Govan, Grimsby, Hastings, Huddersfield, Hull, Lancaster, Leith, Lincoln City, Liverpool, London City, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Perth, Plymouth, Preston, St. Helens, Smethwick, Sheffield, Southport, Stalybridge, West Ham, Windsor, Worcester, and Wigan. Airdrie and Forfar also expressed sympathy with the movement. The Executive Council of the County Councils Association, at a meeting on the 25th of last November, also resolved

respecting the administration of the Weights and Measures Acts:—

"(1) That the fee charged under the Acts should be uniform. (2) That the powers of the Board of Trade should be increased so as to secure uniformity of administration, but so as not to interfere with the rights of each local authority as to the officers who are to carry out the administration of the Acts. (3) That short weight and short measure should be made a penal offence."

The county councils were also circularised, and from a good many expressions of approval of the proposal were received.

Now he came to the provisions of the Bill. It was clear that it was important there should be uniformity of administration, otherwise there must necessarily be a certain amount of chaos. What was the principle of the Act of 1878 as applied to the Weights and Measures Act of 1889? No doubt it was intended to apply the same principle in the two cases, but with reference to weighing machines some difficulty had arisen from the wording of the Acts. His opinion was that the intention was in each case the same, and that it was desired that the Acts should apply to weighing instruments. It was not intended, for instance, that a weighing machine stamped by the authorities in Birmingham as being a proper and just weighing instrument should, in the case of the county of Warwick, be treated as being otherwise, and require to be restamped. That was a diversity of practice which accentuated the necessity for giving power to the Board of Trade to secure a more uniform administration. Different local authorities acted differently in the matter, but uniformity of administration was eminently desirable.

The Board of Trade had a series of model regulations in reference to the carrying out of the provisions of the Weights and Measures Act, but they had no power of imposing them on local authorities. One of these regulations required the maker's name to be upon every instrument. Makers of reputation would naturally adopt that course, but inferior makers might not be so eager to place their names on the instruments made by them. From the public point of view it was an important matter, because an instrument, though stamped as correct when made, might

soon develop defects, and it could then be traced back to its maker. Consequently, it was very desirable that that regulation should be enforced, but the practice varied in different areas, some authorities adopting the regulation and others declining to do so. Another of the model regulations, with reference to the stamping of pint pots, provided that an excess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. might be allowed. Here, again, there was no uniformity of practice, the pint in some districts being twenty fluid ounces, in others twenty-one, and so on. There was also a great lack of uniformity in the mode of testing. For instance, the ordinary scales, such as those used in post offices for weighing letters, could easily be so manufactured as to weigh truly wherever in the pan the weight was placed. In the testing of these instruments in some localities the regulation was that the weight should be placed within a certain circle of the pan; in others, that the instrument should weigh truly wherever in the pan the weight was placed. Another matter in which uniformity of practice was much to be desired was the approval of new designs. Invention was constantly at work on new designs of weighing machines, but the new designs could not be introduced into practice without being approved. Some defects could be ascertained only by practice, others could be at once detected by experts, but the practice actually adopted varied considerably. In some cases there was an appeal to the Board of Trade, and he contended that the Board ought to have power to make and enforce general regulations so that uniformity of practice might be secured. He had not the slightest desire to interfere with the discretion of the local authorities in the carrying out of the Act, but these were matters which could be more conveniently dealt with by the general regulations made by the Board of Trade in accordance with the up-to-date knowledge now available.

Turning to the clauses of the Bill, Clause 9 dealt with a difficulty which had arisen in some districts with reference to the weighing of bread. Although the weighing instruments had passed the inspectors and been stamped, yet it was possible for the users to be convicted under the Bread Act. That was not a

satisfactory state of things. Clause 10 embodied the general principle of the Act, viz., that of giving the Board of Trade power to make general regulations. Clause 16 provided for a periodical re-verification of weights, measures, and weighing instruments. That was an eminently desirable provision in the interests of the public, because the wear and tear of the weight was always to the advantage of the tradesman, and it was strange that compulsory verification had not been provided for before. Clause 22 dealt with the officers. At present there was only the one class of inspectors who had to prove, by passing an examination, their competency to discharge all the duties of the office. But in districts where there were large numbers of weights and instruments to be tested as a matter of routine, it was possible to employ somebody with much lower qualifications. The proposal in the Bill was that this practice should be modified so as to have two classes of officers, namely, inspectors and verification officers. The latter class would be required to pass a less stringent examination and have a smaller salary. This was a proposal put forward by the officers themselves, and he thought it would tend very much to the improvement of the service throughout the country. Section 28, Sub-section 6, read—

"In Section 13 of the Act of 1889, for the words 'no discount shall be allowed,' there shall be substituted the words, 'no discount or rebate of any kind shall be given, nor any allowance made by such inspector for the use of tools supplied to him or assistance rendered him in such verification and stamping.'"

When weights and measures were brought to the inspector to be stamped he could charge certain fees. The Act of 1889 said that "no discount shall be allowed" but he had to charge the fees. Some ingenious local bodies had evaded this provision by allowing a rebate which was obviously the same thing. There were certain districts where imported goods were stamped in large quantities, and other districts where they were manufactured, and where it was the practice to give a rebate which practically meant that they were stamped free. That was nothing more or less than a bounty to the trade in those districts, and those manufacturers got an advantage which other manufacturers did not enjoy. They

were all opposed to bounties and they were agreed that any interference with free competition was wrong in regard to nations. He thought the House would agree that the giving of bounties was also wrong between different districts as well as foreign countries. There were only two or three local authorities who were sinners in this matter, and no doubt they would like the law left as it was because it would leave them free to go on giving these bounties. The matter had been under consideration by the Board of Trade who had expressed their views on the matter, but the answer of the manufacturers was that they would go on doing this until they were stopped.

As regarded the fourth part of the Bill, which dealt with the metric system, he did not regard it as a vital part of the Bill. He was, however, an advocate of the metric system and he should think that quite 90 per cent. of the Members of the House of Commons were also in favour of it. There was a Bill dealing with this question in the other House which would probably be sent down for the consideration of this House, and it proposed the adoption of the metric system *en bloc*. He should support that Bill because he felt that the country was somewhat in the position of a man who had a bad habit and who realised that he ought to break it off. The remedy proposed in the Bill was that they should change their habits and adopt the metric system. He thought, however, that this was a case in which they might alter their habits gradually. After the 1st of January, 1908, it was proposed, in this Bill, that they should make certain small changes and abolish troy weight and apothecaries' weight in favour of the metric system. Those weights did not enter into the daily life of large multitudes of the people. Actual practical use of the metric system for even those two small systems would help to familiarise them with the metric system and would not produce any great disorganisation or dislocation of trade. It would, on the other hand, simplify the system and abolish two abnormal systems, troy weight and apothecaries' weight. He would leave Part IV. to the judgment of the House and he did not wish to treat it as a vital part of the Bill. But, if the

House thought this small instalment of the metric system ought not to be adopted, he would give way because the other parts of the Bill were of great importance, and he should not like to injure the chances of the measure passing to get a small instalment of the metric system. He begged to move.

*SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) said this Bill was one dependent very largely for its administration upon the local authorities and in seconding it he desired to say that so far as the Municipal Corporations Association was concerned they had considered the principle and provisions of the Bill, and although exception might be taken to some details they were in favour of the principle of the Bill and believed it to be an important reform in matters of local administration. His hon. and learned friend had stated that some corporations desired to retain the system of rebate in lieu of discounts, but he was satisfied that there was no general desire to evade the present provisions of the law in that respect. He heartily agreed with his hon. and learned friend in reference to the last part of the Bill dealing with the metric system. Many of them believed that the want of such a system had been a great obstacle to the development of international trade, and, as this proposal would familiarise the public with the system, it would be an important reform.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said his hon. and learned friend had said that Part IV. was not a vital part, but he did not say that he would abandon it. He also said that nine-tenths of the Members of the House were in favour of the metric system and therefore he thought the House would not be likely to strike it out. He might be told that he could move an Instruction to omit Part IV., but they all knew the pitfalls encountered by those who moved Instructions, and he should not like to rely upon that course while he felt such a very strong objection to the introduction of the metric system, especially in regard

to this particular matter. His hon. and learned friend who moved the Second Reading was a strong believer in that system, and he desired naturally to press his proposal as an instalment of the metric system. He would then feel, having got a footing, that a Bill ought to be passed adopting the metric system in its entirety. The metric system was nothing at all unless it was applied all round to all weights and measures, and to apply it to only these two systems would be absolutely illogical. He wished to refer to Parts I., II., and III. of the Bill. In the first three parts of the Bill there were very valuable provisions which he should personally like to see passed into law. The hon. Member who moved the Second Reading had pointed out that, under certain circumstances, buyers might, at the present time, get short weight, but while he desired to remove that risk there was nothing in the Bill dealing with the matter. The hon. Member also desired that no authority should be allowed to stamp a measure of capacity if it was in excess of what it purported to be. That was a proposal with which he had considerable sympathy. He did not see how the marking of the names of makers of instruments could be made compulsory. There was nothing in Clause 10 which would authorise the Board of Trade to make such a declaration as that. Provision was made for dealing with excess in measures of capacity in Clause 10, Sub-section (1). That was a provision to which nobody could have the slightest objection. But Clause 12 was a very different one. It defined the power of the Board of Trade to grant certificates of suitability for the use of appliances, and it empowered the Board to decline to certify if, upon examination, a particular pattern was not considered "suitable for use for trade." It appeared to him that placed too large a power in the hands of the Board of Trade. It was right that the Board of Trade should be empowered to prevent any instrument being used which would facilitate the commission of fraud, but under the proposal in the Bill they would be able to prohibit the use of a new invention, although they were unable to show that it was likely to

facilitate fraud. He thought that was too great a power to give the Board.

MR. BOUSFIELD: Inspectors now have the power.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said inspectors had power to decide on the particular instruments brought before them for verification. That was a very different provision from giving the Board of Trade power to act under a general law. New inventions might be brought out which would materially benefit the community when used for the purposes of trade, but at first sight the Board of Trade might object to the use of the instruments. Were they to be stopped once and for all in this way, and were the Board of Trade to be authorised to lay down a general hard and fast rule that a new principle of construction must not be adopted? It seemed to him the clause would require a certain amount of consideration, but he had no doubt that it could be made workable. In connection with Clause 10, which referred to the powers and duties of the Board of Trade as to the making of general regulations, the more or less technical question arose as to whether the word "shall" or "may" should be used, but that was a matter of detail which could be considered afterwards if the Bill passed the Second Reading. He thoroughly approved of the system provided for by Clause 15 with respect to "verification and stamping by local inspectors of weights and measures." It was desirable that some general principle should be adopted all over the country, and the proposal made by his hon. and learned friend might be a very useful one. Clause 16, which provided for "periodical reverification," appeared to be too drastic. It was proposed that reverification should take place "not less often than once in every three years, as the local authority may decide." There were some weights and measures which might deteriorate in the course of three years, but he did not think that applied by any means to all. The proposal if carried out would add very much to the duties of the inspectors and the Board of Trade generally. Clause 28 contained

Mr. Herbert Robertson.

miscellaneous Amendments of the existing law. It was required at present that every measure of capacity must have its denomination marked upon it. His hon. friend now wanted that every measure of length should have its denomination marked upon it. He did not know what advantage would be gained by that Amendment. A measure of capacity was for one quantity only. It did not measure fractions of the quantity, but a measure of length—a two-foot rule for example—was marked at intervals for the purpose of indicating different lengths.

He thought the first three parts could be worked into a very useful measure, but he objected altogether to Part IV. with respect to the metric system. It would upset the business of an enormous number of persons in this country for no practical purpose whatever. One particular reason why this part of the Bill should not be passed was that a Bill dealing with the subject was being considered in another place. He strongly objected to the Bill to which he referred. With regard to the Bill now before the House he did not know whether it proposed to abolish the apothecaries' fluid measure. The fluid measure was just as much a measure as a weight measure, and if the existing fluid measure were abolished it would be good for the glass trade, because the number of new glass bottles and glass measures demanded by the trade would be exceedingly great. It would be a most inconvenient thing for a great number of people if these measures were changed. Then he did not know how the Bill would affect the coinage. At present the coinage was regulated by the troy weight. It was impossible to make a gramme fit in exactly with troy weight; and it might lead to inconvenience, unless there was some provision in the Bill that it should not apply to the weights of gold and silver, for the smallest fraction of the change might be a very serious matter indeed. He was perfectly certain that the metric system could not fit in exactly with our coinage. Those who had been in the habit of buying gold and silver by troy weight would be placed in considerable difficulty if they were suddenly told that they were not able to use the old troy weight. Again,

he objected to the metric system because it had never been introduced for practical purposes, even on the Continent. Nominally it existed there, but practically it did not. They had never in France been able to introduce anything between a unit and a thousand. He had never heard of a centigramme. One would naturally think that there should be something to represent an English penny. Before the time of Napoleon the French wrote on their coins "*Un Decime*;" but the genius of the French people was strongly against it, as they had always counted in sous. His hon. and learned friend said that the change should come into operation in 1903, which would give the people plenty of time to become accustomed to the new weights and measures; and that the change might be made at any time during that period. But as a matter of fact, up to the last moment the people would continue to use the present system; and then there would be a regular convulsion of trade. They would have to encounter an entirely new unit—the kilogramme—which would be most inconvenient as being either too large or too small.

MR. GRETTON (Derbyshire, S.) said he rose to second the Motion of his hon. friend for the rejection of the Bill on very much the same grounds as those he had advanced. He thought it would be quite impossible under the Bill, however careful they might be, to arrive at an absolute uniformity of weights and measures. Of course what they had to aim at was to have practical uniformity. As to the liquid weights and measures, the nearest metric equivalent to the pint was slightly less than that measure, and though perhaps the actual measuring vessel, allowing for a small margin, might hold exactly a pint in theory, it was well known that in practice a full pint could not be served in it. Thus it would be quite impossible for anyone who ordered a pint to get what he paid for. Liquid weights and measures were especially subject to variation according to varying temperatures. He took objection to the Bill chiefly on the ground that it seemed to him that the inconsequential fourth part, which provided that four years hence the existing troy and apothecaries weights should

be abolished and that metric weights should be substituted, was an attempt to introduce the thin edge of the wedge of the metric system. He did not see quite eye to eye with his hon. friend who moved the rejection of the Bill as to the grounds of his opposition to the introduction of the metric system, but he agreed that if this system was to be introduced at all it must be introduced in its entirety, and it would require the very careful consideration of the House. He objected most strongly to any attempt to introduce that system in one part of our weights and measures and to leave it out in other parts. Unless the mover of the Second Reading of the Bill dropped the fourth part of it, or the President of the Board of Trade gave an assurance that the Government opposed the Bill he hoped his hon. friend would press his Motion for its rejection.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson*).

Question proposed. "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham. Bordesley) said he wished to congratulate his hon. friend on having introduced this Bill which would, he thought, accomplish a very necessary reform, far too long delayed. The first part of the Bill was not new legislation in the sense of altering the instruments of weights and measures. It simply dealt with the reform of the administration of the methods of dealing with these instruments; but the fourth part of the Bill was new legislation altogether, and altered the system of measurements and the instruments to be used. The fourth part of the Bill was therefore scarcely germane to the purpose of the first parts, and whatever might be the opinion of hon. Members in favour of reform, he thought that they would prefer to have further opportunity to consider the subjects therein dealt with. The hon. Gentleman opposite objected very strongly to verification of weights and measures for not more than three years. Now, he thought that was one of the most valuable parts of the Bill, for weights and measures

Mr. Gretton.

must have, in three years, a certain amount of wear and tear. Machines were continually subject to repair; and he thought it was of the greatest importance that no longer period than three years should elapse before they were verified as to their correctness. As to the proposal to give the Board of Trade the right to decide what machines or measures should be introduced, he thought it was a very important part of the Bill and should be retained. Inventors certainly desired it because they might take out a patent which might be accepted by one local authority and rejected by another. He could assure his hon. friend that that was one of the most valuable clauses in the Bill. The measure would, of course, throw very great additional responsibility on the Board of Trade, especially as it would require expert knowledge which the officials of the Department did not now possess. He hoped, therefore, that if the Board of Trade accepted the responsibility that they would provide themselves with such expert assistance.

The Bill would destroy most of the difficulties which now existed. His hon. friend seemed to speak lightly of the desirability of uniformity; but if his hon. friend knew the chaos which existed at the present moment, and the great annoyance to which manufacturers of weights and measures were subjected, he would know that one of the greatest *desiderata* was uniformity. A manufacturer might send a large consignment of weights and measures to an ironmonger, for instance, in the South of England; they would all be stamped but the inspector in the locality to which they were consigned might decline to recognise the marks. He himself had known, over and over again, manufacturers who received back consignments because dealers could not be bothered in getting the weights and measures stamped in the different districts. That was one, but by no means the only advantage of uniformity. Weights and measures had been all through the history of the country one of the most important questions; and he was afraid that the Board of Trade had not given it that attention which the trading community demanded. He did not know whether his right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade was

in possession of the Report of the Conference which sat with reference to this question about three years ago. He thought the Department was singularly fortunate in having the assistance of such a body and of all the knowledge and experience it possessed. It was one of the finest bodies of men that could be gathered together for any purpose, and he was in a position to speak as to their character, because he had presided over every one of their meetings. He had never met a more businesslike body or one with a greater knowledge of the subject with which it had to deal. It not only drew up the outlines of a scheme, but filled it in with all the reforms which were needed to bring about what the trading community required. If its recommendations were carried out generally, they would put an end to all the friction which existed and all the diversity of practice which occurred in different localities and which was a source of the greatest annoyance, especially to shopkeepers. He would only add that the matter was one to which the Board of Trade should give immediate attention, and he could assure his right hon. friend it was impossible to over-estimate the anxiety of the trading community to have the matter settled. The Bill would end the annoyance which now existed; and he, therefore, hoped that the Board of Trade would accept it.

SIR JOSEPH DIMSDALE (London) said he gladly and cordially supported the Second Reading of the Bill. It did not go as far as he would desire, but he looked upon it as the first instalment towards uniformity in the system of weights and measures. For many years the Corporation of the City of London, in conjunction with the London County Council and other municipalities, had agreed on uniformity, and many deputations had waited on different Presidents of the Board of Trade on the subject. The City of London had for years been urging that postal scales should be put under inspection. In thousands of post offices throughout the Kingdom on one side of the shop the scales used for trading purposes were subject to inspection, but on the post office side they were exempt. He believed that there were many instances in which

it was proved that the postal scales were incorrect. That was obviously unfair. He should like to see uniformity carried still further; but, at any rate, the Bill was the first instalment in what he hoped would be a universally adopted principle. The absolute chaos which now existed was referred to by his right hon. friend who had just spoken; and, inasmuch as the object of the Bill was to remove that chaos, and to bring about uniformity, he felt confident the House would pass the Second Reading, and send the Bill to a Committee, where it would receive that consideration and attention which a matter of such importance deserved.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said theoretically they were all agreed with reference to the desirability of uniformity in weights and measures. They were also agreed as to the necessity for some change; but he would ask the House whether it was reasonable that they should revolutionise the system of weights and measures throughout the country by means of a private Bill. That ought only to be done in a comprehensive measure by the Government of the day, and not by piecemeal legislation such as the Bill proposed. The principle of uniformity was a good principle, but it could not be obtained under such a Bill as this, and he pointed out that if there was a real demand for it that demand would be made by the whole country, and not by means of petitions from ten or a dozen towns. He had great respect for the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, but neither the right hon. Gentleman nor the officers under him were competent to undertake the responsibilities thrust upon them by Clause 12 of the Bill. They were not competent to say whether these instruments were "suitable for trade;" they were only competent to say whether they were just and accurate and did what they professed to do. The persons who were competent to say whether they were suitable for trade were the traders themselves, and the officers of the Board of Trade were not competent to settle that question. This Bill inflicted a very heavy burden on the small tradesmen. It was a matter of insignificance to the great trade houses whether they

had to bear the cost of verifying the accuracy of these instruments or not every three years, but it was a very different thing to the small tradesmen he had the honour to represent. It was quite true that weights and measures did vary, but he thought a man or two travelling about and calling accidentally on people, and verifying their weights and measures, would be infinitely more use than the army of men it was proposed to employ under this Bill. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman as to the fallacy of the metric system. Theoretically it had many advantages, but as a mathematician he preferred the duodecimal system. The right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench would, he was sure, agree with him that the duodecimal system was far better than the metric system. Both in France and America where that system was in vogue it was completely ignored when it came to small purchases, and to revolutionise the whole system of our weights and measures for the small advantage that would be derived from the adoption of the metric system would, in his opinion, be a mistake. The onus of proving that this change was necessary lay upon those who wished to make it. He thought the game was not worth the candle, and that the system, if adopted, would not only prove a great mistake but a great misfortune to this country. The country, and especially the small traders, who were especially suffering now-a-days, were not prepared for this change in the law. If the Bill went to a division he should vote against it, believing that there would be no practical advantage by the adoption of the proposed changes.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) said that, while recognising that there were good points in the Bill, he considered that the increased expense and irritation which the measure would occasion would not be justified by results so limited and incomplete. A uniform system he admitted to be desirable in the interests of trade, but little would be accomplished in that direction by this Bill. The provision requiring the reverification of weights and measures every three years would cause unnecessary trouble to agriculturists, who used their weights and measures only three

or four times a year. The wear and tear in their case was so small that he urged, if the Bill were passed, some exception from the provision should be made in favour of agriculturists and small tradesmen. A Bill for the establishment of a uniform system of weights and measures throughout the country would have his cordial support, as the present inequalities were extremely inconvenient. For instance, in agriculture in some parts the bushel was two pecks, in others six, and a stone of meat in some places meant eight pounds and in others fourteen. But the present measure did not deal with that question, and, as it would cause considerable irritation, involve extensive alterations, and do very little towards finally settling the matter, he did not feel justified in supporting the Bill.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) did not think the criticisms of the Bill had been such as to warrant the House in refusing to give the measure a Second Reading. Most of the points to which objection had been taken could be amended in Committee. The portion of the Bill against which the strongest opposition had been directed was that dealing with the metric system, but every one knew that private Bills of this kind had no chance of passing if strongly opposed in Committee, and hence the promoters would probably be willing to drop Part IV. to secure the passage of the remainder of the Bill. There were considerable disadvantages and inconveniences in the present system, and he hoped that even Members who were opposed to Part IV. would support the Second Reading, and then secure the elimination of Part IV. in Committee.

MR. BOUSFIELD said that, having regard to what had fallen from different speakers, and to what he understood to be the attitude of the Government, he would undertake to withdraw Part IV. of the Bill.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.) approved of the hon. and learned Member's decision to drop Part IV. of the Bill, but he strongly supported the rest of the measure, and urged that it should be passed in the interests of trade.

Nothing was so confusing in business as the want of uniformity in weights and measures. He had heard no statement, however, as to the cost of the proposed alterations. The stamping of weights and measures was a costly business, and if a second inspector was to be appointed it would mean increased expenditure. He suggested that there should be a minimum fixed amount for adjusting and stamping, and that it should be collected in one sum by the official inspector.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central) said that he was very glad to hear from his hon. and learned friend that he was prepared to withdraw Clause 32 of the Bill. He believed that that decision was a wise one, and he ventured to think that the provision ought never to have been introduced into the measure at all. It only touched the fringe of the subject and it raised questions of very great difficulty without solving them. It certainly would have raised against the Bill the opposition of those trades which were more directly concerned with the troy and apothecaries' weight, and if his hon. friend had insisted on regarding it as a vital part of the Bill he would have felt bound to oppose the measure on behalf of the Government. Apart from this excuse the Bill was the outcome of a conference held some years ago between inspectors of weights and measures and manufacturers of weighing machines, and to some extent it bore the impress of its origin, for its general tendency undoubtedly was to increase the independence of the inspectors by withdrawing them to some extent from the control of the local authorities and substituting the control of the central authority, the Board of Trade. In so far as the Bill tended to greater uniformity of administration he quite agreed with his hon. friend that that result would be fraught with very considerable advantage, but, in so far as it went beyond that, its effect was to reverse the principle laid down in the Act of 1889 that the administration of weights and measures should be in the hands of the local authorities and not of the central authority, and his inclination would be to exclude from the measure all those pro-

visions tending in the direction of the centralising authority which were not absolutely necessary to secure uniformity in the discharge of the technical duties of the inspectors. For instance, Clause 10 went considerably beyond the necessities of the case, for it extended the control of the Board of Trade to the appointment and the control of the inspectors. Clause 24 proposed that the Board of Trade should determine whether any business occupation in which an inspector might engage was incompatible with the due performance of his duties, and that appeared to him to be a matter which the local authority should decide. He objected also to Clause 13, which provided that the Board of Trade should decide questions of the meaning of the Acts in case of a dispute between an inspector and a manufacturer or any other person. Furthermore, Clause 16, which provided that weights and measures should be reverified not less often than once in every three years, imposed on traders a serious obligation to which he thought the House ought not to assent. After the report of the conference to which he had alluded was issued, the Board of Trade sent a circular to the various local authorities concerned asking for their observations upon it. Out of the 289 authorities only 102 replied, the London County Council being one of the number that did not answer; forty-four, including some important places like Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, expressed general approval of the recommendations, and twenty-one were actively opposed to them. Nearly two-thirds of the local authorities never replied at all, which certainly appeared to show that there was no very great keenness on their part either in favour of, or in opposition to, the proposals of the present Bill. He had, however, no doubt that the Bill contained important and useful provisions which would conduce to greater uniformity in the administration of the Weights and Measures Act, and he was therefore in favour of its being read a second time. As his hon. friend had intimated that he would be disposed to accept such Amendments at the Committee stage as the Government proposed, he would not insist on the Bill being sent to a Select Committee, but at the same time he felt

bound to warn his hon. friend that there were a good many clauses in the measure to which the Government would have to object on their merits.

SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) did not believe the time had yet come for the application of the metric system, and he should be strongly opposed to the fragmentary application of a system which the highest authorities declared to be, for the present at least, unsuitable to our trade. The Bill would require careful consideration in many particulars, but as Part IV. was to be withdrawn he should support the Second Reading.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said he came down to the House to support the Bill mainly because Part IV. was included in it, so that he was placed in a position of some difficulty by the announcement that that portion of the Bill was to be withdrawn. He had received a large number of letters in favour of the Bill, and he believed the time had come when all nations should adopt one system of weights and measures, one coinage, and one method of measuring distances. Anything which tended in the direction of such a system was for the good of international commerce. The great majority of traders in Sheffield were in favour of the adoption of the metric system. He was sorry, therefore, that Part IV. of the Bill was to be withdrawn, but, having regard to the other portions of the measure, he should support the Second Reading.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH (Bristol, W.) said that he was responsible for the Weights and Measures Act of 1889, and at that time, with every desire to secure uniformity in the law relating to weights and measures, the Board of Trade was debarred from going as far as they wished by fear of opposition from the local authorities. He supported this Bill as far as it proposed to deal with the machinery of the law as to weights and measures, subject to any alterations that might be found necessary when fully considered; but he was of opinion that Part IV. ought never to have found a place in such a Bill. Though there might be some theorists who wished to establish the metric system in this

Mr. Gerald Balfour.

country, when they came to apply their theories they would find such a mass of opposition as would make their scheme impracticable. As Part IV. was to be withdrawn he should support the Bill.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON, in view of the statements made on behalf of the Board of Trade and of the promoters of the Bill, asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be committed to the Standing Committee on Law, &c."—
(*Mr. Bousfield.*)

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) moved as an Amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The President of the Board of Trade had stated that many alterations would be required before the Bill could be allowed to pass, and the measure was much more likely to receive the detailed attention it required from a Select Committee than from the Standing Committee on Law. They would then have the power of calling in any evidence as to the opinion of local bodies and others as to how the Bill was likely to work. He did not think that under the circumstances the Standing Committee on Law would be in as good a position to deal effectively with this matter as a Select Committee. This measure ought to be considered in all its details, because it was almost entirely a machinery Bill. He did not see that by sending the measure to a Select Committee the passing of the Bill would be delayed. He begged to move as an Amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. GRETTON said he desired to second this Amendment, and he hoped the House would decide to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. He was aware that it had been the custom to refer Bills to the Standing Committee, and on several occasions he had had the honour of serving on that Committee; but this was a Bill in regard

to which the Committee ought to have power to call witnesses on technical points, and therefore he hoped the Amendment would be agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out the words ‘the Standing Committee on Law, &c.’ and insert the words ‘a Select Committee’ instead thereof.” — (*Sir William Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

MR. BOUSFIELD said that all the matters raised by the Bill were thoroughly familiar to the Board of Trade. The acceptance of the Amendment would mean the postponement for another ten years of a question which had been waiting for legislation for the past ten years.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he hoped his hon. friend would not press this Amendment, for it meant delaying for a long time a reform which affected almost every shopkeeper in the kingdom. Shopkeepers were often brought into Court and fined when they were quite innocent of any intention to evade the Act. In the interests of the measure, unless his hon. friend was opposed to the Bill altogether, he hoped he would allow it to be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, because after the extreme willingness which had been shown by the promoters of the Bill to meet every objection, and especially after the statement of the President of the Board of Trade, whose objections were very reasonable, it was evident that, if they wanted the Bill to pass this session, they must send it to the Standing Committee.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had dealt with all the defects in the Bill, and had practically killed the suggestion to send the measure to a Select Committee. The necessity for referring it to a Select Committee had now practically disappeared. Under these circumstances it would be a pity to delay those reforms which were dealt with by the Bill in order to have a more tedious method,

which would probably end in no reform being carried for some years to come. He therefore hoped that the hon. Member would not press his Amendment.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said he had some sympathy with the proposal of the hon. Member for Preston, but there were two considerations which weighed with him. In the first place, if the Measure was sent to a Select Committee there was no chance of it being passed this session. The other consideration was that the hon. and learned Member who had moved the Bill had stated that he was prepared to accept any Amendment which was proposed by the Government Department principally concerned. That statement he welcomed, for it did away to a very large extent with the necessity of referring this Bill to a Select Committee. He did not agree with the hon. Member opposite when he stated that he had stated all the objections of the Board of Trade to all the clauses in the Bill, because that was not so. All he, as the representative of the Board of Trade, had done was to state some of his principal objections, but there would be others. On the understanding that his hon. and learned friend would be prepared to amend his Bill in accordance with the views of the Board of Trade, he did not think there was any necessity to send the Bill to a Select Committee.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON said that after what had been stated he would not press his Amendment. He hoped, however, that the President of the Board of Trade would be able to put his Amendments on the Paper in good time in order that those who were most affected by this Bill would have ample time to consider them.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said he would put down his Amendments as early as possible.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill committed to the Standing Committee on Law, &c.

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TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPEN-
SATION BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Reading read.

MR. PRICE (Norfolk, E.), in moving the Second Reading of this Bill, said it dealt with a grievance which was strongly felt directly by the great butcher trade and, indirectly, by the agricultural interest. The butchers had taken collective action in the matter, and the various chambers of agriculture had at any rate expressed their strong sympathy with the principles of the Bill if not with all its details. The grievance was shortly set out in the preamble in the following words—

"Whereas it frequently happens that it is impossible to detect the presence of tuberculosis in a living animal from its outward appearance, and yet such disease may exist to an extent which may justify the condemnation of the carcase after slaughter as unfit for human food, and it is expedient to make provision for compensating the owner of such condemned carcase."

The principle usually adopted in such cases was that compensation should be given to the people whose property was destroyed in the public interest, and this was one of the very few exceptions to that rule. Two reasons had caused the public to give compensation in such cases. In the first place, because it was only fair that individuals whose property was destroyed for the public good, and who were innocent in the matter, should receive compensation; and the second reason was that, if they did not receive full compensation, there was a chance that the law would be evaded. Both those considerations applied in this case. He did not intend to go into the scientific question which was discussed before the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, but the opinion of that Commission and of most of the people who had considered the question was that the dangers of tuberculosis were very much exaggerated. In some districts there was a most severe application of the law, and slaughter of animals took place in cases where there was an extremely slight manifestation of tuberculosis, and it was with the view of remedying as much as anything else the inequalities of the present system that the Bill was introduced. He knew that objection was taken to some of the provisions of the

measure, such as the provision for compensation out of the rates, but that was a point which could be dealt with in Committee. It was impossible to propose in the Bill that compensation should come out of Imperial funds, but that was a matter for consideration. There were regulations in the measure which provided that the Board of Agriculture should fix the maximum and minimum compensation. He agreed that it might turn out to be extremely difficult for the person claiming compensation to prove his case, but he was afraid that was inseparable from the nature of the case, and it certainly would not do to allow any attempt at fraud. He begged to move that this Bill be read a second time.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.) said the promoters of this Bill had two objects in view. In the first place they desired to protect the public health; and, in the second place, to remove what was undoubtedly a very deep grievance affecting an important section of the trading community. It was essential in the interests of public health that wherever diseased meat was found which might be sold for public consumption, there should be no hesitation whatever on the part of local authorities in condemning it. It was necessary that there should be nothing in the administration of the law to lead a local authority to relax its efforts in the protection of public health. As the law now stood many local authorities must feel a very keen sympathy with the individuals who would have to bear the burden of the loss, and feeling that sympathy they would hesitate to condemn when they ought to condemn. The first object of this Bill was to secure full freedom for the local authority in the condemnation of every carcase found to be affected with tuberculosis, and that could only be secured by the knowledge on the part of the local authority that the loss should not fall upon the unlucky individual who owned the carcase, but that such loss would be borne by the community who would be benefited by the destruction of the carcase in question. Those who profited by such destruction ought to bear the loss, and wherever the property of a private individual was destroyed for the public benefit the loss should be borne by the public. It was

most unfortunate that there was no systematic notification of tuberculosis. The possessor of a herd of cattle who found some of the cattle were suffering from tuberculosis was allowed to send them for sale, and they could not be seized and condemned. It was only after the animals had been slaughtered that the local authority could seize the carcasses and destroy them. The owner of the live animal was quite free from any liability in the matter, and as a matter of fact he was often advised by veterinary surgeons to send cattle affected with tuberculosis into the market. He thought pressure ought to be brought to bear upon the Board of Agriculture to take up this question seriously in order to stamp out this disease. Those who were opposing this measure he was quite aware did not lack sympathy with the butchers upon whom the loss fell, but they opposed the measure because they felt that it was a subject which should be taken up by the Board of Agriculture, and they were of opinion that this disease could only be stamped out by dealing with the live animal instead of waiting to deal with the dead carcasses. They had, however, to deal with the facts as they were, and at the present time there was no notification of tuberculosis.

The House would readily realise that a great trade was being carried on in the face of very serious difficulties. Men who desired to carry on their trade perfectly honestly might at any moment be placed in the police Court and treated as criminals and be prosecuted and sentenced, although they had not been knowingly guilty of any fault whatever. A butcher might go to the market and purchase a number of live cows. It was impossible for any man as the living cattle stood in the market to detect the presence of tuberculosis. A reliable test could only be applied when the animal existed in its normal condition free from excitement and free from those ordinary worries which were inevitable from sale in the open market. Therefore a reliable test could not be applied to cattle under market conditions. The farmer or the breeder might have discovered the presence of this disease in the cattle before they were brought to market but, in the open market, butchers had no sufficient

means of protecting themselves. They might buy an animal which while alive had passed even experts, but which when slaughtered might be found to be suffering from tuberculosis. Every encouragement should be given to butchers, when they found that a slaughtered animal was suffering from tuberculosis, to notify the fact to the local authorities and to invite the destruction of the carcass. Under the existing law they could not take such a course without losing the whole of the money which they had paid for the animal. Another difficulty was that the practice of different authorities varied. The Royal Commission reported that where animals were suffering from purely localised tuberculosis, as, for example, where the disease was limited to the thoracic, lymphatic, or the pharyngeal glands, in such instances only the portion of the carcass affected should be cut away and destroyed. In some towns, if the disease existed in the thoracic glands only, the whole carcass was ordered to be destroyed. He thought it was necessary that whatever principle was adopted it ought to be applied throughout the whole country, and traders should not be liable to prosecution in one town without being subject to the same liability in another place.

The whole of the members of the Royal Commission recommended a system under which localised tuberculosis might be dealt with. There was also a Minority Report which recommended that compensation should be paid in cases where the animal, when alive, appeared to be well nourished and exhibited no evidence of tuberculosis. The Bill before the House followed that recommendation not only in the spirit but in the letter, for it provided that wherever a carcass was found to be diseased the local authority condemning it should be empowered to pay out of the local rates compensation to the full value of the animal destroyed. The promoters of the Bill did not desire to take any action whatever which would facilitate unfair trade. This Bill would not protect the butcher who knowingly purchased a diseased animal at a low price. Before compensation could be claimed the butcher would have to prove that he had paid a fair market price, and that he had no reason to suspect

that the animal was diseased. Therefore there was no protection whatever for the man who purchased below the market rate. The Royal Commission suggested that the market rate should be fixed by the Board of Agriculture. If a butcher paid a fancy price for an animal which was found to be diseased, he would only get the value of the carcase. He could not see what objection could be raised to the principle of this Bill, although there might be some objection to its details. He hoped the House would not occupy much time in dealing with details because the promoters were prepared to have the measure referred to a Select Committee. The subject dealt with was a technical one, but he thought they would get a favourable Report from the Select Committee.

His hon. friend had stated that this was not merely a butchers' question, but also an agricultural question. The risk that existed was driving the meat trade of this country into the hands of foreigners. Butchers were buying imported dead meat, and would not buy live cattle on account of the risk. That was a very serious thing not only for Ireland but also for the agricultural counties of this country. A herd of cattle might be sent into a town and the butchers might discover that one or two of the animals were diseased, and they would have to bear the loss in case they were destroyed. The result would be that they would not deal with those farmers or dealers again who had sold them the cattle, and they would be boycotted and the butchers would turn their attention to the dead meat market. Therefore he suggested that this was not merely a trade affair but it was a question which affected a much wider range of interest. A good illustration of this was afforded in the Anthrax Order. In Cheshire it had been arranged that animals slaughtered on account of anthrax should be paid for out of the local rates. If the Government could be induced to take up this question and to devise some means by which one half of the costs would fall on the Imperial funds instead of on local funds, he would gladly welcome such an Amendment. It was not altogether fair that the district where the slaughter took place should pay the

Mr. Ernest Gray.

whole amount of the compensation. It would be logically fair if it were possible to trace back to the farmer who had the opportunity of discovering the disease, but it was absolutely impossible to do that because the animals passed through many hands, and it was impossible to tell at what stage they became unsound. It was, therefore, impossible to fix responsibility. He believed this House, as the jealous guardian of the public health, would be glad to facilitate the performance of an irksome duty by the local authorities, and to protect those engaged in an important industry against the unfair conditions to which they were at present subjected.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) said he approved of the object of the Bill, but not of the methods proposed. It was all very well to say that the agricultural interest and butchers were strongly in favour of it, but the ratepayers had a right to be considered. The Bill provided that a magistrate should satisfy himself that the animal had a good appearance before slaughter, but supposing the animal was killed in Aberdeenshire, how could a magistrate in London satisfy himself on such a point. It was absolutely impossible, and that part of the Bill was unworkable. The Bill really told the ratepayer that he should pay the compensation because the animal happened to be in the district in which he lived. For two years in another House of Commons he was chairman of a Committee that investigated the whole question as to the communicability of tuberculosis, but this Bill had nothing to do with that question. On behalf of ratepayers who lived in large populous communities he contended that the Bill should be recast, and as the whole community would benefit by the destruction of this meat they should be prepared to pay for it. On this ground he felt bound to move the rejection of the Bill.

There being no seconder, the Amendment fell to the ground.

*MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said the hon. and gallant Member who moved

the rejection of the Bill apparently took the greatest possible objection to the ratepayers paying the cost, but he had altogether overlooked the fact that the unfortunate owner had to bear the whole of the loss individually. He was quite certain that the hon. and gallant Member, with that sense of fair play which he possessed, would not wish to place responsibility on a single individual which ought to be borne by the whole community. Those connected with the meat trade in the three kingdoms were anxious to protect the public health, but they had always strenuously maintained that what was confiscated for the public good ought to be paid for out of the public purse. The hon. and gallant Member who moved the rejection of the Bill but could not obtain a seconder, seemed to lose sight of the fact that it was not competent under a private Bill to charge the Imperial funds with any cost, and that, therefore, no course was open to the promoters of this measure except that which had been adopted. If the Government chose to adopt this suggestion it would be competent for them to take steps for providing a remedy in accordance with the views of those who held that the public purse ought to pay. If anything was confiscated for the public good the public must pay, and he should be very much obliged if any hon. Member could tell him why the meat trade should be the only exception to the wholesome rule applied to others. He took it that the House was satisfied with the principle of the Bill, and that what they had to consider was how they were to get a practical solution of the question. The principle of compensation had been adopted by every one of the bodies interested in the animal industry. The Central Chamber of Agriculture, the Irish Cattle Traders' and Stockowners' Associations—representing the organised opinions of that country—the important National Federation of Meat Traders, consisting of 130 affiliated associations from the principal cities and towns of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man, and the Dublin Victuallers' Association, had all unanimously passed resolutions in favour of compensation. Various farmers' clubs in England, Ireland, and

Scotland, strongly supported this principle.

The hon. Member who seconded the Second Reading of the Bill had very properly drawn attention to the fact that an Order had been granted by the Board of Agriculture under which the County Council of Cheshire should pay full compensation in cases of anthrax. In the case of animals suffering from tuberculosis, unless by the application of a tubercular test, it was impossible to detect the presence of the disease until the animal was slaughtered, and in that way the difficulty came in, as the authorities could not give compensation by reason of the fact that they were not owners of the animal at the time it was killed. He had attended as a delegate at the Great Tuberculosis Congress held in London where all the leading scientists and medical authorities, as well as trade and local authorities' representatives, were present. He heard Dr. Koch the greatest living bacteriologist declare that bovine tuberculosis was not communicable to man by the ingestion of meat. He was not discussing the scientific question except to say that that declaration was entitled to respect. In this country we lost sight of what was done by more scientific nations than ourselves. In Germany and other countries tuberculous meat was sterilised and sold at a lower price, whereas in this country it was destroyed, and the meat trader who had possession, through no fault of his own, was prosecuted, and frequently efforts were made to send him to prison. It appeared to him that common sense should be applied to this matter, and that effect should be given by medical officers of health to the recommendations of the Local Government Board in 1899, drawn on the lines of the Tuberculosis Minority Report Second Commission, 1898, which stated—

“We consider, therefore, that for the present compensation should be paid for carcases confiscated for the presence of tuberculosis, subject to the magistrate who orders the confiscation being satisfied that the animal while in life had a good appearance, was well nourished, and exhibited no clinical evidence of tuberculosis; subject also to a maximum and minimum limit of price. We feel that it would not be possible to fix such prices permanently, having regard to the fluctuations of the cattle and meat market. We would suggest, therefore, that the minimum price, below which no compensation shall be

paid, as well as the maximum sum to be paid in compensation, even if less than the price paid for the animal confiscated, should be fixed in each year by the Board of Agriculture."

The Bill was practically a repetition of this recommendation. But according to the law, as it at present stood and was administered, a meat trader might be fined £50, or sent to prison, for an offence of which he had absolutely no knowledge. That was a condition of the law which needed amendment, and the sooner the House of Commons set about it the better.

He had brought under the notice of the President of the Local Government Board many cases of extreme hardship which had occurred. It was wrong to penalise an honest trade in this fashion. At Liverpool some time ago, under the existing law, a poor woman was sent to prison, although possessing no guilty knowledge. There was such a disturbance raised about it that the magistrate allowed her out on payment of a fine. If pigs were killed in Denmark and the carcasses were found to be diseased, the pork would be sterilised, made into finished bacon, and imported into this country for consumption by Englishmen who prosecuted and persecuted the home producer, as they were at present doing in the Central Meat Market, London. Another extraordinary case occurred at Lynn, where a man in the trade slaughtered some cattle to oblige a railway company; yet he was subjected to prosecution, legal costs, and annoyance. Besides it must be remembered always that the unfortunate meat trader who was prosecuted was generally, as a consequence, ruined in his business, because his customers did not understand the technical difficulty of his position in being held liable for an occurrence for which he was not justly responsible. But the House should be informed and give due consideration to the fact that the present ill-advised system was diverting a large volume of the meat trade to the importer, who, under existing conditions, escaped obloquy, fine, or imprisonment because there were few, if any, tuberculous animals imported, and those were mainly sold in carcasses after inspection. But the seller of home produce bought the animal alive and was open to all those

Mr. Field.

risky and penal disadvantages. When he suffered, he took of necessity to buying foreign meat.

This was a very serious issue for landowners, farmers, graziers, and in fact everyone connected with the animal industry in the three kingdoms. He had visited Continental countries, the cities of Paris, Vienna, Dresden, Leipzig, and Budapest; the authorities there did not persecute their own citizens dealing in home meat, on the contrary they protected them by a reasonable uniform method of inspection; they did not confiscate and destroy tons of good meat, simple localised tuberculosis was sensibly treated by cutting away the affected portions. More serious cases were sterilised and the meat marked and sold at a lower price, and only in bad cases destroyed. But in this country, owing to the absence of qualifications in many meat inspectors, the over-zealousness of certain medical officers of health, and the want of uniformity as to standard inspection—the result all round had been most injurious to the producers and retailers of native meat. The main reasons why he took so much interest in this matter was because he was President of the Irish Cattle and Stock-owners' Association, and knew about the difficulties raised in connection with the buying of Irish cattle in the English market. There was not so much tuberculosis in Ireland as in England, that being due, he believed, to the fact that now cattle were kept more in the open air, and they had less in-breeding and delicate pampered pedigree stock in Ireland. But this whole subject as to the eliminations of tuberculosis from the herds of the United Kingdom and the treatment to be adopted with regard to confiscation, inspections, and sanitation needed most careful and prudent consideration. He therefore, appealed to the House to allow the Bill to go to a Select Committee in order that the whole subject might be investigated and a solution arrived at which would satisfy and safeguard the wants of the community.

*SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (Wigtonshire) said he could only support the Bill on the condition that had been suggested, namely, that it should be

referred to a Select Committee. He was very glad that the Bill had been fortunate in the ballot, as the matter was one of importance to the community. It was to be regretted that the promoters in framing the measure appeared to have been ignorant of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, over which he had had the honour to preside. It was now proposed to provide a remedy by the easy process of putting an additional burden on the rates, but the ratepayer's burden was becoming almost more than he could bear. The meat trade was by no means the only trade in which confiscation for the public good was not followed by compensation; cargoes of rotten fruit or bad fish were destroyed without compensation. He thought that if the question of tubercular disease in cattle had been properly grappled with in this country, as it had been in certain Continental States, any grievance would have been removed and the question of compensation would not have arisen. It did not arise in Germany simply because a more rational manner of administration and regulation of slaughterhouses prevailed. It did not arise in Denmark because there they had undertaken a systematic and most successful method of eliminating this most destructive disease. Since the Royal Commission reported some years ago no steps whatever had been taken to improve the chaos which characterised the administration of slaughterhouses and meat inspection in this country.

The grievance which had been dealt with by hon. Members on both sides of the House was a real one which deserved consideration. The question was, how were they to remove the grievance? Merely to compensate the trader for what, under present conditions, was an ordinary trade risk would be most unfair to the ratepayers. The first thing that was required was the adoption of some uniform system throughout the country for dealing with carcasses tainted with tuberculosis. In Edinburgh the inspection was searching and complete, and the inspecting staff resembled, more than any other in this country, that of Continental towns. In that town the slightest indication of tubercular disease caused the destruction of the

carcase, and a great deal of hardship was occasioned thereby no doubt. On the other hand, in Manchester they had a discriminating system of inspection resembling that which had been adopted in German and Danish towns. In cases of localised disease, the organs affected were removed and destroyed, and the rest of the carcase, being perfectly sound, was allowed to be sold as meat. The Royal Commission paid great attention to this, and in their Report there would be found a specific scheme of what ought to constitute bad meat, and what was meat which might be sold with perfect safety to the community. That suggestion had been absolutely neglected. There was no uniformity in that respect, no standard of soundness. There was also no uniformity in the qualifications of the men on whose report the condemnation of carcasses took place. For instance, the Royal Commission found six years ago that in Battersea, of the seven meat inspectors four were plumbers and three carpenters; in Hackney the duty of inspecting carcasses was entrusted to a plumber, a compositor, a florist, and a stonemason; and in Portsmouth the inspectors included one solitary butcher, who might be expected to know something of the business, two school teachers, a medical dispenser, and a tram conductor. It was on the report of men like these that butchers, farmers, and graziers had their meat passed or condemned.

A further injustice was imposed by the present system on farmers, graziers, and butchers. The enormous importation of foreign and colonial meat practically escaped inspection altogether. During a visit to the slaughterhouse at Deptford, where 2,700 beasts were slaughtered every week, he found that a single inspector had to examine 2,700 carcasses in three days. He believed that the inspecting staff at Deptford had since been reinforced. Was not such a system of inspection a farce? He could not conceive that the animals received the same amount of inspection which was given in well-regulated slaughterhouses. In Saxony, in the year 1895, tuberculosis was found to exist in 22,758 carcasses; if every one of these carcasses had been destroyed, a vast deal of

valuable meat would have been wasted. But 92½ per cent. of these carcasses were passed by the inspectors as fit for food, 5½ per cent. were disposed of at the price of inferior meat, and the whole of the rest were destroyed, but without compensation. There was no question that this particular disease was found almost exclusively among cows. In Glasgow, during two years, 1,287 carcasses were condemned for tuberculosis, and of these, thirteen were bulls, four bullocks, two calves, seven pigs, and 1,260 were cows. Cows kept in a dairy were peculiarly liable to this particular disease. Every man acquainted with the trade knew that there was less hardship involved in the confiscation of a cow's carcass, because the presumption was that the owner had got his profit out of the animal as a milker. Nothing had been done since the Report of the Royal Commission six years ago to substitute some order for the chaos which characterised the administration of slaughterhouses and meat inspection in this country. He would value much some assurance from his right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board that action would shortly be taken on that Report. If it was not to be, he would like to know the reason why. He did not know whether the responsibility rested with the right hon. Gentleman's Department or with the Board of Agriculture. But, at all events, it was with a feeling somewhat akin to shame that they must contemplate what had been done in coping with tuberculosis successfully, practically, and with the concurrence of the people, in a small State like Denmark, while no serious attempt had been made in this country to stamp out this most destructive disease from our herds.

*DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said that the effect produced on his mind by the discussion was, that a true Bill had been found for further inquiry, in the interests both of farmer and consumer. He supported this Bill partly because he represented what was the leading feeding county in Scotland, but mainly in the general public interest. The Bill should be read a second time, and sent to a Select Committee for further consideration. It was hard lines

Sir Herbert Maxwell.

on the farmer and the butcher that they could not diagnose tuberculosis. The tuberculin test, which was the only real test, would not operate at all after the animal had been knocked about in markets or had come off from a long journey. The beasts were then in a state of unstable equilibrium. Why, then, should not the farmer or butcher get compensation for his animal if it was killed without his knowledge that it was tuberculous. The analogy of the man who sold rotten fruit, or rotten meat, was no analogy at all, because he did it with his eyes and nose open, whereas the whole case for this Bill was that the farmer did not, and could not, know what the condition of the animal was before it was slaughtered. It was a very serious fact that while consumption amongst grown persons had decreased, the same disease among children was largely increasing, and the problem was, whether this was not in consequence of tuberculous milk being given to the young persons. He quite agreed with the hon. Baronet that it was unfortunate we had not taken steps to stamp out tuberculosis in this country as had been done in Denmark. Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael had proved by long experiment that this disease could be stamped out. Surely prevention was better than cure. Nearly every locality was now providing an institution for the treatment of consumption by the open air method, but it would be much better to attack the disease at the outset. Every opportunity should be taken of nipping the disease at the outset, and testing the milk to discover whether it was tuberculous. He supported the Bill, both in the agricultural and the public interest. Something had been said about insurance, but they knew that the farmers were fighting an uphill battle, and had not much money to spare. So long as insurance was not compulsory, that would provide at least a partial solution of the problem.

*SIR FREDERICK MILNER (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw) said he supported the Motion for the Second Reading of the Bill on the ground of justice, and because he believed it would afford a protection to the public against the sale of diseased meat. There could be no

possible question that at certain stages it was impossible to discover disease when the animal was alive; but he was told that immediately an animal was killed it was possible for any butcher to say whether it was diseased or not. What he suggested was that in some subsequent clause of the Bill it should be stipulated that a butcher should at once notify to the authorities when he had killed a beast and discovered that it was in a diseased state. That would be a great protection to the public. With that addition he thought the Bill would be an eminently fair one, and he sincerely hoped it would pass.

DR. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye) said that this was not only a butchers' and a graziers' question, it was one which affected the public at large. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman would continue his efforts to stop the progress of the awful disease of consumption; and he appealed with perfect confidence to the right hon. Gentleman to assist private Members in securing the Second Reading of the Bill, and its consideration by a Select Committee. He protested against attempts to stop a measure for the benefit of the public health, because Gentlemen were squabbling among themselves as to whether the taxpayer or the ratepayer should provide the compensation.

MR. ASHTON (Bedfordshire, Luton) said it appeared to him that the Bill was ill-drawn, and ill thought out. It in no way carried out the recommendations or intentions of the Royal Commission. If the Bill was in the interests of the butcher, and of the public, it did not go far enough; if it was in the interests of agriculture, there were others who had equal claims upon the public purse. Why should the butcher be selected, in preference to other traders, for compensation? The dealer in tinned meats and fruits was in exactly the same position, and he maintained that they ought to be fair to all industries. It was said that it was in the interest of public health that tuberculosis should be struck at, but the Bill was not approaching the question from the right point of view, nor was it dealing with it according to the

recommendations of the Royal Commission. He had made experiments himself in the treatment of tuberculosis, and he held that if they were going to deal with the matter it should begin at the farm-yard, and not in the butcher's shop. The hon. Member for West Ham had pointed out very rightly that in the Minority Report it was suggested that compensation should be given for the slaughter of animals. True; but it was only to be given under certain conditions. Compensation was only to be allowed for a limited period, dating from the time when means were adopted for the elimination of tuberculosis from our herds. The Majority Report did not suggest any compensation whatever. Therefore he contended that before a Bill of this kind was adopted there should be legislation to deal first of all with the elimination of tuberculosis from the country. He thought that no good purpose would be served by sending the Bill to a Select Committee.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.) said that perhaps it would be convenient if he stated now what his view of the Bill was. He had great sympathy with the view of the hon. Gentleman who had pointed out that this measure did not carry out the recommendations of either the Majority or the Minority Report of the Royal Commission. But the hon. Gentleman had failed to appreciate the object and intention of the Bill. The extinction of tuberculosis was being aimed at, through the destruction of the animal, because the disease was injurious to public health; and the sole object of the measure was the payment of compensation to the trader who suffered heavy loss in consequence of a law imposed upon him in the general interests of the community. He thought that the Bill was badly drawn, and he very much doubted whether, if passed in its present form, it would carry out the object of the promoters. On the other hand, the Bill gave the House an opportunity of expressing its views on a question with regard to which there was considerable agreement. What they had to consider was not only the feasibility of the machinery of the Bill, or the

quality of its drafting, but the principle involved in the measure. There was a great deal to be said in support of the case of those in whose interest the Bill was promoted, and he agreed with much which had been said by the hon. Baronet who spoke with so much authority on this subject, and who had presided over the Royal Commission. It was said that if this Bill passed in its present form it would not be effective; but he nevertheless thought there was a good deal to be said in the interest of those who were liable to have their property seized, and in whose interest the Bill was promoted. It was an undoubted fact that the results of the tuberculin test were very often misleading and could not be relied on, and in some cases it was impossible to apply the test at all. The butcher, therefore, was exposed to risks that did not affect any other trader. He bought a beast, to all intents and purposes sound, and it was only when that beast had been slaughtered and the inspector had paid his visit that the butcher learnt for the first time that the article for which he had given perhaps £25 or £26 was unfit for human food and only worth a few shillings. When the animal was purchased it was almost impossible to tell whether it was likely to be diseased or not. The man who possessed the animal in the first instance possibly found indication of this disease in one animal, and the "vet." called in had the animal destroyed. The owner of the herd having then some knowledge of the disease asked what he was to do with the other animals to fatten them and put them on the market as soon as possible. It was obvious that in such a case the butcher was exposed to an enormous risk. The House ought to deal with this question in such a way, by compensation, as to ensure that these animals should not be put upon the market and sold for human food. The Government were charged with having done nothing to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission. One of the most important recommendations was that there must be a central slaughterhouse where the animals could be slaughtered, inspected, and properly dealt with. It was a difficult question even to hurry on, and far more

to force on, local authorities in this country.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: We have done it in Scotland.

MR. WALTER LONG said whatever success might have attended the introduction of the reform in Scotland, it was a fact not to be questioned that an attempt to force upon local authorities in England an obligation to set up public slaughterhouses would excite a feeling of hostility that would retard good work now being done. It was, no doubt, true that local inspectors were not always well qualified for their duties, but under our system of decentralisation the Government could not be blamed for this. The difference between the law of Germany and Denmark and that of England in this regard was that the system in those countries was centralised whereas here it was the reverse. Here we were told to trust to the local authority to see that this reform was effected. They had done their best to impress upon local authorities that they should appoint inspectors of knowledge and experience, and clauses in a Bill he hoped to introduce would tend to secure that result, but it was a matter that could only be done by degrees, and any attempt to set up public slaughterhouses or to generalise in order to universally stamp out tuberculosis by the tuberculin test, would, in his opinion, instead of doing good, result in a good deal more hostility being shown than was shown at present. This matter touched the whole question of local government, and no doubt it would be very difficult for some of the smaller local authorities, on the ground of expense, to appoint proper men. All that could be done was to lead the local authorities along the path of permanent progress in this regard. But if they could not get all the reforms which were asked for there was some justification for the claim put forward by the promoters of the present measure in that the present condition of things inflicted injustice on one class of traders, and a reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, with power to take evidence, would offer the opportunity for inquiry in which traders and ratepayers could

Mr. Walter Long.

present their case, and in that inquiry a remedy might be found and a system of compensation devised. This was as far as he would be prepared to go, and although he admitted the truth of the criticisms which had been made by the hon. Gentleman who just sat down, he did not think that even the hon. Gentleman would be prepared to divide the House upon this question. The already heavily burdened ratepayers must be considered, and certainly he must be understood as giving no promise to support a proposal that compensation should come from the Imperial Exchequer. He was informed that at Newcastle an admirable insurance fund had been established by contributions from traders, and this, with other matters in relation to the subject, might come within the scope of the reference to the Committee. With the understanding that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, he assented to the Second Reading.

***SIR LEES KNOWLES** (Salford, W.)

said that in the interests of his constituents he called the attention of the House of Commons to this subject as far back as 1889. It was then recognised that a great hardship was inflicted on the meat-trade and the agitation then commenced had after sixteen years resulted in the introduction of this Bill. They recognised the great risk which butchers had to incur and all that the promoters of this Bill asked was uniformity of inspection, condemnation, and compensation. It had been difficult in the past to discover which was the proper Department to deal with this question. When he brought the subject to the attention of the House in 1889 he was told that the Board of Agriculture dealt only with live animals and that he must apply to the Local Government Board, but when he went to the Local Government Board he was told that they dealt only with dead animals, and he must go to the Department which dealt with live animals. He now congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on his speech and the reception he had given to the Bill on behalf of the Government, and also he congratulated him that it

was recognised that the subject was closely concerned with public health.

***MR. CHANNING** (Northamptonshire, E.) entirely concurred with what had fallen from the hon. Member for South Bedfordshire and took it that the President of the Local Government Board was in agreement with them as to the effect of this Bill. He did not wish to be considered hostile to the principle of compensation, and, in fact, he had always advocated in the strongest way compensation for farmers and others, where there was compulsory slaughter of their cattle, and who were not guilty of any fraud. But in this case compensation was provided on a wholly different principle, where carcases of animals slaughtered were afterwards condemned as unfit for human food. That was applying the principle of compensation in an entirely wrong way. He agreed with his right hon. friend the Member for Wigtonshire that the principle of compensation could only be introduced as part of a general system adopted to deal with this disease. The duty of the State and the interest of agriculturists was to adopt a system of elimination of the disease. The ground upon which he took special exception was that he thought the Bill was likely to encourage fraud. He suggested that if there was to be a Select Committee the whole question of compensation for slaughter of cattle in connection with the stamping out of disease should be referred to it, after careful consideration of the terms of reference.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee."

MR. WALTER LONG said it would not be possible for the Select Committee to enter into the much wider inquiry suggested by the hon. Member for East Northamptonshire; and he imagined

that the promoters would not be willing to accept a Motion for such an inquiry in substitution for their Bill.

*MR. CHANNING said he would on the proper occasion invite the Government to appoint a Select Committee to deal on a wider reference, with the question of compensation in the case of slaughter for tuberculosis in all cases.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill committed to a Select Committee.

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.

[SECOND READING].

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) moved the Second Reading of this Bill, with which hon. Members were familiar as embodying the recommendations of a Royal Commission for making the working of the Sunday Closing Act in Wales more effective. He had himself brought forward this Bill on ten occasions, and for fourteen years this amending Bill had been introduced into the House, and under those circumstances he submitted the overwhelming opinion of Wales was in its favour. No Bill could have a greater support from public opinion in the Principality, and the treatment of the measure by the House was of much political importance to Wales, where it was thought right that questions affecting the Principality alone should be decided in accordance with the overwhelming sentiment of the country. It was undoubtedly a farce that the people of Wales, feeling so strongly as they did upon this question, should not be allowed

Mr. Walter Long.

to work out, in the sphere of temperance, their own salvation.

*MR. WILLIAM JONES (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) seconded the Motion, and urged the Government to give facilities for the Second Reading. He pointed out that when the Commission, presided over by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, inquired into this matter they found that the operation of the Act of 1881, so far as it went, was satisfactory to the vast majority of the Welsh people, and that the extension of its scope was urgently needed with more stringent provisions. The present Bill solely adopted the recommendations of that Commission, which was appointed by a Conservative Government. It had the voice of practically the whole Welsh nation behind it, and for those reasons he strongly supported the Second Reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. GROVES (Salford, S.) moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, objecting to the inclusion of Monmouthshire in its provisions, and maintaining that the Sunday Closing Act had not decreased drunkenness, but had increased it. On that ground alone, and in the interests of true temperance, he opposed the extension of the Act to Monmouthshire.

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Friday, 13th May.

Adjourned at twenty-eight minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 18th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill. To be read the third time to-morrow.

London and North Western Railway Bill (King's Consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed.

London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Midland Railway Bill. Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]

Young and Bell's Patents Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Harlow and Sawbridgeworth Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

London County Council (Money) Bill. "To regulate the expenditure of Money by the London County Council on capital account during the current financial period, and the raising of Money to meet such expenditure; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4). Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to Portsmouth, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to Portsmouth," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 153.]

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION
ACT (1896) AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901)
AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF
CLOSING).

Petition from Battersea, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Glasgow; Froggatt; Plymouth; Tyne Dock; Mountain Ash; Failsworth; Pontesbury; Southport (two); Fulham; South Shields (eleven); Downham; Eccles; Llanrhaiadr; Rhiw; Walworth and Camberwell; Manchester; Partick; Dorking (two); and Battersea; to lie upon the Table.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIA-
MENTARY BOROUGHES) BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

O

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY COUNCILS) BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Manchester, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Folkestone, against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TIED HOUSES BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TIED HOUSES (FREEING) BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

WAGES BOARDS BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EXPLOSIONS (CURTIS AND HARVEY'S FACTORY AT CLIFFE, KENT).

Copy presented, of Report by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary

of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an accident which occurred in the drying-house for nitro-cotton at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent, on the 4th February, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EMIGRATION STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Emigration Statistics of Ireland for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (OFFICIAL SECRETS).

Copy presented, of the Indian Official Secrets (Amendment) Act, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 14th April; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 128.]

TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH GERMANY.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th March; *Mr. Matthew White Ridley*]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 13th April, 1904, declaring that Daniel Gray, Leading Hand of Fitters, Royal Gun Factory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVAL EXPENDITURE.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 10th March; *Sir Edgar Vincent*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 129.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Operation of Education Act.

MR. GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.):
To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he can state, for each month since 1st April, 1903, the number of education authorities who

brought the Education Act into operation within that month and the number of educational districts in which it is not yet in operation, distinguishing between England and Wales.

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) The following statement shows the number of appointed days which have fallen in each month from 1st April, 1903:—

England.						Wales and Monmouth.				
Month.	C.	C.B.	B.	U.D.	Total.	C.	C.B.	B.	U.D.	Total.
1903:—										
April . . .	8	13	15	2	38	—	—	—	1	1
May . . .	5	10	31	8	54	—	—	—	—	—
June . . .	5	8	18	11	42	—	—	1	—	1
July . . .	13	14	26	8	61	—	—	1	—	1
August . . .	—	—	8	3	11	—	—	—	—	—
September . .	16	15	17	11	59	7	—	1	4	12
October . . .	—	1	6	5	12	—	—	—	—	—
November . . .	—	1	3	—	4	—	—	1	—	1
December . . .	—	1	1	1	3	—	—	1	—	1
1904:—										
January . . .	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	1
February . . .	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
March . . .	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
April . . .	2	1	12	—	15	—	—	—	1	1
	49	66	139	49	303	7	—	5	7	19

Included in this table are two English boroughs and one Welsh borough which have relinquished all their powers, and three English boroughs and one English urban district which have relinquished their powers under Part III. of the Act. In certain counties and county boroughs

the appointed day for Part II. fell on an earlier date than that for Part III. of the Act. These authorities have been given under the month in which the appointed day for Part III. was fixed. The appointed day has not yet been reached in the following areas:—

England.					Wales and Monmouth.				
C.	C.B.	B.	U.D.	Total.	C.	C.B.	B.	U.D.	Total.
—	—	—	1	1	6	3	—	2	11

N.B.—C.—County. C.B.—County Borough. B.—Borough. U.D.—Urban District.

Appointments to Abstractor Class— Age Limits.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that when the class of senior abstractors was formed it was stated in the letter of appointment that the age limit for retirement was sixty-five, and that when the limit of age for entrance was extended specially to sixty it was not contemplated compulsorily to retire efficient men at sixty or sixty-one, he will explain why some writers have recently been appointed abstractors who are over sixty years of age.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) I am aware of only three cases in which copyists have received certificates as abstractors after passing the age of sixty. In one case the copyist was nominated before he was sixty, but an accidental delay in the issue of his certificate brought him over that age. In the two other cases the Treasury were not aware that the men were over sixty.

Income-Tax Collection in the United Kingdom.

SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL (Glasgow College): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Departmental Return showing the state of the income-tax collection at the end of the months of January, February, and March for England, Scotland, and Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The Returns in question are of a purely Departmental character; they are prepared on quite a different basis for England and Scotland respectively, and the figures would require a large amount of readjustment before they could be used for the purposes of comparison, and under the circumstances I do not propose to lay them.

Defaulting Solicitors—Creation of a Public Trustee.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask Mr. Attorney-General

whether his attention has been called to the number of solicitors who have been struck off the roll during the past five years for misappropriating the moneys of their clients; and whether he will take steps to protect clients and reduce the number of offenders in the profession by, among other things, creating a public trustee with whom the moneys of clients must be invested.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) His Majesty's Government have already taken steps to meet the evil to which the Question calls attention by the introduction and passing of the Larceny Act of 1901, which deals with the very numerous cases to which the existing provisions for the punishment of fraudulent trustees did not apply. The Judicial Trustee Act, 1896, makes provision for the appointment of a judicial trustee in any case in which application is made to the court for that purpose. It would not be practicable to make the investment of trust moneys with a public trustee compulsory, and, moreover, any such measure could not have any application to the very large class of cases in which no formal trust has been created.

Victoria and Albert Museum and Royal College of Science—Dates of Completion.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, if he will say what progress is being made with the building of the Victoria and Albert Museum; and at what approximate date will all the different museum buildings of South Kensington be brought to a state of completion.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarras.*) Good progress is being made with the building of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the work being now up to the first floor level. There is, at present, no reason to think that the buildings of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal College of Science will not be completed by the dates named in the contracts, viz., 23rd February, 1907, and 1st June, 1905, respectively.

Speed of H.M.S. "Drake"—Improved Propellers.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state for what speed was H.M.S. "Drake" designed; what speed did she attain during her initial speed trials; on what date was the "Drake" subsequently fitted with improved propellers, and are those propellers still in use on the "Drake"; what speed has been attained by the "Drake" with these improved propellers; what are the exact details of the screw propellers now fitted to the "Drake," and in what respect do they differ from the propellers with which she was first fitted; are the screw propellers fitted to H.M.S. "Lancaster" similar to those fitted to the "Drake," and, if not, in what respect do they differ; how many and which of His Majesty's warships are now fitted with screw propellers of the type used on the "Drake" and "Lancaster"; what increases of speed have thereby been obtained, and to what improvement in these propellers is such speed attributed; and, in view of the fact that more than 14,000,000 tons of British-owned shipping are propelled by screw propellers and of the commercial importance of sea speed, will he explain why has this information been hitherto withheld.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The "Drake" was designed for twenty-three knots. She obtained 23.05 knots on her initial trials, and in September, 1902, she was fitted with improved propellers which are still in use on the "Drake"; with the improved propellers she attained 24.11 knots. It is not considered desirable to publish the exact details of the new propellers. The present propellers of the "Lancaster," and of all the ships of the "County" class, are generally similar to those now fitted to the "Drake"; and a similar gain of speed to that realised in the "Drake" has been obtained in the "County" class over the speed with the screws first fitted. The other three ships of the "Drake" class also have screws approximately the same

as the "Drake" herself. The details of these improvements have not been published for the following reasons:—(1) Because under the different conditions of comparatively low speed or low revolutions which obtain in the great majority of merchant shipping the information would be of little value for improving the speed of such vessels. (2) Because it is considered undesirable that information which has been obtained at great cost to the Admiralty should be put at the disposal of Foreign Powers.

Pensions of Royal Marines.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the highest pension obtainable by a colour-sergeant in the Royal Marine Light Infantry is 2s. 6d. per day; whether that obtainable by the relative rank in the Navy, viz.: that of chief petty officer, is 3s. 5d. per day; and, if so, whether he will undertake to have the circumstances inquired into with a view, if possible, of making the maximum pension obtainable in the Marines equivalent to that in the other branch of the Navy referred to.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The highest pension attainable by a Royal Marine colour-sergeant is 2s. 6d. a day. There is no fixed limit to the pension obtainable by a chief petty officer, Royal Navy, and he may, and sometimes does, obtain as much as 3s. 5d. a day. Under the provisions of Order in Council of 28th May, 1887, the maximum amount of pension that can be granted to non-commissioned officers of the Royal Marines in their respective classes was assimilated to corresponding ranks in the Army, and still remains so. I may add that a colour-sergeant does not rank with a chief petty officer, but with a petty officer 1st class.

Gun Sights of H.M.S. "Centurion."

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the late Commander-in-Chief on the China station, Sir Cyprian Bridge, has informed the Admiralty that, owing

to defective gun sights, the "Centurion" is not fit to go into action. . .

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The Admiralty are not prepared to answer Questions respecting any communications which pass between them and the Commander-in-Chief of stations; they would never have sent the "Centurion" to China if they did not consider her fit to go into action. I have nothing to add to the information I have already given in respect of the accuracy of the "Centurion's" sights; but I take this opportunity of stating that in the course of carrying out recent gun practice on the China station the "Centurion" obtained three direct hits in succession on an eight feet target at 2,600 yards, steaming at twelve knots, with her ten-inch guns, and only had two lost shots out of sixteen rounds.

London Postal Porters' Grievances.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is prepared to announce the decision of the Department on the questions laid before his predecessor in July last by a deputation representing the London Postal Porters' Association; and, if not, when a reply will be forthcoming.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The representations made by the deputation of porters in the London postal service at their interview with my predecessor in July last are under consideration; but I am not prepared to give my decision until I have seen the Report of the Committee on Post Office Wages now sitting.

Officers of Macedonian Gendarmerie.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will give the latest information as to where are General de Giorgis and the various groups of officers nominated respectively by the Powers to serve in the Macedonian Gendarmerie; as to the numbers and distribution of the officers and men of that force in the three vilayets; and as to whether there are or will remain in that force Turkish officers of equal or superior military rank to that of the officers nominated by the Powers.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The foreign staff officers left Constantinople for Salonica on the 11th instant, and it was arranged that General de Giorgis should follow them in a few days. Five British officers, who have been appointed to serve in the Macedonian Gendarmerie, have left this country under instructions to report themselves at Salonica on the 15th instant. It is understood that they will arrive simultaneously with the officers who have been selected by the other Powers. His Majesty's Government have received no information as yet with regard to the details mentioned in the last paragraph of the hon. Member's Question.

Report of Civil Assessors for Macedonia.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the civil assessors for Macedonia, appointed by Austro-Hungary and Russia, have presented any reports to their respective Governments; and, if so, whether His Majesty's Government can arrange to have such reports presented to the House

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) No such reports have been communicated to His Majesty's Government, but an inquiry has been addressed to the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments with regard to the results of the mission entrusted to the two assessors.

Area, Population, and Valuation of Proposed Scottish Education Districts.

MR. MAXWELL (Dumfries-shire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will present, before the Second Reading of the Education (Scotland) Bill, a Return showing the area, population, and valuation of the education districts to be formed under the Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) I am preparing a Return which will be issued shortly, which will give all that the hon. Member desires, except the area, with some additional information. The area will be found in Command Paper No. 1996.

Statistics of Animal Disease.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will state the statistics of animal disease, including swine fever,

anthrax, and glanders, to the latest available date of this year, together with corresponding totals for the three preceding years.

(Answered by *Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes*.)
Contagious Diseases of Animals in Great Britain:—

Period.	Swine Fever.		Anthrax.		Glanders.		Sheep Scab. †	
	Outbreaks.	Swine slaughtered as diseased or as exposed to infection.	Outbreaks.	Animals attacked.	Outbreaks.	Animals attacked.	Outbreaks.	Sheep attacked.
Total for 15 weeks to 13th April 1901	818	3,823	198	303	358	619	960	12,040
Corresponding period in 1902	458	2,323	229	394	334	639	911	10,648
Corresponding period in 1903	408	1,871	238	369	356	627	953	10,084
Corresponding period in 1904	377	2,209	307	420	426	809	831	11,216

Candidates for Election to Boards of Guardians.

DR. RUTHERFOORD HARRIS (Camberwell, Dulwich): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that ex-officials of metropolitan boards of guardians in receipt of pensions have been nominated as candidates for election as guardians; and, if so, whether he will take steps so to amend the law as to render it impossible.

(Answered by *Mr. Walter Long*.) I believe there have been cases of the kind referred to. I am not, however, prepared to say that an ex-Poor Law officer in receipt of a pension ought necessarily to be disqualified for being a member of a board of guardians.

Compensation for Accidents on the Dublin and Blessington Steam Tramways.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can give the names of the persons to whom compensation was paid on account of fatal and other accidents on the Dublin and

Blessington steam tram line, and on account of damage to property; whether the £1,100 awarded to the claimants included law costs; and, if not, how much did the costs amount to in regard to all the claims.

(Answered by *Mr. Wyndham*.) The names of the claimants to whom compensation was awarded are P. Ellard, W. Osbourne, W. Verschoyle, J. Brady, and H. Murray. The compensation is believed to have included costs, and the amount stated was awarded for damage to property.

Irish Land Act—Receivable Order Form for Repayment of Purchase Annuities.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, before the form of receivable order for the repayment of purchase annuities under the Irish Land Purchase Acts is finally decided upon, he will lay a copy of the form proposed upon the Table of the House.

(Answered by *Mr. Wyndham*.) An amendment of the form of receivable

† First three months to 31st March.

order at present in use is under consideration. It is proposed to communicate copies of the proposed new form of order to the various banks interested, and a copy will also be sent to the hon. Baronet. It is not, however, proposed to lay the document upon the Table of the House.

Royal Irish Constabulary—District Inspectors over Sixty Years of Age.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of district inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary who have reached the age of sixty years, entitling them to pension; and if he will, in the interest of the public service, take steps to have them retired forthwith.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) There are five district inspectors at present serving in the force who are over the age mentioned. They are retained on the active list because they are all efficient officers. One of them, however, has applied to be retired on pension.

Appointment of Local Manager for Lislea National School.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Commissioners of National Education have received a memorial signed by parents of children attending Lislea No. 1 national school (county Armagh), asking for the appointment of a local manager for the school; and, if so, whether, seeing that the temporary manager appointed resides twenty miles distant, the Commissioners, in the interests of education, will accede to the wish of the memorialists.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The memorial was received and carefully considered by the Commissioners, who do not propose to make any change in the management of this school pending the settlement of existing local differences arising out of the resignation of the Rev. W. Ingram, the late manager. The Commissioners consider that the recognition of the Rev. R. T. Simpson as temporary manager is at present in the

interests of the school, and under all the circumstances preferable to the recognition of one of the local candidates.

Salary of Principal Teacher of Droum-tacher National School.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why Mr. Thomas O'Flaherty, principal teacher, Droumtacher national school, Tralee, has not got an increment at the recent revision of salaries; and whether, in view of his character and the success of his work, he will state if the special difficulties which he had to contend against were at all taken into account by the inspector of his district; and whether another inspector will be asked to inspect and report on his work.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I am informed by the Commissioners that it is an essential condition for the award of increments of "good service" salary to teachers that their schools must be in such a satisfactory condition as to enable the inspector to report the general proficiency of the pupils as "good." The school in question falls short of this standard of merit. At the last annual inspection in June, 1903, the proficiency was reported by the inspector as merely "fair," and it did not deserve the description "good" at either of the two previous annual inspections. In giving their opinion of the schools they visit the inspectors take all the special circumstances of each case into consideration. There appear to be no grounds, in the opinion of the Commissioners, for calling for a report on the school from an inspector other than the inspector of the district.

Remission of Charges for Extra Police in Ireland.

MR. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state in what counties have charges for extra police been remitted during the past five years, and the amounts so remitted in each case.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The following is a list of the cases in which charges for additional forces of police

were remitted for the reasons explained by me in answer to my hon. friend's previous Question of the 24th ultimo.† The period covered by these remitted charges, the amount of which is shown in each case, extends from 1st April, 1901, to 31st March, 1903 :—County Cavan, £182 17s. 9d.; County Clare, £1,067 3s. 6d.; County Fermanagh, £179 1s. 4d.; County Galway, £756 13s. 3d.; County Leitrim, £903 11s. 9d.; County Roscommon, £801 14s. 10d.; County Sligo, £2,323 16s. 10d.; County Tipperary, £633 2s. 10d.; County Waterford, £556 15s. 6d.; Total £7,404 17s. 7d.

Petition of Veterinary Officers of Department of Agriculture.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state when he expects to be able to communicate the decision to be arrived at in the matter of the petition from the veterinary officers of the Department of Agriculture.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The matter is still the subject of correspondence between the Department and the Treasury. I cannot, at present, state when a decision may be arrived at.

Irish Land Purchase Acts—Calculation of Annuities.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state on what basis or at what rate are the annuities calculated against the tenants who purchased under the Land Acts of 1891 and 1896; whether he can state the percentage rate charged to make up the annuities under the decadal system for the first ten years, second ten years, third ten years, and also the final forty-two and a half years under the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896.

MR. FLAVIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state on what basis or at what rate are the annuities calculated against the tenants who purchased under the Land Purchase Acts of 1885 and 1888; whether he can also state the percentage rate charged to the tenant, in order to ascertain the annuities

payable under the decadal system for the first ten years, the second ten years, the third ten years, and also the final forty-nine years under the Land Purchase Acts of 1885 and 1888.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The information desired by these Questions will be found in a Return laid by me upon the Table of the House in 1902 (No. 186 of the session of 1902).

Amount paid by Government to London and Birmingham Small Arms Companies for Use of Rifle Ranges.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the total amount that has been paid during the last three years to the London and Birmingham Small Arms Companies for the rifle ranges constructed on their premises; to what Vote have the sums paid been charged; and is the expenditure of capital on private premises subject to any condition as to repayment.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) The total payments to these two companies for the construction of ranges are :—London Small Arms Company, £3,929 13s. 8d.; Birmingham Small Arms Company, £2,297 10s. 5d.; Total £6,227 4s. 1d. These sums have been charged to a special heading under Army Vote 9 in 1902–3 and 1903–4. The expenditure in question is not repayable, but the War Office has the exclusive use of the two ranges referred to.

Police Regulations for Natives in Johannesburg.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that a proclamation has recently been issued by the Commissioner of Police in Johannesburg to the effect that no coolies or natives shall be allowed to walk on the sidewalks of the streets; and will he say whether this order has the sanction of His Majesty's Government, and, if so, for what reason.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) A provision against natives using the footpaths is contained in the tariff by-laws issued under a notice dated 7th March. This regulation is in accordance with what has been the local law for

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 610.

many years, and is subject to the instructions to the police to enforce the same with discretion.

Purchases of Coal for Gold Coast Government Railway.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether coal for the Gold Coast Government railway is purchased through the Crown Agents; and, if so, whether he will state what is the average price paid for the coal during the last three months and the average cost of the freight.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) Coal and patent fuel for the Gold Coast Government railway are purchased through the Crown Agents for the Colonies. The price quoted to the Crown Agents is inclusive of freight and landing charges in the Colony, and it is not possible to separate exactly the cost of the coal or fuel from the other charges. The cost of freight may, however, be taken approximately at from 20s. to 22s. 6d. a ton and the landing charges at 5s. a ton. In the case of coal the cost also includes the export duty from this country of 1s. a ton. No coal has been supplied since June, 1903, but the cost, including freight, export duty, and landing charges, for the three months, April to June, 1903, varied between 40s. and 42s. 6d. a ton. Patent fuel, which was last shipped on the 15th of January, 1904, has been supplied at the uniform price of 42s. 6d. a ton.

Collection by British South African Police of Hut Tax in Rhodesia.

MR. WHITLEY: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if it has been necessary to send a force of sixty British South African police to collect the recently increased hut tax in Rhodesia.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I have no information to this effect.

Wages of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal.

MR. WHITLEY: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if any provision has been inserted in the regulations controlling the recruiting of Chinese coolies for the Transvaal which

will ensure the payment of wages not less than are now paid to South African natives.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) The object of the introduction of Chinese labour is to supplement the present deficiency of Kaffir labourers and not to lower by competition the wages paid to them. I am in communication with Lord Milner as to the precise method of securing the end in view.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Inspectors of Ordnance.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, seeing that the duties of the Royal Artillery officers who act as inspectors of ordnance at Gibraltar, Malta, and other naval dockyards are principally naval, he will take steps to secure that these appointments shall be held in future by naval officers, and say whether it is contemplated to create a separate naval ordnance branch to discharge these duties.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PREYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The appointment of naval officers as inspectors of ordnance at the places named would entail a duplication of staff for inspection duties, and as the present system works well, it is not considered desirable to create a separate naval inspection department.

Construction of Ullapool Naval Reserve Station.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the negotiations for a site for the establishment of a Royal Naval Reserve Station at Ullapool, Ross-shire, have yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and, if so, will he state when the work of construction will be proceeded with.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): An offer to feu the necessary sites has been accepted, and, on the completion of the feu charter, the construction of the necessary buildings will be proceeded with.

Haslar Toll Bridge.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether he will consider the advisability of making some arrangements with the proprietors of Haslar Toll Bridge, under which soldiers and sailors in uniform and relatives visiting men in Haslar Hospital may use the bridge free of charge.

***MR. ARTHUR LEE:** Under the arrangements now existing, soldiers and sailors on duty are entitled to the free use of Haslar Bridge, and relatives visiting men in Haslar Hospital are given free passes, subject to certain conditions laid down by the Treasury. The general question of the use of this bridge is now engaging the attention of the Admiralty.

Submarine A 1.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I desire to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he has any information as to the raising of Submarine A 1.

***MR. PRETYMAN:** A telegram was received at the Admiralty at 11.48 from the Commander-in-Chief, stating that the submarine has been raised and was coming into harbour. Since then I have received information that she has not yet been actually docked, but that she is in the entrance to the dock.

Administration of the Auxiliary Forces.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can assure the House that no administrative changes as regards the Auxiliary Forces shall take place until the Report of the Royal Commission, which has been sitting for the past twelve months, has been issued; and if the Volunteer Vote will be deferred until that Report is available, so as to admit of its discussion by the House. In putting the Question may I also ask a Question of which I have given private notice, viz., Is it a fact that Sir Alfred Turner has resigned his post as Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces on account of his dissatisfaction with the transfer of the control of the Volunteers to the Adjutant-General?

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR** (MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast,

W.): I fear I cannot give my hon. and gallant friend the assurance he requires. A change has already been made in the administrative arrangements of the Volunteer Force. General Mackinnon has been appointed Director of Auxiliary Forces, and I hope to appoint three officers of the Auxiliary Forces as his subordinates. I hope, in addition, to appoint officers of the Auxiliary Forces to the Department of the Chief of the General Staff and of the Quartermaster-General. This arrangement is a new one and will, I feel confident, be welcomed by the Auxiliary Forces. In answer to the latter part of my hon. and gallant friend's Question, I do not know when the Auxiliary Forces Commission will report, and I cannot, therefore, give any undertaking which is dependent upon an unknown date. I will, however, do my best to meet my hon. friend's wishes by postponing the Volunteer Vote for the present. The answer to the supplementary Question is as follows:—No, Sir, there is no truth in the statement that Sir Alfred Turner has resigned his post for the reason stated, or at all. Sir Alfred Turner, who has rendered great service to the Auxiliary Forces by his sympathy, zeal, and judgment, attained the age limit on 3rd March last. He was, however, good enough to offer to remain until arrangements could be made for carrying on his work. I accepted this offer, and General Turner has remained until the expiration of the additional term proposed by himself. There is no question of a transfer of the administration of the Auxiliary Forces to the Adjutant-General, for these forces have been under that officer, and consequently the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces could have had no such motive as that suggested. As I have pointed out, however, in reply to the Question on the Paper, it is now proposed to attach officers of the Auxiliary Forces to the Departments of the Chief of the General Staff and of the Quartermaster-General as well as to that of the Adjutant-General.

Somaliland Campaign.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can give information

as to the present military position in Somaliland.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): At the same time may I ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has any official information showing that the Somali Mullah has escaped into Italian territory; and, if so, whether military operations will be prolonged; and will he state what is the estimated cost during the present financial year up to the 19th instant of the operations in Somaliland.

***MR. ARNOLD - FORSTER**: The Mullah has, we believe, escaped into Italian territory. He has sustained very severe losses in men and animals. The force under his command has been routed and driven out of the Protectorate and he is now practically without a following. In view of these circumstances, it has been decided to discontinue the military operations and to reduce the field force. Orders to this effect have been given. The cost of the operations during the present financial year up to the 19th instant may be estimated at about £50,000.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): What does the right hon. Gentleman anticipate will be the total cost of the operations within the financial year.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER**: There will be certain terminal charges, and I am having a calculation made as to whether there will be any other charges. The circumstances which permitted us to make this change only occurred very recently, and I shall lose no time in ascertaining what the cost may be.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Has the right hon. Gentleman any definite information as to the whereabouts of the Mullah, and as to whether he is supposed to have taken any following with him.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER**: Perhaps the hon. Member will give me notice of the Question. The Mullah, as I have said, is supposed to have passed into Italian territory, but where he is at the precise moment I cannot tell the hon. Member. This is a country of great

expanses and few names; I cannot give the exact name of the place.

A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Is he coming back?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman issue a statement setting forth the entire cost of the campaign, and what has been achieved at that cost?

[No answer was returned.]

The Woolwich Rotunda Guns.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the condition of the ancient guns that are placed on the ground in the open air outside the Rotunda at Woolwich; whether he is aware that some of them have recently been stolen; and whether, seeing they are specimens of guns of considerable historic interest, he will cause a light shed to be built over them, so that while remaining open to the public they may be better protected and not injured by the weather.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir, my attention has been drawn to the condition of these guns and to the fact that some of them have been recently stolen. The question of providing protection for these guns is now being considered.

Colonies and Preferential Tariffs.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what record there is of resolutions in favour of preferential relations between the Colonies and Great Britain passed by Colonial Legislatures since the year 1890; and if he will also state whether there is any record of resolutions passed by such Legislatures against preferential relations.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. LYTTLETON, Warwick and Leamington): An Address from the Senate and House of Commons of Canada to Her late Majesty on this subject was received in November, 1891, and resolutions in favour of preferential relations between the Colonies and Great

Britain were passed last year by the Legislatures of Dominica and Barbados and a similar resolution was passed by the Manitoba Legislature in February last. I am not aware that any resolutions against preferential relations have been passed by any Colonial Legislature.

Transvaal Ordinances—Assent of the Governor.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether either under the Commission under the Great Seal or the instructions under the Royal Sign Manual issued to the High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal, there is the usual clause directing him not to assent in the King's name to any Ordinance whereby persons not of European birth or descent may be subjected or made liable to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of European birth or descent are not also subjected or made liable; and, if not, why and when this clause was omitted from the instructions.

MR. LYTTTELTON, I have to refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar Question addressed to me on 28th March, by the hon. Member for Banffshire.†

Chinese in the Transvaal.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the number of Chinese now residing in the Transvaal under unrestricted conditions; and whether it is proposed to take steps either to repatriate them or to modify their present *status* in the event of the proposal to import indentured Chinese being proceeded with.

MR. LYTTTELTON: In answer to a Question addressed to me on 28th March by the hon. Member for the Cleveland Division of Yorkshire; I gave the number of male Chinese above the age of sixteen resident in the Transvaal, which is 981. There has been no proposal to modify their *status* as a result of the importation of indentured Chinese.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 830.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 828.

Trinidad and British Guiana Labour Ordinances.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the Trinidad and British Guiana Ordinances relating to immigration of Indian coolies will be circulated; and when the Regulations with reference to Chinese immigration into the Transvaal will be laid on the Table.

MR. LYTTTELTON: The Ordinances will be circulated on the 21st of April. The Regulations will be laid as soon as possible, but I cannot yet fix a definite date.

Plague at Hong-Kong.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the presence of the plague at Hong-Kong and Johannesburg and the admitted susceptibility of the Chinese to this disease, he will suspend the embarkation and importation of any Chinese labourers until the ports in China and the district in South Africa are declared to be free from plague.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I have to refer to the answer given by me to a similar Question addressed to me on 29th March last by the hon. Member for Mid. Derbyshire.†

The Mission to Tibet.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in the event of negotiations at Gyangtse with Tibet breaking down, it is proposed to continue the advance to Lhasa; and whether any preparations have been made with the latter object in view.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I do not think that a statement of the intentions of the Government in the event of the negotiations at Gyangtse breaking down would be in the public interest at this moment.

MR. LAMBERT: Will the right hon. Gentleman telegraph instructions that

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 973.

this expedition need not slaughter these unfortunate people.

[No answer was returned.]

Telegraphic Rates to India.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the recommendations made by Lord Curzon, will he consider the expediency of communicating with the Postmaster-General, and with the telegraph companies concerned, with a view to secure a reduction in the rates on telegrams to India from 2s. 6d. to 2s. per word, and a corresponding reduction in the Press rates.

MR. BRODRICK: The recommendations made by the Government of India are now under consideration, and the expediency of communicating with the telegraph companies with a view to the proposed reduction of rates will be duly considered.

Brussels Sugar Convention.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs have His Majesty's Government adhered to the Brussels Sugar Convention on behalf of the British Crown Colonies, or have they refused so to adhere to it; when, how, and in what form was the adherence, or the refusal of the adherence in question, signified to the other Signatory Powers; and are the Crown Colonies now bound to observe any, and if so which, of the stipulations and obligations of this Convention.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): His Majesty's Government have not adhered to the Brussels Sugar Convention on behalf of the Crown Colonies, and have consequently made no communication on the subject to the signatory Powers. The Crown Colonies are bound by the stipulations of Articles V. and VIII. of the Convention. They are also bound not to give bounties.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: How can the Crown Colonies be bound by a convention to which His Majesty's Government have not adhered on their behalf?

EARL PERCY: We stated at the time that we undertook this responsibility in regard to the Crown Colonies.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I asked whether His Majesty's Government had adhered to the Convention on behalf of the Crown Colonies.

EARL PERCY: I can add nothing to my answer. We have not adhered to it on behalf of the Crown Colonies, and we have pledged the Crown Colonies to carry out these two Articles.

The Anglo-French Agreement

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is the French or the English text of the Anglo-French Declaration of 8th April, 1904, respecting Egypt and Morocco the binding text; why is the expression in the French text in Article II., whereby Great Britain recognises that it appertains to France to "*veiller à la tranquillité*" of Morocco, represented in the English text by the larger expression to "preserve order" in that country; why is the French expression in Article VII. prohibiting fortification and strategic works on the Moroccan coast "*comprise entre Melilla et les hauteurs qui dominent la rive droite du Sebou,*" represented in the English text by, "comprised between, but not including, Melilla and the heights which command the right bank of the river Sebou," does the introduction into the English text of the words "but not including" exclude both Melilla and the Sebou heights or Melilla alone; and does the limitation of the mutual engagement, contained in Article IV., to thirty years, apply to Article IV. alone or to all the nine Articles of the Declaration.

EARL PERCY: Both texts are binding. As regards the two phrases referred to, the wording of each text appears very happily to reproduce the meaning of the other. The use of the word "*exclusive*" in the French text seems to have escaped my hon. friend's notice. The "*exclusion*" applies both to Melilla and to the heights which command the right bank of the Sebou. The thirty years limitation applies only to Article IV.

American Duty on Irish Mackerel.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the attention of the Government has been called to the action of the United States in imposing an extra dollar duty on each barrel of mackerel from Ireland; and whether, in order to prevent injury by this extra duty to an Irish industry, some representations will be made to the American Government on the subject.

EARL PERCY: A ruling has been given by the Board of General Appraisers based on an earlier decision regarding limes imported in brine which has the effect of imposing a duty on both brine and fish at the rate applicable. No actual tariff alteration, however, has taken place, and there is a right of appeal from the decisions of the Board of General Appraisers to the Circuit Court of the district in which disputes arise. Under certain circumstances a further appeal may be made to the Supreme Court of the United States. At the present stage, therefore, it would be of no use to address a representation to the United States on the subject.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: As this affects a considerable industry in Ireland, will the noble Lord closely watch his opportunity and make representations when they are likely to have good results.

EARL PERCY: Yes, I think I can promise that.

British Patents.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if the proportion of British patents granted to foreigners residing and manufacturing abroad, returned by the Comptroller-General of Patents at 53·2 per cent. for the year 1901, obtains for all the patents now in force; what is the approximate number of such patents; and what proportion of the articles so patented, if any, are manufactured in the United Kingdom.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The figures quoted by

the hon. Member represent the proportion of British patents granted to persons residing abroad and in the Colonies in the year 1901, and have no reference to the place where the patented goods were manufactured. The proportion varies from year to year. In 1902 it was 50·4 and in 1903 51·4 per cent. The number of British patents in force at the end of the year 1902 was about 72,000, but the Patent Office have no information as to the proportion of articles manufactured in the United Kingdom under these patents.

Vagrancy Laws.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the resolution adopted at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions of the Parts of Lindsey, that His Majesty's Government should be approached with the object of their initiating legislation for the amendment of the Vagrancy Laws upon the lines found to be successful in Belgium, or in some other manner efficacious for dealing with those laws throughout the United Kingdom for the benefit of the public at large; and, if so, will he say whether there is any probability of His Majesty's Government acting upon this resolution.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's):** Yes, Sir, and I have given the important questions dealt with in the resolution special consideration. The Government are of opinion that the matter is one for careful and early inquiry; but I am not prepared at this moment to make a statement as to the form which the inquiry will take.

Dundee Postmen's Grievances.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether a petition from the postmen of Dundee presented to the surveyor at Edinburgh on the 16th September, 1903, has been brought to his notice; and, if so, why no answer has yet been given by the Department.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The surveyor has submitted the petition from the Dundee postmen to which the hon. Member refers, together with detailed proposals for a readjustment of the work of the office. These proposals require and are receiving careful examination and as soon as a decision has been arrived at the postmen will be duly informed.

Calf Lymph for Scotland.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, having regard to the fact that Dr. Blaxall, a salaried officer of the London Board, receives from the Scottish Board £105 per annum for lymph prepared in the Board's laboratory and produced from calves the property of the Board, will he state whether this sum represents the whole of the profit derived by Dr. Blaxall from lymph prepared in the Board's laboratory; and, if not, will he state what extra sum Dr. Blaxall thus received last year, and to whom the lymph was sold.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): Apart from his ordinary salary, no sum, other than that paid to Dr. Blaxall by the Local Government Board for Scotland, was received by him for lymph prepared in the laboratories at Chelsea. As I have stated on previous occasions the cost of the production and preparation of lymph supplied to the Scottish Board was borne by Dr. Blaxall.

Agriculture.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will state what is the total number of persons engaged in the cultivation of the soil in England and Wales.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): The total number of persons, aged ten years and upwards returned in the Summary Tables of the Census of England and Wales for 1901 as engaged in agriculture, was 1,128,604,

of whom 1,071,040 were males and 57,564 females.

Canadian Cattle.

SIR JOHN LENG: I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether the Board has information showing that any infectious disease has existed amongst Canadian cattle since the passing of the Diseases of Animals Act in 1896, and why healthy Canadian cattle cannot be imported for the benefit of cattle feeders in this country.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: The reply to the first Question is in the negative. With regard to the second I can only say that the Diseases of Animals Acts provide that no animals brought to this country from abroad shall be moved alive out of the wharf at which they are landed. They cannot, therefore, be used for store purposes.

Elementary School Departments.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he will state the total number of elementary school departments in England and Wales under separate head teachers according to the last statistics of the Board of Education, giving the figures for council and voluntary schools separately.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The numbers of elementary school departments in England and Wales for the year 1902-3 are as follows:—In Council Schools, 11,213; Church Schools, 16,351; Wesleyan Schools, 700; Roman Catholic Schools, 1,814; British Schools, 1,470; Total for Voluntary Schools, 20,335; Grand Total, 31,548.

Scottish Private Bill Inquiry.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether his attention has been called to the fact that no Members of this House sat on the recent Commission of Inquiry held in Scotland under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act; and whether he will take steps, by legislation or otherwise, to insure that so long as there

are any Members of this House willing to act on such Commissions, they shall have an opportunity of doing so.

***SIR WALTER THORBURN**(Peebles and Selkirk): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the Question may I ask if it is not the fact that Gentlemen on this side of the House were willing to serve on the Commission and only declined when it was found that no Gentleman on the Opposition side would consent to sit in it.

***THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND** (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): With regard to what the hon. Baronet has just said, I do not think that matter came within my cognisance. All I had to know was who was going to act and who was not. I am aware that no Members of this House sat on the recent Commission of Inquiry held in Scotland under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act. The Members originally nominated were unable to act and, no other Members of the Parliamentary Panel being available, the necessary quorum was made up from the Extra-Parliamentary Panel. I do not contemplate taking any legislative steps in the sense suggested by the hon. Member.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Falkirk Burghs): If the right hon. Gentleman will renew his inquiries he will find that the whole Parliamentary Panel were not asked?

Registration of Deeds in Ireland.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the system of registration of deeds in Scotland and in three districts of England, namely, Middlesex, York, and Kingston-upon-Hull, is the same as, or similar to, that which exists in Ireland; and, if so, will he explain why certain duties leviable and levied in Ireland on affidavits lodged for the purpose of registration, and on memorials of deeds, are not levied or leviable in Scotland or in the three districts of England mentioned.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): Speaking generally, the systems of registration of deeds in Scot-

land and in Middlesex, Yorkshire, and Kingston-upon-Hull are similar to that which exists in Ireland, but there are important differences of procedure in all the systems, arising from the different statutes and statutory rules under which they have from time to time been established and regulated. The duties levied and leviable in Ireland on affidavits lodged for the purpose of registration, and on memorials of deeds, are levied under provisions of the Stamp Act, 1891, which apply, as to affidavits, to the whole of the United Kingdom, and, as to memorials, to England and Ireland—where alone memorials are used.

Irish Training Colleges.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state when was the result of the settlement made in 1890 by the present First Lord of the Treasury between the Irish Training Colleges then existing brought to his notice; did either of his two immediate predecessors in office observe it; did the Commissioners of National Education in the year 1890 make any complaint about it; and can he state when and by whom was the matter first brought before him.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The full text of the letter of the Irish Government dated 25th November, 1890, was published in the Report of the Commissioners for that year. The decisions arrived at by the Government, with the concurrence of the Treasury, and announced in that communication, have since been strictly observed. These decisions were approved by the Commissioners.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has at any time taken the opinion of the Commissioners of National Education on the claim made by the training colleges of Waterford, Belfast, and Limerick with respect to free homes; and, if not, will he take it now particularly as to the relation between this claim and the efficiency of the work done in these colleges.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Representations of the character mentioned have been made to Government from time to time on behalf of the three provincial training colleges, and the decision arrived at in each case has been in accordance with the terms of the settlement effected in 1890 and the rules made thereunder. The opinion of the Commissioners was not sought as the matter was one for the consideration of the Executive, and I see no advantage in inviting their opinion now.

Labourers (Ireland) Acts—Mr. Cyril Atkinson's Appointment.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will say for what purpose a Mr. Cyril Atkinson has been appointed by the Local Government Board in connection with the Labourers Acts; what qualifications Mr. Atkinson has for the performance of such duties; and will he have to make any reports for publication before the discussion on the Labourers Bill.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Mr. Atkinson is not on the permanent establishment of the Board, but is employed occasionally in assisting the Board's inspectors in the administration of the Labourers Acts. He has been associated with some of the most experienced inspectors in these duties, and has also had considerable experience in engineering work. The reply to the concluding inquiry is in the negative.

Mr. MURPHY: Is Mr. Atkinson the son of the Attorney-General?

Captain DONELAN (Cork County, E.): Is the appointment in recognition of the skill of the Attorney-General in drafting bills?

***Mr. SPEAKER:** Order, order!

Captain DONELAN: Is it disorderly to endeavour to expose jobs?

***Mr. SPEAKER:** It must be done at a proper time and not by irregular Questions.

Dublin Castle Orderlies.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of Royal Irish Constabulary men at present employed as orderlies or messengers in Dublin Castle; what is the total amount paid to them per annum, together with the amount given as extra pay; and if he can say for what reason Army Reserve men are not employed in this class of work the same as in other Government Departments.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There are seven Constabulary orderlies or messengers in receipt of pay and allowances amounting to £596 per annum. The employment of members of a police force as orderlies at the headquarters of the force is in accordance with universal practice, and there is no objection to the employment of police pensioners as messengers in any Government Department.

Mr. SLOAN: Is there any objection to employing Army Reserve men on these duties?

Mr. WYNDHAM: No.

Mr. SLOAN: Then why not do so?

Irish Pauper Lunatics.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the practice of taking lunatics to the workhouses without first having them certified by a medical practitioner or examined by a magistrate as prescribed by law; and, if so, will he say under what circumstances it is permissible to admit such cases without the necessary safeguards to the safety of the persons; and will instructions be given for the carrying out of the law in this respect.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A person of unsound mind, who is *prima facie* destitute, is entitled to be admitted to a workhouse. It is not legally necessary that he shall be certified by a medical practitioner or examined by a magistrate before admission. But such a person may, after admission, be transferred to a lunatic asylum if the circumstances justify the transfer.

Irish Deaf and Dumb Children.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he means to deal this session with the question of extending to Ireland the provisions regarding deaf and dumb children which have been in force in England for several years past, and under which a sum of £37,090 for deaf, blind, and defective children in England has been placed on the Estimates for the current year, while no grant is made for such a purpose in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: I hope to be able to deal with this matter by legislation during the present session, but I cannot at present give a pledge.

Wexford Fishery Piers.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, in view of the fact that fishing piers require to be constructed or repaired at Courtown, Poulduff, Blackwater, Kilmore, Duncannon, and other places in county Wexford, and that these works will entail a very large expenditure, he will enable the county of Wexford to obtain the benefits of the Marine Works Act.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have nothing at present to add to my reply to the hon. Baronet's previous Question of the 28th March† on this subject.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: I will repeat the Question a month hence.

Irish Board of Works Finance.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can arrange that receivable orders for payments to the Board of Works in Ireland may be paid into the Board of Works account through other banks than the Bank of Ireland.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I will endeavour to arrange that in these cases the receivable order shall bear a note (as Land Commission receivable orders already do) to the effect that lodgment

may be made at any bank for advice to the Bank of Ireland.

Dingle Guardians' Surcharge.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a resolution from the Dingle Board of Guardians demanding a refund of a surcharge wrongly levied against three members of the board by the auditor, Dr. William E. Ellis; and, if so, whether steps will be taken to have this matter inquired into and the surcharge remitted.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board is unable to identify the surcharge referred to upon the information given in the Question. I have asked the hon. Member for further details.

Cleggan Harbour, Connemara.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state when the work in connection with the improvement of the Cleggan Harbour, Connemara, is to be started.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Government communicated further information to the Treasury in respect of this work on Saturday last. The necessary authority to proceed with the work will be issued, it is expected, without delay.

MR. O'MALLEY: Can the work be started next month?

MR. WYNDHAM: I trust so.

Rae Estate, County Kerry.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Rae Estate, Keel, county Kerry, has been in the Land Judge's Court during twenty years; and that several offers to purchase were made by the tenants, while the receiver in each case prevented sale; and whether, considering all that the tenants have suffered during the past ten years in law costs and evictions, steps will be taken to get the Congested Districts Board to purchase the estate as soon as possible.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 848.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Congested Districts Board will consider the question of the purchase of this estate. It is not at present in the Land Judge's Court.

Crown and Quit Rents in Ireland.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the total amount of money received from Crown and quit rents in Ireland; whether he is aware that the Council of Agriculture on last Tuesday unanimously passed a resolution requesting that the sum now funded in the Bank of Ireland should be allocated to provide the nucleus of a grant to establish a Forestry Department in Ireland; and whether he will favourably consider this suggestion.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I am not yet in a position to give the figures to 31st March, 1904. The figures to 31st March, 1903, were given to the hon. Member on the 10th ultimo.† The application of the money referred to is regulated by Statute, and there is no power to apply it as suggested in the Question.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Is not the tithe rent charge the property of the Irish people and is it true that it is redeemed at sixteen or seventeen years purchase?

[No answer was returned.]

Irish Agricultural Department Staff.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will grant a Return of the officials transferred under the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, from the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council to the Department of Agriculture, giving the names, amount of salaries prior to transfer, and present salaries.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no information before me that a Return of the character mentioned would satisfy any useful public object, and I am unable, therefore, to grant it. A Return was recently laid

on the Table [No. 21 of this session] giving the names and emoluments of all permanent officers on the establishment of the Department. This Return sets forth the names of the officials mentioned in the Question and their salaries in May last.

Tipperary Urban Council Surcharges.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Court of King's Bench recently quashed the surcharges made against the Tipperary Urban Council, but made no order awarding costs to the auditor; will he explain why, under the circumstances, the auditor's solicitor presses for payment of them; and will he take steps to protect the council and the ratepayers in this matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Section 12 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1871, provides that an auditor shall defend a surcharge impeached in the Court of King's Bench "and shall be reimbursed all such costs and charges as he may incur in such defence out of the rates which the governing body of the town interested in the decision of the question have power to make, unless the said Court make an Order to the contrary." No such Order was made by the Court in the present instance.

Royal Irish Academy of Music.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the number of pupils at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin is now about 400 and that the present building is insufficient to accommodate the number of pupils; whether his attention has been drawn to the annual reports for many years past in which this want of accommodation has been repeatedly referred to, and especially to the Address presented to the Lord-Lieutenant on the occasion of his visit to the Academy on 16th December, 1903; and whether, in view of the fact that the present College of Science in St. Stephen's Green will not be required when the proposed new College of Science has been erected and that the general introduction of singing as a compulsory subject throughout the schools of

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 729.

Ireland will largely increase the number of pupils in the Academy in the near future, he will favourably consider the claim of the Academy to be housed in this building.

MR. WYNDHAM: Representations have been made to Government to the effect mentioned in the first part of the Question. With respect to the proposal that the building at present occupied by the Royal College of Science should be granted to the Royal Irish Academy of Music, I would point out that the building will be required by the College of Science for some years to come and until the new buildings are completed. The question whether, when no longer required for this or other public purposes, the existing building can be made available for the housing of the Academy is one entirely for the Treasury, but I understand that the Treasury can hold out no hope that this will be done.

Irish Agricultural Grants.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether an annual grant is paid by the Agricultural Department in Ireland to the North-East Agricultural Association; and, if so, will he state the amount of said grant; and what is the character of the services rendered by that body to the farmers of Ulster.

MR. WYNDHAM: No direct grant is made to the Association by the Department. But county committees are empowered to grant out of their funds, to which the Department contributes, a subsidy for the purposes of live stock schemes, and in pursuance of this authority the county committees of Down and Antrim have made grants to the Association of £80 and £60, respectively. The Department recognises the Society's show for bulls and boars as one of the principal shows in Ulster.

Teaching of the Irish Language.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the circular dealing with the teaching of Irish

as an extra subject in Irish national schools has yet been withdrawn.

MR. WYNDHAM: The circular of January last has been modified by a further circular issued on 21st March, the effect of which was explained in my reply to the hon. Member's Question of the 8th March.†

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that inspectors, in calculating attendances made at instruction given in Irish as an extra subject in ordinary national schools, will only give credit for two lessons each week to each pupil, even though the pupil may have attended five; whether they are instructed by the Board to do this; and whether there is a published rule on this subject.

MR. WYNDHAM: The rule governing payment for Irish as an extra subject is No. 214 (k) of the published Code. In answer to the first part of the Question the hon. Gentleman has apparently overlooked my reply to the similar inquiry addressed to me on the 28th March by the hon. Member for South Kerry.‡

Labourers' Cottages.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, when a particular site for a cottage and plot, under the Labourers Acts, has been selected by the district council and approved of by the Local Government Board and included in the Provisional Order, it is the practice of the Local Government Board to allow such site to be altered by the district council at the request of the occupier or owner of the land without any assent of the labourer named as the specific instance in the representation on which the site was included in the Provisional Order; and whether the Local Government Board gives its assent to such alteration generally on the request of the district council to that effect, and without any direct inquiry as to the suitability of the site proposed to be

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 460.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 850.

substituted for the site originally approved of. *A*

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board is required by Section 16 of the Act of 1886 to consider only the objections and wishes of the owner, lessee, and occupier of the lands. The assent of the labourer named in the representation is not essential. An exchange of site is not authorised unless the Board is satisfied that the new site is as suitable as that originally proposed. Evidence on this point is obtained from the engineer to the district council or from the Board's inspector.

Irish Department of Agriculture.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Department of Agriculture in Ireland have not in any way consulted the local technical committees with regard to their new directory, the subjects to be included, those to be excluded, the regulations and conditions under which the work is to be carried on, or any one of all the matters that go to make up a directory; and, if so, will he state what action he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The proposals of the Department in respect of the revision of the regulations under which Science and Art Grants are made to schools other than day secondary schools were duly considered by the Board of Technical Instruction as representative of the various local authorities in Ireland. Any change in the regulations is subject to the sanction of the Treasury, and the Department is about to communicate with the Treasury on the subject.

Alleged Assault by a Galway Constable.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named Michael Rattigan, of Benmore, Clonfad, county Roscommon, has complained that on the evening of the 17th of March last, near Dunmore, in county Galway, he was assaulted by a constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary and rendered unconscious by a baton stroke, that his

assailant was in the company of Sergeant Kirby and two other constables, that whilst unconscious he was conveyed to the police barracks where he was attended by a doctor, but he is still under medical treatment, that he had been visited at his home by the district inspector, and that he and his father were refused any information by the district inspector and sergeant as to the name of the constable who struck him; and, if so, will he say whether there has been any investigation into the matter, and, if so, with what result, and whether the name of the constable will be supplied and a prosecution instituted. *11*

MR. WYNDHAM: This man was found lying unconscious on the road by Sergeant Kirby and three constables. He soon became conscious, and, for his own protection, was brought to the barracks and allowed to sit at the kitchen fire till the following morning when he was taken away. No doctor attended him at the barracks, but I believe he visited a doctor afterwards. Rattigan made no complaint of having been assaulted by the police. He made an information in which he swore he does not remember having been struck by any person. The county and district inspectors were unable to procure any evidence of identification. The only mark upon him, when found, was a slight abrasion at the back of the head, which, in the opinion of the doctor, was caused by a fall. It is of course open to Rattigan to proceed against the police, but no evidence is forthcoming to enable the authorities to institute proceedings as suggested.

North Tipperary Technical Instruction Classes.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he has received a resolution of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee of Borrisokane, North Tipperary, calling on him to have the order of the Local Government Board revoked which prevents the committee from having the use of a room in the workhouse for instruction in cookery, laundry, and domestic economy for the young women of Borrisokane rural districts, pointing out the inconvenience

resulting from this order, and the consequent disorganisation of their classes; and, if so, will he see his way, in the interest of the development of technical instruction, to have this order revoked.

MR. WYNDHAM: It was recently decided by a Court of law that if the Local Government Board permitted the use of a workhouse for any purpose unconnected with the administration of the Poor Laws, it would be liable to an injunction. The Board, in the circumstances, is precluded from sanctioning the proposal in question.

Marquess of Lansdowne's Luggacurren Estate.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the evicted tenants on the Luggacurren Estate of the Marquess of Lansdowne have lodged with the Estates Commissioners the forms provided for the purpose of supplying particulars of their cases; and, if so, what reply or communication, if any, has been made to them; have the Estates Commissioners received any communication from the landlord or his agent intimating that the Marquess of Lansdowne is prepared to sell either to the new tenants or the evicted tenants; and whether, before the Estates Commissioners advance or sanction the advance of any money for the purpose of purchase on this property, the claims of the evicted tenants for reinstatement will be fully considered.

MR. WYNDHAM: Forty-one applications have been received by, or on behalf of, ex-tenants on this estate. These will be fully considered in the event of application being made to the Commissioners in respect of the sale of any portion of the estate, and the evicted tenants have been so informed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Has the Estates Commission received any communication from the landlord or agent intimating the Marquess of Lansdowne's preparedness to sell?

MR. WYNDHAM: I used the words "in the event of any application being made." I take it that none has been.]

MR. JOHN REDMOND: But has no communication been received by the Commission?

MR. WYNDHAM: I thought my answer covered the whole Question when I said that the Estates Commission were prepared to deal with the matter in the event of any application being made. I will inquire, however, whether there has been any informal communication.

MR. KILBRIDE: With whom did the Commission communicate? I am one of the evicted tenants and I received no communication.

MR. DELANY: Seeing that the Marquess of Lansdowne is a member of the Government which brought in the Bill last session, is he going to sell to the "planters"?

[No answer was returned.]

Ballyboy Artillery Parade Ground.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a farm on the estate of Lady Pole-Carew, situated at Ballyboy, near Clogheen, county Tipperary, from which Mr. James Kenealy was evicted, is being used as a parade ground by the Royal Artillery stationed in the district; and, if so, will he state under what conditions the War Office took and hold this evicted farm.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Right to manœuvre and exercise only on Ballyboy farm was let to the Artillery as an accommodation for five months from 1st March last at £1 per month.

MR. CULLINAN: Why did the Government select an evicted farm for the purposes of a parade ground? Have they not plenty of other parade grounds near?

Gambling in "Futures."

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will consider the advisability of appointing a Select Committee to consider and report upon the prevailing system of gambling in futures, options, and warrants, and its effect upon legitimate speculation and *bond fide* trade, especially with regard to

foodstuffs, metals, cotton, and other raw materials.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I think I have already stated to the hon. Gentleman and the House that some aspects of this question are being investigated, I understand, by the Commission on Food Supply, and I do not think that without their Report we ought to form any judgment on the broader aspects which the hon. Member raises in his Question.

Moseley Commission.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Reports of the Moseley Commission will be issued as Parliamentary Papers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I know of no precedent for the publication of private documents as Parliamentary Papers, and I think it would be hardly wise to make any exception in this case.

Scottish Congested Districts Act Amendment Bill.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he proposes to take the Second Reading of the Congested Districts Act Amendment Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot fix a day for the Second Reading of this Bill.

The Valuation Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he expects to be able to introduce the Valuation Bill as promised in His Majesty's Gracious Speech.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Bill is ready, but I cannot name a day for its introduction.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Has the Leader of the House any announcement to make as to business?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. As the House knows, we are going to introduce

the Budget Bill to-morrow and it will be convenient, and in accordance with precedent, to ask it to suspend the Twelve O'clock Rule, as it is necessary in the public interest that on the first night of the Budget certain Resolutions should be passed. If we are fortunate enough to-morrow to get all the Budget Resolutions, I shall put down Supply, Class 1, for Thursday, but, if not, the discussion on the Budget will be continued on Thursday. The Licensing Bill stands for Wednesday.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): May I ask whether the proceedings to-morrow will be much prolonged after midnight if the subject of the Budget should prove to be very contentious.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The length of the discussion rests at least as much with the hon. Gentleman and his friends as with the Government.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: May I ask whether, as is usual, a general discussion will be taken on the Budget, on one of the Resolutions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not consulted the precedents, but the House may take it that I do not wish to restrict their habitual liberties in regard to the subject.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: Why is it necessary to get any Budget Resolution on the first night if no new taxation is imposed; and, if so, what is the Resolution?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If it can be shown that it is not necessary to take any Resolution on Tuesday, the right hon. Gentleman can make his representations at the proper time.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr. Arthur Elliot and Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution Mr. Yerburch and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

Report to lie upon the Table.

IRISH VALUATION ACTS.

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up and read.

Report to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 130.]

NEW BILL.

POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS' (IRELAND) SUPERANNUATION BILL.

"To provide Superannuation for Poor Law Medical Officers in Ireland," presented by Mr. T. W. Russell; supported by Mr. Harrington and Dr. Thompson; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 28th April, and to be printed. [Bill 154.]

SUPPLY (CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES).

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green) moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the system of primary education in Ireland is fundamentally defective, and has proved injurious in its operation." He said it was clear that all the schools for primary education in Ireland were antiquated and inadequate, and complaints came from north, south, east, and west as to the deficiencies of the system. At the recent conference, held at the Mansion House, of managers and teachers this question had the primary place, as the first resolution carried was as follows—

"We believe that no system of secondary, technical, or higher education can ever be successful unless a thorough and sound foundation be laid in the primary schools, that the primary schools in this country are in most instances unsuitable for accomplishing this object, being defective in sanitation, equipment, staffing, heating, and accommodation, and in their general attractiveness and comfort. We are, therefore, of the opinion that these defects must be remedied immediately if any real educational advancement is to be looked for."

The statements in this Resolution had since been repeated, in an authoritative document laid upon the Table of this

House, by Mr. Dale, the gentleman appointed by the Chief Secretary to investigate the condition of the primary schools on behalf of the Government. Irish Members were determined, as far as primary education was concerned, that this system should not be allowed to go on without a serious protest. It might be asked how were they to bring about a reform of that system. His only answer to that question would be, by reforming the whole system. He wished to draw attention to the authority to which the education of the children of Ireland was committed. That authority was known as the National Board of Education. It consisted of twenty gentlemen, ten representing Catholics and ten Protestants. It was not necessary for him to go into the names of those gentlemen, because every person acquainted with the educational question in Ireland was familiar with their names. While he admitted that those gentlemen might be very good citizens, he wished to ask had they the confidence of the people of Ireland? Did they represent education in any manner or capacity? They were not an elected but a selected body. They were anti-Irish in their tendency, and if the education of the children who were to be the future manhood and womanhood of Ireland was to be placed upon a satisfactory footing the whole system of education would have to be changed, and all those gentlemen now sitting on that Board would have to be replaced by educationists who had a thorough grasp of the needs of education in Ireland. Primary education would have to be made such as would appeal to the people of Ireland, and under the rule of the present board that was absolutely impossible. Something would have to be done to make the schools more attractive to the children. The children would have to be attracted to, instead of being repelled from, the schools as they were at the present time. Unless this was done the Irish child would make very little educational progress. They could not escape the conditions of their day, and they had to face the competition of the civilised world. How was it possible for the children of Ireland to do this if in their early days they were denied the

advantages of good primary education? At the present time their schools were in such a state that they were absolutely prejudicial to the health and comfort of the children.

With regard to the staffing of the schools they should be made so efficient that the teachers would not have to face an impossible task. There were two classes of schools in Ireland, namely, the vested and the non-vested schools. The non-vested schools were each in the hands of a manager. He knew of an instance in a very poor district where the manager had been called upon to provide new equipment and materials, and the result was that the teacher had been deprived of his salary. Who were the sufferers? Why, the unfortunate children attending the school who, between the two, were the victims, for they would not get the opportunity of learning that for which the school was supposed to exist. The president of the Teachers' Congress, speaking on this point, said—

"With the scanty appliances now available, it is extremely difficult for even the ablest teachers in most of our schools to produce excellent results. In too many instances, rather than allow his skill and energy to remain unproductive, the teacher, out of his limited income, has to supply the means of carrying on his work. It is a grave reproach to a system which allows this injustice to be perpetrated. It is impossible for them to give efficient teaching under present conditions."

Those were the views of the president of the Teachers' Congress which showed that the teachers were fully alive to the importance of this question, and they called upon the Government to provide a remedy in order that they might discharge their duties in a proper manner. The hon. Member for South Antrim said last year that in his opinion the Chief Secretary for Ireland ought to take up the question of the state of the national schools in Ireland because even in the North of Ireland the schools were not fit places for the children to be confined in; and he also complained of the bad ventilation of the schools, and said that more playgrounds ought to be provided. Such was the opinion of the representative of what they were led to believe was the prosperous North. In the matter of education he was afraid the North suffered just as much as the South. He would also like

Mr. Nannetti.

to give the opinion of a Protestant headmaster who had made this statement—

"The majority are extremely unsatisfactory and quite unsuitable for teaching purposes. In hundreds of cases, especially in rural districts, the floors are earthen, and the roofs so bad that the rain is freely admitted. There is no local aid as in England and Scotland for keeping the schoolhouses in repair, for heating and cleaning them, and for equipping them. All this responsibility devolves on the local manager who really cannot get funds for these purposes. In most cases the managers do what they can, but very frequently the burden of repairs, heating, equipping, etc., falls upon the teacher."

In order to educate the children the teachers of Ireland were prepared to make these great monetary sacrifices. They had recently had the Report of Mr. Dale on the condition of the schools of Ireland which must be fresh in the minds of many hon. Members, and he did not intend to quote very much from that Report. He rather preferred to give the opinions of teachers who lived in Ireland and who were as much conversant with the defects and the conditions of the schools in Ireland as Mr. Dale. The evidence of the teachers proved that the National Board and the Government had allowed this state of things to go on for such a number of years that it was high time that something should be done to put a stop to it. Dr. Moran, speaking of the Belfast schools in the report for the year 1900, said—

"Out-offices, instead of being an advantage, are in some instances a dangerous source of disease and death."

Mr. Hynes, writing of the Dublin schools in 1900, said—

"There are a good many which are defective in one or more of the following essentials—space, lighting, ventilation."

Mr. Ross (Newry District, 1900) said—

"The most common defects are badly chosen sites, insufficiency or absence of playgrounds, and objectionable sanitary arrangements. In seven instances, schools attended by children of both sexes are without privies."

Dr. Alexander (Cork District, 1899) said—

"The ventilation of the class rooms is often very imperfect. The great majority of schools are by no means as efficiently equipped as is desirable." "In many schools I found no fire even when the weather was very cold."

Dr. Beatty (Newtownards District, 1899) said—

"Another most serious defect arises from the almost indecent, and with little doubt insanitary position of the out-offices. Their restricted

use is sowing the seeds of disease in after life." ... "The school-houses no doubt help the work of disease. I can count up fourteen monitors who have retired through ill-health, and have, I imagine, all since died. Two young monitors employed in an overcrowded school have died within a year."

Those were the views of the inspectors and he was sure they were worthy of credence. He wished to show the House how the Government or the National Board had failed to remedy this state of affairs. The last extract on this subject which he wished to quote was that of the president of the teachers, who, speaking at Belfast this month, said—

"Some of the most serious blots in connection with primary education in this country are undoubtedly the unsuitability of the majority of the school buildings, the wretched condition of the furniture, the lack of the necessary teaching appliances, and the general want of any regular provision for heating and sanitation."

Would the Government disregard the views of these representative men who knew the requirements of education in Ireland? The Chief Secretary, in a debate which took place recently, threw a slight on the people of Ireland because of their want of education. The right hon. Gentleman was dealing with the question of technical education, and stated that, in consequence of the want of the necessary education, it was impossible to find men in Ireland qualified for that class of teaching. The obvious answer was contained in the reports he had read. Under the circumstances it was no wonder that children were disinclined to attend the schools in Ireland. In many instances they had to tramp long distances to school. When they got there they were wet and begrimed, and they were often in a famished condition. The schoolhouse was not such as was to be found in England, and it was hard to compel the child to go where the conditions were so uncomfortable. Would the Government permit that state of things to go on much longer? The staffing of the schools also required consideration. The Chief Secretary stated the other night that he would favourably consider the advisability of reducing the average number required to be in attendance, so that there might be a second teacher provided for those schools where the average number at present required could not be obtained.

At certain seasons of the year when work could be got in the fields teachers had the greatest possible difficulty in getting the children to attend school. A headmaster wrote to him as follows—

"At present one teacher only is allowed in schools with an average attendance of less than sixty. Even with an average of forty, actual attendance sometimes sixty or over, one teacher cannot give anything like effective instruction in seven standards—six and infants—at the same time. The time of the children is wasted, and, what is worse, they acquire the habit of wasting time. There should be a second teacher in every school with an average of forty or above."

Surely this was not unreasonable, especially considering the diminishing population in many districts in Ireland. He hoped the Government would take note of this gentleman's suggestion.

There was another substantial grievance in connection with the educational work in Ireland under the present system. That was in reference to the *status* and remuneration of the teachers. The average salary of all teachers, principals and assistants, was £80. The salaries of the 4,689 headmasters in Ireland were—twenty-three of these headmasters were paid under £56 a year, 2,751 of these headmasters (nearly 60 per cent.) were paid between £56 and £86 a year, 1,253 of these headmasters were paid between £87 and £116 a year, 420 of these headmasters were paid between £117 and £138 a year, 186 of these headmasters were paid between £139 and £174 a year, fifty-five of these headmasters were paid £175 or over. The salaries of the 3,565 headmistresses in Ireland were—five of these were paid under £44 a year, 2,286 of these were paid between £44 and £72 a year, 799 of these were paid between £73 and £96 a year, 278 of these were paid between £97 and £113 a year, 197 of these were paid £114 a year or over. All the teachers in Irish national schools were fully qualified and certificated teachers. He wished to contrast these salaries with the remuneration given in England. In this country the average salary of headmasters was £148 17s.; the average salary of headmistresses £98 7s. 10d.; the average salary of assistant masters £108 11s. 5d.; the average salary of assistant mistresses £78 13s. 7d. In Scotland the average salary of headmasters was £175 2s. 9d.; the average salary of headmistresses was

£85 14s.; the average salary of assistant masters was £115 5s. 10d.; the average salary of assistant mistresses was £70 18s. 8d. He appealed to the Chief Secretary to do something to improve the *status* of remuneration of teachers in Ireland. As an example of the way in which the Treasury dealt with teachers in Ireland, he would mention a matter which had come to his knowledge in respect of the teachers in model schools. About 1875, the Lords of the Treasury demanded that one-third of the school fees paid by the children attending model schools in Ireland should be handed over to them, and further stipulated with the Commissioners of Education that in case of a diminution in the amount of fees collected the Treasury portion should not fall below £2,000 per annum. At that time the fees collected in model schools amounted to over £7,000 a year, and the balance of £5,000 was divided among the teachers of the respective model schools in proportion to the amounts collected in each. Owing to the Education Act of 1892, which practically abolished school fees in Ireland, the fees in model schools became so reduced that now only the bare £2,000 could be collected, and the Treasury insisted on receiving the entire sum. As a consequence, the teachers in model schools got now not one penny of the fees paid by the public under the belief that they were contributing to the incomes of those who instructed their children. In this way a sum of £56,000 had been levied off Irish parents during the past twenty-eight years. This was a tax imposed on the Irish people without their knowledge, and he was certain if the parents of the children attending these schools knew what became of the fees, they would forthwith refuse to pay them, feeling as they did that they were already so largely overtaxed. Speaking at Belfast a fortnight ago, the president of the teachers said—

"I unhesitatingly declare that the responsibility for the serious defects in our educational system rests entirely on His Majesty's Government. It must be remembered that our system of primary education is a State system; and that everyone connected with the system is directly or indirectly appointed by the State; and, therefore, the duty is cast upon the latter of making adequate provision for the education of the children of Ireland. That duty is rendered still more imperative by the recent

Mr. Nunnetti.

action of the Government in denying us the money which would relieve a large portion of our educational needs, and place our schools in a position something nearer towards equality with the primary schools of England and Scotland. You are all aware that the passing of the English Education Act gave an addition of £1,400,000 to the primary schools of England. In accordance with established custom the equivalents of £212,000 and £185,000 became available for Scotland and Ireland respectively. In Scotland the equivalent grant was at once applied to the purposes of primary education; although, as everyone acquainted with the conditions existing in both countries is well aware, the Scotch schools in respect to the buildings themselves, to equipment, heating, staffing, and sanitation, were miles and miles ahead of those of our own unfortunate land. But the crying needs of Irish education were ignored, and the Irish equivalent grant was diverted from its legitimate purpose on the plea that the money could not be usefully applied to the purposes of primary education."

He hoped he had not wearied the House, but he had endeavoured to put his case in the best manner at his disposal. He felt deeply the want of education in Ireland. He knew that if their people were to progress and face the battle of life in competition with other nations they must have more and better education. They did not wish their people to be for ever hewers of wood and drawers of water; but to give them an opportunity, by means of education, to come to this country or go across the Atlantic and enter upon the struggle for existence on equal terms with their fellow citizens.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) said that his hon. friend who had moved the Motion now before the House had done so in an elaborate and detailed manner in which he did not intend to follow him. It was a matter of satisfaction that the Irish Party had got this opportunity of discussing the education question at so favourable a time as the present; and they should not be doing what was just to, and wise for, their country if they did not descend into both the details and the policy of the Irish educational system. It had been said "Give me the education of the people of a country and I care not what its Government may be." His argument was "Give us the control of the education of our own people and they will be better off: and then our demand for the other will be stronger and assured of success." He

did not know whether or not that argument would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He wished to deal with the question of education in Ireland from a broad, national, and progressive point of view; and to show that in the past seventy years, during which the so-called National Board of Education in Ireland had been in existence, no real progress had been made in education; that nothing had been done for the progress of the country; and that the time and money spent on the existing system had been practically wasted. What was the cause of all this? Were the Irish so incapable of benefiting from a properly devised and properly administered system of education? No one who knew the history of the Irish race and the progress which they had made in America and in the British Colonies, where they had a fair field, could say that the failure of the system of the National Education Board was due to the people themselves. Unprejudiced witnesses, including even Mr. Dale, had unanimously come to the conclusion that the failure was due at first to the manner in which Ireland was governed; and to the refusal to give the Irish people some right to control the education of their children. It was from that point of view that he wished to criticise the work of the National Board of Education.

From 1537 to the present year the same undermining policy had been continually adopted in the treatment of education in Ireland — the English Government had sacrificed education to the interest of sectarian strife and supremacy. The Irish Parliament in 1537 established parochial schools all over the country and insisted that the English tongue should be taught in them. An Act of Elizabeth established diocesan schools in every diocese under the direction of the Protestants in Ireland; and then there were the charity schools intended to bring up the poorest and most neglected Catholic children as Protestants. Then there were various societies engaged in the useless task of trying to make converts of Catholics to Protestantism. Those who knew what had been done since the National Education Board was established were perfectly well aware that the same policy had been continued in the national schools as had

prevailed in the parochial, diocesan and charity schools. Archbishop Whately in his diary wrote:

"The education supplied by the National Education Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church."

The Archbishop did not care whether it was improving the condition of the Irish people. That was not in his mind. What was in his mind was "If we cannot get the Irish children educated in our creed, we give up the only hope of winning the Irish people from Popery." Was it any wonder that the Irish people objected to the existence of a National Education Board whose declared policy that was? But Archbishop Whately added—

"I cannot venture openly to express this opinion."

The hope, that was, of using this means of winning the Irish people from Popery. He had not quoted these words from any idea of embittering controversy between Englishmen and Irishmen on this education question, but to show the necessity of endless vigilance in proving the futility of a policy which sacrificed real education to sectarian purposes. He claimed that while that policy was continued the existing educational system in Ireland could produce no good or fruitful results for the Irish people.

The National Education Board had not only no true educational policy; it had an anti-national policy. In 1841, when the Board was established, four-fifths of the Irish people spoke the Irish language. One would have imagined that, as was done in Wales and in the Highlands of Scotland, and in every country in Europe, the language which the children lisped at their mothers' knees would have been the language used as the medium of education in the schools. But that was not the method of the National Education Board. Because it was the Irish language, and lest its use might foster in the young Irish children a love of their own country, and make them true citizens and loyal to their native land, it was banned; and the only educational system adopted for teaching the children was through the medium of an unknown tongue. Everyone must be aware that such a policy must inevitably have in future generations a most wretched

effect upon the people on whom it was forced. An authority from the Party opposite, in speaking of that policy of the National Board of Education, used words as strong as could possibly have been employed by any Irish Member. Attacking the lamentable lack of moral fibre on the part of Irish children, that Gentleman said, was it any wonder that the Irish nation had—as, undoubtedly, they had—the characteristics which they exhibited?

"The national factor in Ireland has been studiously eliminated from national education, and Ireland is perhaps the only country in Europe where it was part of the settled policy of those who had guidance of education to ignore the literature, history, arts, and traditions of the people. It was a fatal policy for it obviously tended to stamp their native country in the eyes of Irishmen with the badge of inferiority and to extinguish the sense of healthy self-respect which comes from the consciousness of high national ancestry and traditions. This policy dulled the intelligence of the people, impaired their interest in their own surroundings, stimulated emigration by teaching them to look on other countries as more agreeable places to live in, and made Ireland a social desert."

The same author said further—

"Nothing is more evident to the student of Danish education, or I might add of the excellent system of the Christian Brothers in Ireland, than that one of the secrets of their success is to be found in their national basis, and their foundation upon the history and literature of the country."

The Irish people were now determined to tolerate this national insult no longer. They meant to insist on getting educational systems which would draw forth all that was best in their race, which would give character as well as information. The Gaelic League, during the ten years of its existence, had done more for the interests of education, for the true advancement of the nation, than all the Boards that ever cursed their country. It had awakened an enthusiasm which would not tamely submit to insult; and even Sir Horace Plunkett would find that the Irish people would have sufficient moral fibre to insist that Irish education should henceforth be national and administered by themselves. The system imposed on them over seventy years ago, and continued unaltered ever since, should now be able to show exceptional results to justify its continued existence. On the contrary it had been a hopeless and

disastrous failure, and, if even the semblance of justice was to be done them, if their country was not to be kept for ever in the background, radical changes must be immediately effected. Education, from the national school to the University, must be nationalised—both as to control and curriculum.

A foreigner at first sight would think from the number of boards of titled men who were charged with the educational welfare of Ireland that it should be the most progressive nation on earth. They had the National Board, the Intermediate Board, the Local Government Board, the Technical Education Board, the governing bodies of the Queen's Colleges, the Senate of the two Universities all charged with giving good education out of the public funds, each board independent of the other, and all independent of the Irish people and even of this House. The Irish parent whose child's future was at stake, whose taxes supported the whole fabric, whose country's welfare and prosperity were concerned, was given no voice or control whatever. Such a state of things could not be paralleled in any country in Europe. In this twentieth century it would be a disgrace to the government of the Czar. England, Scotland, and Wales had long ago left this antiquated stage. In America, in France, in Germany, the greatest public interest was taken, and public control given, in the education of the young. Public men, ministers of religion, parents, all united in interest and zeal for their proper training. The father felt that his children were his greatest charge, that it was his duty to fit them for life's battle. He felt that this could only be done by giving them, while at school, such a training as would lay open to them all the fruits of knowledge, and therefore it was that, in those countries, no cost was spared in getting the best possible teachers and in equipping the schools suitably for their great work. It was ungenerous and absurd to charge the Irish people with taking no interest in the education of their own children when by law they were practically excluded from this part of a free citizen's national duty. The same charge was made when technical education was administered from South Kensington. Yet how great

Mr. Thomas O'Donnell.

had been the interest aroused, how widespread the desire to devote the rates to this important branch, since control was given to the people. There were no people who valued education more than the Irish, none would more cheerfully give their time and money for so laudable a purpose as the Irish people; yet of all European nations they alone were denied this elementary right. The time had arrived to remedy this indefensible unconstitutional anachronism. Irresponsible boards must be swept away and one central authority responsible to the people put in their place. Much money was yearly wasted by the system which prevailed at present of one board acting independently of the other. Why should primary, secondary, technical, and University education be carried on in water-tight compartments? Why could not one education authority unite the functions of all, giving at the same time large local control and encouraging local initiative? Why could they not devise one scheme leading from the national school to the University, so as to draw forth the rich native talent of the Irish peasant, at present lying dormant because of his poverty and lack of effort? The system of nominated boards had proved a disastrous failure in Ireland. Nobody could now defend it. There was nothing to justify its continued existence.

Mr. Dale's Report was more sweeping in its condemnation than the most advanced Irish Member had ever been. He saw nothing but schools badly built, wretchedly equipped, insanitary and cheerless, children shivering in the winter with no fire to warm them, teachers poorly paid and with poorer prospects of promotion or recognition of service, and, what was most important in this Report, he recognised that neither teachers, managers, nor people were to blame for this deplorable state of things, but rather the system which centred all authority in Dublin and deprived the nation of all power whatever. This Report, read side by side with the eleven volumes on the educational systems of Europe and America published under the direction of Mr. Sadler, showed a state of things in Ireland which no English Government, pretending to take any interest in the future welfare of

that country, could contemplate without feeling that they had hopelessly failed in their duty. They made the Irishman feel that so far had his country been kept behind the rest of the world through being denied proper systems of education, that nothing but the most enthusiastic application on the part of the people, guided and encouraged by a fostering Irish Parliament, could ever repair the mischief of the past. A change, revolutionary and immediate, was required. The whole system should be torn up by the roots and education from the national school to the University placed on a proper basis. The systems could not be considered apart. They reacted and interacted on each other, and that scheme would be most successful where they were all considered as part of one whole. The influence of the University helped to supply good teachers, while the good teachers afterwards supplied good University students, and thus from the lowest to the highest class was felt the influence of University training. As it was in the primary school that five-sixths of their boys got their first and only education it was evident that this must be for them their University. If this school was badly managed, if the teaching given therein was of a low order, it was a poor consolation for them to know that the children of their richer neighbours could get University education in Dublin.

How were they to get the blessings of University education? They could not all send their children away. He would make two suggestions, which, if carried out, would, to his mind, go very far towards bringing the University to every man's door. He would place the teaching profession on an equality with other professions in this country, give them an equally high educational training and give them a salary commensurate with the importance of the work they had to discharge. He would remodel the present system of training teachers, and would give the teacher a position in the University which would enable him to avail himself of all the social and intellectual advantages which were amongst the greatest boons of University training. He would do everything in his power to fit him—and it was a difficult and slow process to train a competent teacher—for the very important work of shaping the youth of the

nation. President Garfield said of Professor Hopkins of Williams College, where Garfield was a student, that "he considered it a liberal education to sit at one end of a log with Mack Hopkins at the other." So it was with every true teacher. His influence in forming the character, in shaping the destiny of those who came under his control was a thing which could scarcely be realised. They spent £54,000 a year on training Irish teachers who got no opportunities of the University training as in Scotland or America. Half the Scotch teachers were University graduates. Everybody was aware that the system of educating one particular class or profession entirely apart from the general education and wide contact given in a University was educationally unsound, and tended to produce characteristics which did not mark a "liberal education." Professor Munsterberg of Harvard University, writing in 1900, said—

"That was the secret of German schools; the most elementary teaching was given by men who were experts in their field, whose scholarly interest filled them with an enthusiasm that inspired the class. To bring that condition about must be the aim of every friend of American school life. That is the one great reform which is needed, and till this burning need is removed, it is useless to put forward unimportant changes. Just as it has been said that war requires three things—money, money, and again money—so it can be said with much greater truth that education needs not forces and buildings, nor pedagogy and demonstrations, but only men, men, and again men. The right kind of men is what the schools need; they need teachers whose interest in the subject would banish all drudgery."

Professor Russell, of Columbia University, said—

"No one will deny that the interests of public education are as great and as urgent as the interests of law, medicine, or engineering. The University is true to itself, therefore, when it undertakes the professional training of teachers."

These eminent authorities recognised the essential factor of progress in national education to be the well-trained teacher. If he had availed himself of University training he dispensed his knowledge, and what was more important, his culture and character, to those who were entrusted to his care.

The second point to which he wished to direct attention, and by means of which he hoped to further facilitate the advance

Mr. Thomas O'Donnell.

of the clever, but poor, boy, trained under the teacher he had described, was a scheme of county scholarships which would give free admission to, and a free education in, the University. To do this thoroughly he would establish in suitable centres, say the central town of three or more adjoining parishes, a higher national school. The teachers in those schools should be, of course, University graduates of distinction. To every primary school within those parishes, he would allocate one, two, or three scholarships to be competed for yearly, the winners to have free entrance to the higher national school. The pupils of those higher schools would compete for the county scholarships giving free admission to the University, or to the technical college attached thereto.

If permitted he would now summarise what he had just said and put to the Chief Secretary what he considered the most important points. He had proved that the present system should not go on any longer, it had ruined and blighted the men of Ireland and kept them fifty or a hundred years behind the rest of the world, and no reason could be brought forward for its continuance. What was to be submitted for it? The Chief Secretary and his colleagues took on themselves the right to govern Ireland, and said the Irish were better off now than they had ever been. But if he might express an opinion he would say that the Government of Ireland by this House stood condemned by its attitude to the education of that country. In every other civilised country in the world the people had the right of managing the education of their children, and the possession of that right created an interest in, and awakened an enthusiasm for, education which were of the greatest value. Why should Irishmen be refused that right? In America they had not proved to be incapable of administering education or of benefiting by it. Their capacity could not be denied, and the Government which held them to be unworthy, itself stood hopelessly condemned. Education in Ireland required to be nationalised and modernised; nominated boards should be swept away; the people should be granted the

right of training their children; primary, secondary, technical and University education should be so co-ordinated as to bring it within the reach of all children with the necessary ability to profit by it. It was equally essential that the position of the teacher should be raised in importance, that his salary and prospects should be enlarged, and his training connected with the national University. To carry out these reforms and to repair the consequences of past neglect it would be necessary for a considerable sum to be spent on education in Ireland, far more than would be her proportionate share as compared with England and Scotland, a demand the justice of which could easily be proved. Steps should be taken to teach the Irish language as a compulsory subject, to inculcate patriotism, civic duties and responsibilities, love of home and fatherland; to banish corporal punishment; and to pay more attention to the formation of character than to the mere giving of information. Suitable playgrounds should be established in connection with every school, special facilities afforded for the retirement of men who had grown old in service under the present system, and the initial salary of £56 a year increased so as to attract younger and better men. Finally, boys and girls ought to be taught together as was the case in America and as used to be the case in Ireland. All authority in America had come to the conclusion that the greatest possible advantages accrued to the nation by the co-education of the children. The young men were less rough and more courteous, the girls were more virile, and from a moral point of view the most excellent results were achieved. He hoped that at last Ireland would be relieved of the system of nominated boards which had wrought so much evil in the past, and that Irish parents would be granted the elementary right of assisting to train their own children. It was often alleged that Irishmen were incapable of filling positions in Ireland, or abroad, because of their lack of education, but if the taunt were justified it was the fault not of Irishmen but of the English Government. A heavy responsibility would rest on Parliament if it continued a system which had produced such wretched

results in a people who were anxious to secure, and capable of benefiting by, the full advantages of education. He begged to second the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'that' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'in the opinion of this House, the system of Primary Education in Ireland is fundamentally defective, and has proved injurious in its operation.'"—*Mr. Nannetti.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said it was impossible for the House of Commons not to sympathise with the demand for a proper system of education in Ireland. As far as education went, he did not think the record of the English Government was a very creditable one, and unless they took steps to legislate for the needs of Ireland in this respect Parliament would show a singular indifference to the valuable asset which the Empire possessed in the peculiar qualities of the Irish people if only they were properly developed and trained. He hoped, therefore, that the debate would result in serious steps being taken to give to Ireland similar opportunities to those now enjoyed by England, Wales, and Scotland. But when one passed from the general demand and right of the Irish people to the desirability of reforming the present system, it was necessary to step with the greatest diffidence and caution. He knew enough about education to be aware that it must be adapted to the peculiarities, and even to the prejudice, of the people it was intended to benefit, and that it was impossible to force one rigid system upon all the peoples inhabiting the various parts of the United Kingdom. If he might make one or two general remarks as to the principles on which Irish education should be conducted, he would say that the first thing was to bring it under popular control. At present it was impossible for any body of Members to exercise any influence over the matter, inasmuch as, under the present system, Irish education was taken entirely out of Parliamentary control. The Lord Advocate had to answer the

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criticisms made in this House on behalf of the Scottish Education Department, but when they came to Irish education the Chief Secretary for Ireland had to answer for the National Board of Education. Considerably more than ten years ago he was invited to visit one of the most admirable schools he ever saw in any part of the world, and it was a school for poor boys at Cork. It was admirable in every way and the teaching and discipline were excellent. It was a school conducted by the Christian Brothers, and, although a debate took place in the House of Commons upon the question, the then Chief Secretary was obliged to state that he was unable to grant this admirable school full assistance from the fund for Irish education.

He wished to impress upon the Chief Secretary that in any scheme brought forward for remodelling Irish education they ought to put a stop to the multiplicity of boards in Ireland. There were, at present, three great boards in Ireland administering education, namely, the National Board of Education, which dealt with elementary education; the Intermediate Education Board, which dealt with what was called in this country secondary education; and the Board for Technical Education. The work of these three boards was so closely connected that it was quite impossible to have a proper system unless the three were amalgamated. The principle of technical education was one which should provide the whole of the instruction from the kindergarten to the University, and the elementary school could not be properly carried on unless the principle of technical instruction, and the supervision of the persons versed in technical instruction, was made use of during the whole course of elementary training. Elementary education ought to lead directly on to intermediate, and it was absolutely essential that these three kinds of education should not be kept in water-tight compartments with no connection the one with the other.

Another thing they required in Ireland was the encouragement and establishment of some kind of local interest in education. That was one of the great advantages of the English Act of 1870, for it aroused in every part of the country a keener

local interest in education. That local interest had always been the key-stone of the Scottish system. The reason why Scotch education had been so successful and why it was so far ahead of the rest of the United Kingdom, was that there had always been in Scotland a greater local interest taken in education. In those parts of England where there had formerly existed this local interest, and where the parents had taken an interest in education, the schools were the best and there they made the best use of those schools. No doubt one difficulty in applying the system of England and Scotland to Ireland was the extreme poverty of the people. In England three-fourths of the cost of education was paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and one-fourth out of the local rates. He believed that something like the same proportion was contributed in Scotland, but he did not think they ought to ask the people of Ireland to pay as much as one-fourth. If some official body was formed responsible for the general direction of the education of the district, he did not think they needed to despair because the people were incapable of bearing a substantial part of the cost of education. He had been very much struck by what he had read of something that was done sixty years ago in a small parish in Somersetshire, which contained a population of 1,125, composed almost entirely of agricultural labourers receiving between 6s. and 9s. a week, which was about the same rate of wages as was now being paid in some of the districts in Ireland. There were no rich people in that parish, and yet the rector, by enlisting the interest of the people, succeeded in establishing a most remarkable model school supported entirely by the small Government grant and the fees of those poor people. He succeeded in establishing in that school a system of education something like that which sixty years afterwards they were striving to obtain with the assistance of all the inspectors and machinery of the Education Department. But although Ireland was very poor, and although it might be incapable of giving any considerable rate aid to the elementary schools that was no reason why a local interest should not be created. They could have excellent schools in a poor parish with a keen local interest, and

Sir John Gorst.

quite as efficient as the schools in an indifferent parish where they might have a considerable sum to support education out of the rates. There was another thing which should be considered by the Irish people and their representatives, namely, that there was a considerable body of opinion which held that the cost of education should be an Imperial and not a local charge. There ought to be a very small margin of the mere local cost of administration and so on, which ought to fall upon the locality, and the great bulk of the cost should fall upon the Imperial funds on the ground that education was a national and not a local concern. What he wished to impress upon the House was that they should not wait for the possibility of exacting local contributions before they took some measures to secure local responsibility and interest in education.

Perhaps the House would think he was going beyond his province if he criticised in any detail the Report which had recently been made by Mr. Dale. Mr. Dale was a gentleman who, from his long experience, knew the state of the schools in this country, and nobody could be more qualified to report upon the Irish schools. His Report was perfectly conclusive that there was in Ireland a great defect in the education, that it was not at all up to the English standard, that it was not what it ought to be, and that it was absolutely necessary, in common justice to the Irish nation, that it should be brought up to the English standard as soon as possible. He should like to call the attention of the House to what was stated in the Report as to the great superiority of the convent schools, and of the Protestant schools which were managed on the same sort of principles. There they had a very valuable local agency in Ireland which was possessed only to a very small extent in England and scarcely at all in Scotland. As the Irish idea of an educational system might differ very largely from that in this country, it might be a question whether more use might not be made of those Irish schools, and whether some part of the Irish educational system could not be applied to them. He was particularly struck ten years ago by those Christian Brothers' schools, some of

which he saw in Cork. He was told, and he believed it was true, that they had succeeded in establishing in the cities and the great centres of population in Ireland schools which really got hold of the young people of the Roman Catholic religion. There were very few Protestants in them, but their doors were not shut to them. These schools got hold of the Roman Catholic children, and brought them up in a way in which no other institution in Ireland had ever succeeded in doing. A respected Member of this House, who was brought up in a Christian Brothers' school, was a distinguished ornament of the House in his time. If some system of that sort were adopted it would give a very excellent body of local managers more interested in education than perhaps any other, because they were interested on religious grounds. It was part of their religion to carry on these schools and to do the best they could for the children. He, therefore, rose to say that he thought there ought to be a real root-and-branch reform of Irish education, and he was quite sure that all Parties in the House—not only Irish but English and Scotch Members—would do their best to help the Irish people to have a really proper and valuable scheme established. That scheme should be one responsible to Parliament, and the Department which had charge in Ireland of education should undertake the whole education of Ireland—elementary, intermediate, and technical—and should be responsible to this House for the mode in which the money voted by this House was expended. The responsibility for the organisation and administration of elementary education should be entrusted to some Irish body either elected by, or representative of, the people, with responsibility in the first instance to the Irish Education Department, and therefore to this House, and in the second place to the people of the locality out of which it was chosen. He was quite sure that any system of that kind—a really good Irish educational system—whether it led to Home Rule or not, would certainly lead to the Irish people being happier, and to the development of those extraordinary talents they possessed, and which were so valuable an asset to the people of the United Kingdom. Whether

it ended in Home Rule or not, it would end in making a much happier Ireland, and in much greater credit to the United Kingdom.

MR. JOHN REDMOND [(Waterford)] said he only rose to intervene for a few moments in the debate, and he must state to the House his reason for speaking now. First of all, he wished to thank the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken for the interesting, valuable, and sympathetic speech he had made and for which they were all most grateful, and he thought that the representatives of the Irish people in this House who had been for so many long years preaching the doctrine of reform in primary education in vain, had reason to congratulate themselves upon the position in which they stood at the present moment; because he did not think that when the Chief Secretary came to speak it would be possible for him to deny that the present system had been universally condemned. As the right hon. Gentleman had properly said, the Report of Mr. Dale in itself was a condemnation, complete and overwhelming, of the Board of National Education and of the whole system at the present moment in Ireland. He therefore thought they had reason to congratulate themselves that at last they had come to what looked like the beginning of the end of a system which had to a large extent kept the Irish in ignorance and militated against progress in every department of life in that country. He had not risen to emphasise the case against the present system. If that rested solely on the speeches made in this debate it would be unanswerable. But it rested upon more than that. It was unnecessary for him at this stage to emphasise the view now practically universally entertained by every one, that the present system was rotten and must go. But he had been induced to rise now by some of the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University. If they had in Ireland a Government of their own the settlement of this question would be perfectly easy; then the settlement would be a natural and logical settlement by a Government Department responsible to the Parliament of Ireland. But that was not the position in which they stood at the

Sir John Gorst.

present moment, and he desired before the Chief Secretary spoke to warn him that so far as the sentiments entertained by the Irish Members were concerned, they did not approve and would not tolerate, so far as it rested with them, the creation of a new Castle board to take the place of the present Board of National Education. They had no confidence in the Government of Ireland by Dublin Castle; they had no confidence in the centralised nominated board of Dublin Castle; and the creation of what they called a new Government Department in Ireland to take over responsibility for primary education in that country would not receive their sanction, and most certainly would not receive the confidence of the mass of the Irish people.

He confessed it was very difficult to suggest what the remedy ought to be. Of course it would be, as he had said, easy if they had their own Government; and until they had their own Government there would be, in his opinion, no satisfactory or logical settlement. But it was not their province, sitting in opposition in that House, without responsibility for the Government in their hands, to suggest a way out of these difficulties, and therefore he did not propose to suggest a scheme for remedying the difficulties. What he did say was that the scandal and disgrace of this system was now admitted. There was no proof of the failure of English government in Ireland so overwhelming as that which was to be found in the neglect of education, and there was no argument, therefore, that was stronger in favour of Home Rule. When they came to propose a remedy for this question all he felt bound to say was this, that the National Board as at present constituted was absurd, unrepresentative, and irresponsible, and whatever they did they must change the character of that board, but further than that he had only to say that he was not in favour of a new Department in Ireland responsible to this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University said that that was all very well. Would he allow him to point out the difference between the responsibility of an Irish Castle board to this House and the responsibility of the ordinary Board of

Education in this country to this House. What was the meaning of the responsibility of the English Board of Education to this House? It meant that it was responsible to an Assembly where the public opinion of the country was paramount. That was to say it could never do anything out of sympathy with the opinion of the majority of the people of England. But the Education Board in Ireland might be responsible to this House, and yet in its every action flout and defy the unanimous public opinion of Ireland, and, therefore, to tell him that this case would be satisfactorily met by the creation of a new Government Department which was to be responsible to this House did not satisfy his mind at all, because so far as the Irish people were concerned it would be absolutely irresponsible. Therefore he was not to be taken as in favour, in any sense, of such a board. That was what he had risen to say. He had intended to wait until later in the debate and to speak after hearing what the Chief Secretary had to say, but so impressed was he by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University that he thought it well to intervene between that speech and the speech of the Chief Secretary, so that there might be no misconception upon this point, and that the Chief Secretary might know that this scheme for creating a new Department in Ireland was not one that they approved, and that they would resist that proposal. It was one that would not receive support from the great mass of Irish people.

MR T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said he did not think it was necessary that the House should trouble itself discussing the enormities connected with such matters as equipment, sanitation, and school buildings. In a debate of this character, which, in his opinion, was clearly going to result in a revolution in the Irish educational system, it was not matters like these that the House ought first of all to consider. These ought to be taken as matters of course, for no system which allowed such equipment, sanitation, and school buildings as now existed deserved to be tolerated. That was clear. They were alongside of one of the biggest Irish questions the House of Commons could be called upon to

consider. The whole matter went so deeply into the root of things in Ireland that he wished to state at once what he thought about it. There could be no defence of the National Board. He agreed with hon. Gentlemen opposite in that, but while they condemned the Board they ought to have the courage and the frankness to say that it was formed at a time when no other system was possible, and that, under the conditions which were then existent, it had done a substantial and good educational work of a kind. He admitted that the Board was utterly defective and ought not to be allowed to exist, but he did not think they should bury it without some funeral service over it of a decent character. The Board was non-representative. He had had something to do with it in past years. He was a Presbyterian. Whether a man was competent or not was never taken into account. It all depended on Parliamentary influence. He supposed the other churches were in a similar position. He was not at liberty to discuss this question from the Home Rule standpoint, but he maintained that the Board was educationally incompetent. It had done its best but it ought to be ended. But when they came to ask what should take its place they found the great difficulty. He could see nothing, if they abolished the Board, but an Education Department as it existed in England or Scotland. That would be a Department responsible to that House. He agreed that that was an imperfect responsibility, and that many things would be done which would be repugnant to the general sense of the Irish Members. Let them make no mistake. They were really treading upon very thin ice in this matter. The question of education in Ireland occupied a wholly different position from what it occupied in England and Scotland. The religious difficulty was bad enough in England, as had been shown during the past two sessions. The Scotch people, with the remarkable good sense they generally displayed, had managed to get rid of the educational difficulty altogether. He heard not long ago that when the Lord Advocate in 1872 took the Scotch Education Bill as it had been settled by a Committee of the Cabinet to Mr. Gladstone, he rather prided himself on telling Mr. Gladstone

that religion was not mentioned in it from beginning to end. That might do for Scotland, but it would not do for Ireland.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): It is not in the least true for Scotland.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that that was said at the time; but in Ireland it was different. At all events they should face the question at once, and the House might depend upon it that the religious difficulty would be a real difficulty, and that any effort to get round it or behind it would not be of the slightest use. It would be no use setting up an Education Department unless there was a system of local management to accompany it. They had now the county councils. The county councils had done excellent work and they had not got into conflict with the people or with any class, and he confessed that, with an Education Department and the control of education given to the county councils, with perhaps boards of management for localities on which the clergy of the denominations would be represented, they might possibly get over the difficulty. It would be absolutely impossible to get education under popular control without taking into account the claims which the religious teachers of all classes urged with regard to it. It would be perfectly impossible to deal with this question as it was in Scotland by mere school boards and to shut out all clericalism from the county councils. He should rejoice if they could find a way out of the difficulty. He entered that House many years ago with very Nonconformist views on education—namely, that the State ought not to touch religion at all. But what was the use of attempting to stand on that ground now? His hon. friends from Ulster knew the strong feeling that existed about the endowment of religion by means of education. What was the good of standing there now when they knew that the Scotch Bill would enable the Scotch school boards to endow Roman Catholic schools in Scotland and when they knew that the Education Act for England last session absolutely endowed Roman Catholic education throughout England? What was the use

of a handful of Ulster Unionists standing up for a principle that had been swept away. He stood up for it as long as he could, but he was swept away, and he was not going to stand up for it any longer. Clergymen must be taught that children did not exist for them but clergymen for the children. If they could offer popular control giving the clergy of every church fair representation on the board of management they would see daylight in this matter. He should not like to be the Chief Secretary with this duty ahead of him, and although he stood no longer by this principle of the State not interfering, he did not believe that he represented the great sentiment of the Ulster people in this matter. The Ulster Unionists represented that, but all he could say was that he did not think they ought to be allowed to stand up for a principle which was stopping the real education of the people and which the people of England and Scotland, who were as Protestant as the Ulster Unionists, had swept out of their path in the true interests of the education of their children. The Chief Secretary had done some work in the past but he would find that this education question would be the biggest matter he had ever had to deal with and was likely to do more to disorganise Parties than anything that had gone before.

*MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.) said that everyone who took an interest in his country must know that education was the greatest factor in a nation's greatness. It was now about seventy years ago, when, for the first time, the State set up an elementary system of education for Ireland, when there were about 80 per cent. illiterates of the whole population. The national system did much in its time, for illiteracy was now only about 18 per cent. This progress was to be expected in a quick-witted race omnivorous for knowledge. But during that period, science, art, and literature had passed many milestones. So that elementary education to keep pace with the age of progress must undergo many changes in subjects and methods. In his opinion the whole system should be revised and brought up to date by adding subjects to the curriculum such as lessons on hygiene, on which the

Mr. T. W. Russell.

happiness or misery of life depended; lessons on thrift, which, if acted upon, there need be, as in France, no work-houses; classes for the promotion of laundry and cookery and the industrial arts; and Irish history, which was thought at the inception of the system inadvisable to teach, because of the confiscations and cruelties that had been perpetrated in the country in early times. The Commissioners should be changed for a tribunal chosen by the franchise of the country. Here was an educational machine set up. Was it a fine machine, well equipped for its work? The United Kingdom was a great rich nation that could spend £42,000,000 yearly on her Navy. What was she doing for the intellectual health of Ireland? Had she Universities and fine elementary schools well adapted for the health, happiness, and progress of the people of Ireland? Was this machinery which was so necessary for the progress of a nation manned with a highly educated staff? Were the attractions in *status* and salary such as to induce men from the Universities to enter on its business? Were they in such easy circumstances as to free their minds from all corroding cares, so as to be in a position to concentrate their whole time and thoughts on educational pursuits? If these questions could not be answered in the affirmative, then there must be a total revolution in the system. The State seemed not to realise the position of a teacher in the creation of good citizens and the elevation of a nation. Children were handed over to his care from the age of seven to fourteen. He occupied the place of the parents. The moral and intellectual development of the child all these years was in his hands. The man of toil, and even the business man of affluence, had neither time nor inclination for this all-important work. The school-master had the making of the man. If the State interfered on national grounds to educate, it appeared to him that it was the duty of the State, which had taken the work in hand, to supply well paid, highly qualified teachers in a fit frame of mind to devote their energies to the important work of training the young for the battle of life. Before, however, elementary schools could be thoroughly efficient, there must be a fully equipped college or University established, accept-

able to the majority of the people of Ireland, from which could be drafted men qualified to raise the standard of education in the country. In the meantime he might truly say, few, if any, were satisfied with elementary education in Ireland, which had really undergone five changes in five years, whereas it was well known that continuity was best calculated to produce success—the managers were not satisfied, the teachers were not, and the parents were not. It appeared to him there was great need for reconstruction as regarded popular control, the nature, literature, and extent of the subjects to be taught in the text-books, the *status* and salaries of teachers, and the improvement of and mode of conducting the business of schools. He hoped soon the people of Ireland would have in elementary and higher education suitable arrangements made so as to give the inhabitants of the country a fair chance in the race of life.

*MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid) said no one who had really examined the subject could deny that the system of primary education in Ireland was fundamentally defective. He presumed, therefore, that there would be general assent to the terms of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite. The defectiveness of Irish education had, indeed, been realised by many people in Ireland for a long time past, and the Report of Mr. Dale, which had recently been issued, would convince many more, and particularly English Members, that reform was urgently necessary. Directly they tried to give practical shape to their ideas of reform, they discovered that primary education could not stand by itself. It was, in his opinion, closely linked with secondary and technical education. They were, therefore, confronted with a very large question, which could only be settled satisfactorily after a full and careful consideration of the special needs of the Irish people, and the peculiar social and other conditions which differentiated the Irish from the English and the Scotch. His study of the defects of their educational system led him to one conclusion, which he regarded as of the first importance. It was that they needed a strong and efficient central authority, responsible to the British House of Commons for the

organisation and effective control of Irish education generally—not only primary, but secondary and technical education. He felt that mere denunciation of the National Commissioners or the other bodies who had the supervision of different branches of education could serve no useful purpose. No doubt they had done their best within the limits of the powers and the means at their command. But still the fact could not be disguised that many of the gravest defects in their existing system of primary education were due to the want of efficient control by a competent central authority. Such an authority, with ample powers, would be able to prevent overlapping in educational work, i.e., they could attain greater efficiency without increased expenditure, simply by the better utilisation of funds already allocated for the purposes of education. A competent central authority would also check the undue multiplication of small schools, which had been one of the most glaring defects in the present system. Of course they could not ignore the fact that the religious differences which so sharply divided the Irish people were largely accountable for this sub-division in school work. But it had been carried very much further than there was any justification for on the ground of religious prejudice. Mr. Dale, in his Report, had drawn special attention to this point. He said—

“To an observer accustomed to the single village school seen in the English rural districts, nothing is more astonishing than the manner in which the children of an Irish village are often divided among small separate schools, each under its own head teacher.”

Not only were boys and girls so divided, but—he again quoted Mr. Dale—

“Older girls are separated from younger girls, the younger girls from infants, the male infants from the female infants.”

He found in Mr. Dale's Report a striking case to illustrate the extent to which this principle of partition had been carried. At the little country town of Swords, near Dublin, he stated—

“The Roman Catholic children were divided into no less than five schools—one for the boys, one for male infants, one for female infants, a preparatory school for girls and a school for older girls.”

“In England,” said Mr. Dale—

“The female children would certainly have been organised as a single school under one
Mr. Lonsdale.

headmistress; as it is they form three separate schools, with an annual average attendance respectively of sixty-eight senior girls, fifty junior girls, and forty-six girl infants.”

Obviously this system of sub-dividing schools was, and must be, grossly extravagant. As Mr. Dale pointed out—

“In hundreds of cases in Ireland two—and even three—head teachers were being employed and paid at ordinary rates for head teachers where in England only one teacher would have been employed and paid in that capacity.”

The Commissioners of National Education had not only permitted this system but had actually encouraged it by their method of distributing grants. One manager—a parish priest and a very worthy man, he understood; a very able manager of schools—candidly admitted that the reason he had sub-divided a small school into three departments was that he wished to get as much money as he could out of the Commissioners. He ventured to say that that had been the motive underlying very much of the sub-division which had taken place. It seemed to him that the first step towards remedying the admitted defects in Irish primary education was to organise a strong and efficient central authority. That, he suggested, could be carried out by a separate measure—as was the case in England—and without arousing much controversy. By the establishment of such an authority the way would be prepared for a scheme of local management and control, which everyone would admit must be undertaken in the near future. He did not think it would be denied that many of the most obvious defects of the existing system arose from the absence of popular interest in educational matters. Education in Ireland had been almost entirely separated from popular responsibility and control, and it would be necessary to devise some means—suited, of course, to the very peculiar conditions of Ireland—by which the Irish people might be interested in the education of their children. The problem would be one of some difficulty and would need very careful consideration. In the meantime there was no reason why they should not make some advance towards entire reorganisation by constituting an Irish Board of Education responsible to Parliament. Even before that was done he thought the Government should supply the means for more

adequately staffing the primary schools, by reducing the average necessary to qualify a school for the services of an assistant teacher. It must be obvious to anyone that a school of fifty-nine children of all ages could not be efficiently taught by a single teacher. There were many such schools in Ireland, and there was no doubt that the younger children especially were neglected just at the time they most needed attention. He trusted the Government meant to remedy this defect immediately, and that they would have from his right hon. friend the Chief Secretary a statement of the intentions of the Government in regard to the general question of educational reform.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) said he felt it would be imprudent to rise until every hon. Member who might be said to represent a definite shade of opinion entertained on the subject had had an opportunity of addressing the House. The prudence of his course had been justified by the trend of the debate because, had he risen an hour before, he would have addressed an audience—speaking for the English Members—who might have received the impression that all was plain sailing and that reform in Irish education could be carried out on lines which had come to be regarded as normal in respect of the English Education Act and the Scotch Education Bill. But as he listened to the hon. Member for West Kerry, whose courageous and eloquent speech made him feel that all the difficulties were beginning to vanish, and when he heard the hon. Member for Cambridge University not only ignore the difficulties but sketch a solution, he began to fear that his announcement that he was not prepared to produce a complete reform of Irish education would be received with a good deal of reprobation by the House. The Leader of the Irish National Party, however, had warned him that under no circumstances need he entertain the idea that the creation of a central Educational Department would be accepted by him, and that revived his old view that this was a most thorny and intricate subject. The hon. and learned Member frequently criticised the National Board of Education, and com-

plained that it was not directly held responsible to the House. He (Mr. Wyndham), however, did not believe there was any alternative between a board which was not responsible to the House and a board which was a Government Department. If that fundamental part of the scheme, as put forward by all those who had spoken with any confidence in that debate, was to be abandoned, it was clear they could only discuss this matter in a tentative spirit that afternoon. No complaint had been made against the Government for not having come forward with a policy of educational reform this session. It would be admitted on all hands that it was the turn of Scotland this session. Last year was Ireland's turn on a subject of deep interest, and one that had priority even over education. But no one who had listened to that debate—no one who had read Mr. Dale's Report—would deny that there was room for reform in Irish education, but everybody who had listened to that debate ought to admit that it was extremely hard to find a scheme of reform which would be generally acceptable in Ireland. The criticisms to which they had listened that afternoon were not directed against the gentlemen who had served on the National Board, and he felt it his duty explicitly to say that those gentlemen had done a great deal of good work, especially during the last three or four years, in Ireland. They had done away with the paralyzing and pernicious system of payment by results; they had enlarged and diversified the curriculum, they had advanced elementary training, and had made equivalent grants to 5,000 schools. Under their auspices elementary evening schools, which four years ago numbered twenty-one now, numbered 1,329.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): It is three or four years since the Archbishop of Dublin left the board.

MR. WYNDHAM retorted that those gentlemen gave their services for nothing and laboured hard, and not in vain, for many years. That had nothing to do with the retirement of the Archbishop of Dublin, which they all regretted. The average attendance at Irish schools which had been going down, and had fallen from

511,000 in 1896 to 459,000 in 1900, rose to 465,000 in the next year, and last year it was 475,000. Criticisms should be directed mainly, if not wholly, against the system in which the National Board had been so conspicuous a feature. They had nothing to do with what took place at the beginning of the last century or with the proselytising efforts of Archbishop Whately. The creation of the National Board by Lord Stanley marked the abandonment of the policy of Archbishop Whately. Lord Stanley instituted a board, consisting of a certain number of Roman Catholics and a certain number of Protestants, and for some years past the board had been composed on the principle of half and half. Some such board was the only alternative to a Government Department. The features of denominational representation must remain until, or unless, they introduced a central Department responsible to that House, and until that was acceptable no one would rashly undertake to carry through a fundamental reform of primary education in Ireland. The features of the board were dictated by the peculiar difficulties which the problem of primary education presented in Ireland. To-day Ireland was said to be so poor a country as not to be expected to contribute so much as was the case in England. The difficulties which were peculiar to Ireland made the National Board what it had been, and that board remained in the same condition because those difficulties still existed.

He would ask hon. Members to consider how difficult the problem was in Ireland—how much more difficult that in England. They had these profound religious divisions. They were dealing with a country which, unlike England or Scotland, had very few large towns in which local effort could be obtained. There were some large towns, like Dublin and Belfast, but the condition of house property was not the same as in great populous centres in England, so that they did not get the natural spontaneous standard set by local opinion in England and Scotland in favour of educational advance. There were in Ireland large tracts of moor and mountain land sparsely inhabited, where the children had to go eight miles to

school, and the problem there presented difficulties unknown in this country. In consequence of that difficulty they had not compulsory education in Ireland, and it was doubtful whether they could get it in the immediate future. And then, again, in Ireland there was no aid from the rates at all at present. The whole charge was borne by public money. What a change must be introduced if they were to have popular control! He did not believe that they could have popular control. He was sure that they would not have popular interest if it were financially possible to defray all the cost out of the pocket of the taxpayer. Then they had no co-ordination between primary and secondary education. There was a certain amount of co-ordination effected by giving prizes and scholarships, but in the true sense of the word there was no co-ordination at all; and when they came to intermediate education it was wholly a system of examinations based entirely on payment by results. Technical instruction had advanced rapidly, but it only became possible five years ago; it was still in an embryonic stage of development, and it could not be said to be co-ordinated with intermediate education. At the end—last but not least—there was in Ireland no Universities of the type familiar to Scotland and Germany, and which was growing up in England—of the type which inspired the ambition of the people and set another standard of academic enthusiasm which ran through, and was worked up to by, all those who were charged with tuition. One might say, Could those dry bones live? With some hesitation he said, Yes. Ireland had one asset. In Irish children—in the young manhood of Ireland—there was a sincere desire for knowledge and education, and there was a remarkable aptitude for using adroitly any information which had been acquired. They wanted larger opportunities of education. They had many examples of that. They knew that the Civil Service was full of Irish servants who did a great work for the Empire, and he would mention Mr. Coyne, whose name all who cared for Ireland would remember. He was a man who with very slight opportunities performed a life-work of the greatest interest and use to his country.

Mr. Wyndham.

There was another point: although the religious divisions were deep and wide, there was not over by far the greater part of Ireland any denominational difficulty at the present moment. That brought them to the question—could they risk, or give people the occasion of saying that they were risking, the denominational equilibrium in order to secure larger opportunities for the development of the indisputable aptitude for education in Ireland? That was putting as shortly as he could the question they were discussing that afternoon in a preliminary debate. They could, and up to a certain point he thought they ought to, spend more money—even if it were found impossible to introduce any drastic reforms. That could be done, thanks to the Development Grant, without placing further burdens on the general taxpayer. He mentioned that in order that hon. Members should not suppose that he was playing the usual rôle of an Irish Chief Secretary, and asking for more money. But look at the demands which had been made? If they gave, as he had said that they intended to give, two teachers to schools with an average attendance of fifty instead of sixty, that would cost £24,000 a year. If they came next to the remedying of a great material defect, that was, if they put the school-houses of Ireland into a sanitary condition, it would cost £40,000 a year to bring them up to anything like the standard which prevailed in England. If they gave proper heating appliances throughout Ireland that would cost another £24,000 a year, so that they got £90,000 a year before they began to talk of what might be called reform. Then it was essential to take into account the necessity there would be of developing technical instruction, which seemed to hold out more promise than any other branch of education at the present moment; £25,000 a year was asked for and needed for that, bringing it up to £80,000 a year. Thus they came to a considerable sum without having come to the question of co-ordination. That they could do only by giving more prizes and scholarships. To do that on such a scale as to give hope of any palpable result would cost another £50,000 a year; and he had not touched on other suggestions which had been made; such, for

example, as the setting up of higher grade schools of a primary character, which he had no doubt was most desirable. If they left the system as it was that must be all that could be done, otherwise they got into such sums as would not be sanctioned for the mere purpose of pouring money into the existing watertight compartments of Irish education. If they could get some organic reform the case for expenditure would be much stronger, but where there was no rate-aid the case for expenditure would not carry them beyond the point of remedying obvious material defects, effecting a certain amount of co-ordination in the way of giving prizes and scholarships, and doing something more for technical instruction.

It was important to keep in view the financial aspect of the matter, and for that purpose he would compare the position in Ireland with that in England and Wales. Taking primary and secondary (or intermediate) education and technical instruction, in England rate-aid was given to all three branches, but in Ireland to technical instruction only, and then to an infinitesimal amount. In 1902-3 the amount of public funds devoted to education in England was £9,753,000 in round figures, rates provided £6,830,000, and if local loans—which were really financed by the locality—were to be included, another £2,750,000 must be added. Therefore, in England, while £9,750,000 came from public money, more than £9,500,000 came from local money, or nearly £1 for £1, and if local loans were excluded two-thirds of the money came from public funds. With that he would contrast the financial picture in Ireland. Public funds provided £1,305,000; and building grants amounted to £27,000. The amount of building grants for 1902-3 was very low; they sometimes ran as high as £36,000 or £40,000. Two-thirds, and in some cases the whole, of the prime cost of building Irish schools fell on the public exchequer. For intermediate education £78,000 was voted, and there was no local aid; and for technical instruction the amount voted was £88,000. The total amount for public money was therefore £1,498,000, while the amount from local funds was only £72,900. Instead of being £1 for

£1, as in England, the amount was nearer 1s. to £1. He fully admitted that Ireland was a very poor country; he agreed that her poverty in addition to her religious difficulties had made the system of education in Ireland what it was; but could any large and drastic reform be hoped for if it only meant pouring more public money into these water-tight compartments? Without requiring any local assistance, without admitting any local influence, without effecting any co-ordination between the different branches of education, they would not be able to proceed very far along that path. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had expressed the hope that he would see the day when the general taxpayer would defray all the cost of education, and the opinion that if the Government began in Ireland they would be setting a very good precedent. What would the Chancellor of the Exchequer have said to such a proposition? He hoped to see a great deal more money expended on education in Ireland, but it was idle to suppose that an experiment of the character suggested by the right hon. Gentleman was going to be initiated at present in any part of the United Kingdom, and he would be deceiving the House if he held out any hope of its being done in Ireland.

But the financial comparison was not the most important that could be made. In England and Wales the three branches of education were co-ordinated; all were assisted out of the rates, and all were under popular control. In Ireland each was distinct from the other. Primary education, under the National Board, received a large amount of public money but no local assistance; schools were multiplied according to denomination, sex, and age, to such an extent that there were perhaps six or seven tiny schools scattered about a village or a collection of villages. This system made the schools not only expensive but inefficient, and it weighed most hardly upon all those who were engaged in the supervision of education. How could they expect any improvement when there was no hope of advancing by any efforts they might make.

Then the teacher was in a somewhat anomalous position; although as far as

Mr. Wyndham.

his prospects in the profession were concerned he was practically under the Board, his appointment and dismissal were exclusively in the hands of the managers. Under those conditions what general development of education could they expect when they were absolutely at the mercy of the managers of some little twopenny-halfpenny school.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: At the mercy of one manager.

MR. WYNDHAM said the teacher could only be appointed by one man and he could be dismissed by one man, and then he had to look to a board which was not responsible to this House for the development of his career.

He would now pass on to the question of intermediate education which had been called secondary education. Intermediate education was under a totally distinct board. It dispensed some £110,000 a year of public money and had done excellent work. The income from all sources was £111,000, the expenditure £93,000, and the number of children examined 8,379. But it could not be said that a system of secondary education existed; there was a great deal of examination pure and simple, but no counterpart to the real secondary schools, under the control of a Department, as in England and Scotland. Before he passed to technical instruction perhaps he ought to answer the question—How does it work? The system worked in this way: The clever boy in the primary school with plenty of initiative and determination might get one of those exhibitions from the Intermediate Board. Having got that he would go to a secondary school, and there work very largely by himself, and then he might present himself for a degree in the Royal University. That was not education at all in the sense in which it was given in this country, and it was a wonder to him that Irish boys ever succeeded at all under such circumstances. He had one particular instance in mind of a gentleman who belonged to the political views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who was one of a large Irish family who lived on a very small farm, and who was now a cultured man and would be an ornament to any society. That system

might work pretty well for the clever boys, but for the stupid or the average boy very little could be done at all.

On technical instruction £25,000 a year had been spent, and he thought that £25,000 ought to be added to that sum. Some attempt had been made to avoid overlapping with the Intermediate Board, but the success was partial. It was bewildering to contemplate the different sources from which money and advice were given to the people who were trying to give or receive education. Technical instruction ought to be more intimately bound up with primary education. As at present administered there were in the technical instruction the rudiments of rate-aid and of popular control, and they found, he believed in consequence of this, that it had vitality and was successful.

After this brief survey of the three branches of education which were so intimately bound up one with the other, and which ought not to be dis severed, he came back to the question which he first proposed, namely, the question of reform. He thought they ought to take the easiest path and follow the line of least resistance and endeavour to avoid all risks of disturbing denominational equilibrium. They should avoid all risk of touching the susceptibilities of existing managers. They could avoid all these risks but only at a cost of a good deal of money. They could devote another £100,000 to primary education and they could spend another £50,000 on co-ordination of primary and secondary education, and another £25,000 for technical instruction. Even these modest measures would cost £175,000—nay, more, by their expenditure they would confirm the divisions existing between primary, secondary, and technical education, and the overlapping between the Board of Agriculture and the Intermediate Board. It was quite clear they could not legislate this session. If they were to legislate next session, upon what scale should they legislate? He ventured to throw out a suggestion of a very tentative character. Since in technical instruction they required popular control and rate-aid, and as the arrangement against overlapping between the Board of Agriculture and the Inter-

mediate Board were unsatisfactory, it seemed to him reasonable to say that they could not exclude the consideration of technical instruction and intermediate education from any attempt at educational reform. This, at any rate, should accompany any such attempt at reform, indeed it might prove necessary that it should precede any such attempt. Of the three courses that were open, the easiest was to pour Irish money into the three separate and unco-ordinated receptacles afforded by the systems of primary, secondary, and technical education. This course, however, would not enlist local aid or interest, and he hoped it would not be adopted. Then a very ambitious and comprehensive attempt might be made to organise education in Ireland on sounder lines, but, if such an attempt were not fully successful, to have made it would delay the cause of educational reform for years. The third course, a less ambitious one, was to seek to co-ordinate technical instruction and intermediate education, to develop local control and rate-aid, though not on a great scale, and to accompany this first attempt at organic reform with the remedying of material defects in primary education, such as the provision of proper sanitary arrangements and fires in the schools. Personally he should prefer the more ambitious scheme. He did not know whether it would prove possible at the present time, and that being so the question arose whether it would be wise to proceed against the danger signal, and arouse opposition which must delay educational reform in Ireland. But in view of the Scottish Education Bill of this year and the English Act of 1902; in view of the educational progress of other countries; in view of the excellent material that existed in the ready hands and quick wits of the children of Ireland, the attempt must be made. The Government could not allow—and he said this with emphasis—a new disparity to grow up between Ireland and England in respect to opportunities for education, which were no less important in the twentieth century than were opportunities for commerce 200 years ago. The difficulties were great; but it was the duty of Parliament to get over them, through them, or round them, and in any

case to get beyond them, so as to prevent a new disability on the rising generation of a country for whose welfare they held themselves constitutionally responsible.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said the right hon. Gentleman had made a comparison between the amount of money given by the State and the amount given by the locality in England and Ireland for education. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out that in England the proportion was pound for pound while in Ireland it was a shilling to the pound. The comparison was not altogether fair for this reason. The best educationists in Ireland were the Christian Brothers. He understood that they had about 30,000 pupils in their schools, and they did an important educational work for Ireland without a penny of assistance from the State. There had also been strong testimony given to the efficiency of the convent schools in Ireland, and these also were carried on without the assistance of the State, so far as buildings were concerned. He thought any comparison made as to the amounts contributed for education ought not to exclude the very large contributions made by the people of Ireland for these schools. So far as the general principle was concerned his position was this. The financial relations between this country and Ireland required readjustment, and the Irish Members did not think it was right that a small and impoverished country should be treated on the same scale as a great Imperial and rapidly increasing country like this. The contribution given by the Imperial Exchequer was but a small part of the amount due to Ireland under the fiscal relations between Great Britain and Ireland. The sum given altogether was £1,500,000, and it was a strange and sinister coincidence that this was the exact amount paid for policemen. He thought that certain changes, to which he would presently allude, would enable the Government to reduce to a quarter the payment for police, and to correspondingly increase the amount devoted to the purposes of education. There might be Gentlemen in this House and elsewhere who regarded the policeman as a wiser and more useful instructor of

youth than the teacher. He gathered as much from the observations he had occasionally heard from the Benches opposite, but he thought the right hon. Gentleman might well consider in his general survey of Irish education whether it would not be better to give more to education and less to the police. His own opinion was that all money given to Ireland which was divorced from responsible popular control was money which could not be expended to the best advantage. All over Ireland there were examples of this. The root evil was the want of local interest which was the child of local control. The House would perceive that it was impossible to have a good system of national education in any country where there was not popular control.

In regard to the national schools, education was paralysed to a large extent by some of the difficulties of the Irish situation. He would make this concession, that any English Minister responsible for the government of Ireland had a great many difficulties to contend with. His good intentions were sometimes frustrated, and even his best work sometimes proved futile because he had suspicion in front and no proper support behind him. Any proposal brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman which was in consonance with popular sentiment would receive the favourable consideration of the Irish Members. After all, was it not pitiable that the Minister responsible for the government of Ireland should get up seventy years after the so-called system of national education was established and begin his speech by acknowledging the breakdown of that system, and then go on to say that all his position allowed him to do was to propose, in the problematical event of his being in office next year, some peddling measure of reform? The school buildings in Ireland were insanitary, the equipment was bad, and, such as it was, it had to be paid out of the stipends of the teachers. The children had to carry their own fuel for the school fires. Reference had been made to the disparity between the condition of teachers in England and Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman would not bring in a Bill dealing with Irish education this year because Scotch education was

Mr. Wyndham.

receiving the attention of Parliament. Scotland could demand that education should be dealt with this year, and Ireland had to wait. In Scotland a large number of the teachers were graduates. Only a few were graduates in Ireland because of the lack of opportunities for University education.

How was the problem to be met? Education was bad largely because of the suspicion with which English Governments were regarded in Ireland. How had they faced the religious difficulty? By the clumsiest of all methods of having a ridiculous board, half Catholic, half Protestant. In spite of all the praises of the right hon. Gentleman that Board had not a single man on it who had any claim to be regarded as an educationalist. If they were going to meet the religious difficulty by having men of different religious denominations on the controlling body, let them get there by popular election. There would be plenty of Protestants on any board elected in Ireland, and Catholics did not object to Protestants of the proper sort. The second course was to form a new Department responsible to this House. That was the worst proposal that could be made, because after a debate, if there should be a division, the Government majority would consist to the extent of four-fifths of English and Scotch Members who had not heard a single word of the debate. That was what responsibility to this House meant. That was an impossible situation. He really sometimes had a vague suspicion of the right hon. Gentleman. He openly confessed that, like Louis XV.—he suggested no comparison—the right hon. Gentleman had come to the conclusion that he was the last monarch of a departing line. “After me the deluge” was the undertone that he heard in all the right hon. Gentleman’s speeches. He hoped the House had noticed the very striking picture which the right hon. Gentleman gave of intermediate education in Ireland, and of the examinations connected therewith. He remembered a friend of his, now a member of the English Bar, when he went up for his “little go” examination, wondering whether he should take up a Greek tragedy or political economy, between which subjects he had his choice. His

friend thought it was better to take up the Greek tragedy, because he could get that up in a fortnight, and receive five marks for it; whereas if he took political economy it would take him six months to work up, and he would only get five marks for it also. That was the principle of Irish intermediate education! It was all false, and failed to train the intellectual faculties, which was the true object of education.

How were they going to get popular control in Ireland? If that were granted he was sure a tempest would arise in that country which the right hon. Gentleman, with all his sweetness of temper, would not be able to withstand. These were questions which the Irish people alone were able to settle. He had been delighted to hear the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that night. It was one of a remarkable series of speeches recently delivered in which could be detected the gentle and mournful cadence of the “swan song.” If he thought the right hon. Gentleman was a Machiavellian statesman—which he did not think he was—he was much too candid and astute for that—he would be under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman was laboriously and deliberately breaking down the rotten fabric of English Government in Ireland in order to make it possible for some successor to level it off.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): said that the right hon. Gentleman had declared that next session, if he occupied his present position, he was pledged to deal with the Irish education problem. That was the best consolation they could get; and he supposed they must rest satisfied in the meantime. However, he had risen for the purpose of expressing regret that the right hon. Gentleman who was responsible for Irish educational affairs had not paid a tribute to the splendid work done in Ireland by the Christian Brothers, who were not under the National Board, and who turned out some of the best educated men in the country. He begged the Chief Secretary, in considering the measure for next year, not to exclude the Christian Brothers from any settlement he might consider desirable. It was true that there were considerable difficulties in the way; but

they were worth meeting. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had paid a high tribute, from his own observation, to the splendid work which the Christian Brothers were doing, and had done in the past. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for that tribute, because in his own constituency there was one of the largest schools of the Order in the country, and he was certain that all those who inquired as closely as the right hon. Gentleman had done into the matter would share his view, that the Christian Brothers deserved all the support that could be given to them. The schools of the Order were splendidly equipped and provided an education of a first-class character, equal to anything in this or any other country in the world, to many thousands of children; and yet they received no support from public funds. He knew that the difficulty was that the Christian Brothers taught religion in their schools according to their conscientious ideas; but that was no reason why they should be shut out from a participation in public money, which other public schools in the country received. So free were the Christian Brothers from anything in the shape of intolerance and bigotry, that many Protestant parents actually sent their boys to their schools. It was a monstrous thing, in the interests of the general education and well-being of the country, they should be excluded from some share of the public funds because they taught religion as well as matters of general education.

*SIR JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.) said he had no doubt that the Christian Brothers' schools were excellently conducted and that their education was sound on their own principles; but it was scarcely the question before the House. He would remind hon. Members that the Motion was—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the system of primary education in Ireland is fundamentally defective and has proved injurious in its operations.”

He was not sure that any Irish Member would venture to say it had been injurious. It might not have been equal to everything they hoped for, but to say it was producing injury in the general education of the country seemed scarcely to admit

of proof. He himself had been honourably educated in a national school, and he could truly say it had not failed in doing a great work for the country. When they remembered the position of the education question seventy years ago, it was only fair to say that the National Board had done good educational work. It might not have given everything they wanted in respect of denominational instruction, but take it all in all—whether they referred to the teacher or the scholar, it had done good work for Ireland. The fact that they had reversed the position during seventy years and that at the present day not 20 per cent. of the people were illiterate showed that good work had been done, though not so good as was desired. He cordially agreed that there was a want of co-ordination in the general principles of education. They spoke of primary education and gave it, by general consent, a lower position than secondary, technical, or University. In his opinion the most difficult school for any person to teach was the infant school. They had to dilute their instruction; they had to bring it down to the mind that was only budding out; and the country should be alive to the question that the highest position they could give to anyone in connection with the education of the country should be to the successful trainer of youth in what they called the elementary parts of their education. He spoke from experience. Take the case of the Sabbath school. It was generally considered that any adult could take charge of an infant. It required the highest intelligence and special adaptability to successfully conduct an infant class in religious questions.

What had been the improvements in the position of the teachers during the last seventy or eighty years? The old teacher who had the arduous duty of trying to thump into his own mind as much as he could from the A, B, C upwards enjoyed the splendid income of £18 a year. Similar teachers in a modern school would enjoy three or four times that income. He wished them all prosperity in the enjoyment of that salary. But even yet every

Mr. William Redmond.

man had not risen to what might be called a good position. With regard to the schools themselves they must remember that they had been erected in Ireland almost entirely by private subscriptions. He honoured the people who went through the country and desired to make improvements and give reports, but in some respects they reminded him of the man who went to New York, looked at the clock, and then came back. The idea of a man saying he could walk through a city of, say, 300,000 inhabitants, and in the course of two or three days form a correct estimate either of the buildings or the scholastic system seemed to be trespassing very largely on the credulity of the public. Speaking for his own town he did not doubt that there were some very poor schools. At the same time they were good schools fifty years ago. They had served their day, and in the natural course of events must all pass away. They had heard also that through the philanthropy and large-mindedness of those who possessed money they had some of the finest schools in the State, schools which would compare favourably with any of the Board schools in England so far as the buildings were concerned. But what did they find inside those schools? The complaint he had to make about the Education Department was that they were not sufficiently equipped for higher education; that they were not sufficiently supplied in maps, plans, and things of that sort for educational work, unless the teacher or some generous person in the neighbourhood was prepared to pay for them. Surely if individuals had provided the buildings in which to carry on the school the State might in all conscience supply the means for the education.

There was another class of schools put up by the State called the model schools. He was not prepared to say that he had changed his view with regard to them. He had never changed his view that that was the system of education that should prevail. Each church had placed a school at the end of its buildings—he did not say for what reason, possibly for the patronage it brought; possibly because the ministers of the particular denominations were the people who in former days were the educated people of the country. But

that day had passed, and they had fairly arrived at a time when they could have their educational work largely undertaken not by a single patron but by a mixed committee. With regard to secondary education in Ireland, they were told that the same sordid idea prevailed. That might be so, but the same sordid opinion and the same sordid objection prevailed in primary education up to last year. He as much as any one deprecated the system of cramming—payment by results in what may be a parrot repetition—which represented no preparation of the mind for further education. The teacher received result fees for a considerable time, and a year or two ago the Board of Education said they would abolish the result system altogether, and place the teachers in the position of getting a salary equal to the average of their yearly earning during the three years previous to the abolition order. And taking the case of a teacher who got £60, £70, £80, or £90 as an average, with the management of a school of fifty or sixty pupils, that teacher had been removed to a school of 150 pupils at the same salary. Their duties and responsibilities were tripled without any equivalent addition to their salary. This was looked upon as a very serious difficulty and a great injustice to the teachers.

With regard to the technology of the schools, this was the first time in the course of education in Ireland that the general interest of the community in the form of mixed committees had been established. In Belfast they were so dreadful that it was said they scarcely recognised more than one colour and that they were almost blind to all others, yet singularly enough men of different views on the religious question worked most harmoniously together and lent most valuable assistance in connection with the technology of the schools. Although the mixed committee in its general working did well in higher education, it was very difficult, where the committee was composed of business men, to get them to give the time fairly necessary for the general inspection and welfare of the schools which they had practically under their control. The minister who was constantly going in and out among the people was always available, but business men were so busy that they

could not devote their attention to the general working of the schools. It came back to this. What were they going to do? He quite agreed that a change must be made in the general control of primary education in Ireland, but he did not agree that the Board of Education had not done any good. Its day had gone by, but the men who comprised it had, without fee or reward, honestly, in his opinion, tried to discharge their duty on it. It had lived its day; education had become general and the desire for higher education more general still, and they must face the necessity for a change. He supposed the Board would be abolished, but what were they going to put in its place? The Chief Secretary mentioned an Education Board, but would that Board be chosen for its educational powers or because it represented various shades of religious opinion? Religious opinion was so strongly and so keenly held in Ireland that it could not be done away with except by common consent. Would they get that? He believed they were travelling towards it. By common consent the best school in Ireland was known as the "Christian Brothers" school. But that was not recognised as a Catholic school. The Catholics had other schools and looked upon this rather as a free lance. In fact, it was almost boycotted, and at all events was not regarded as anything more than a stepchild.

Two or three difficulties had to be settled in Ireland. The religious element was strong and the educational element was relatively weak. They spent £20,000 on a church and £1,000 on the school at its side; £50,000 or £100,000 on a cathedral and £1,000 or at most £2,000 on the best school they desired to build. That must be reversed. His own strong conviction was that they must have a central Education Board composed, if possible, exclusively of educationists. They should take the men of the highest qualification for education, but that was what they were all afraid of in Ireland. They thought the more clever a man was the more likely was he to carry his point in religious as well as other education. He did not know that in the primary schools of Ireland it had ever

been sought to make a test of religion, so far as the teacher was concerned, a severe test in his appointment. If they had an Education Board then they ought also to have divisional boards. He would have a Council of Education for the four provinces of Ireland, and he would have on that board county representation through their county councils or their county borough councils, and he would have visiting committees in connection with each minor division, such as the district county council, and they would have some regard for the general education of the district and for the equipment of the schools in that district. One great detriment to education in Ireland was officialism. The inspector went to inspect a school and he was considered a dreadful piece of humanity in his (Sir James's) day. They had to get specially washed, their hair done, and be dressed in their best clothes, and he was not very clear, when he heard that the inspector was coming, what his height was or what particular kind of animal he was. But as they grew older they knew the inspector. He went to the school and he examined a class or two. He found the order of the school deficient and he wrote out a report. The unfortunate teacher did not see that report. It went to Dublin and all that he knew was that he got a rap across the knuckles for a particular deficiency in connection with education. It never dawned upon the inspector that in examining ten or more boys he should look up their history on entering the school and then estimate how much the teacher was trying to advance them. He had occasion to come across a case when he delivered himself of this idea—

"You, as inspector, are here to draw out the best that is in the teacher, to estimate how far he has been discharging his duty and brought out the latent talent of these boys, and when you have estimated thus to tell him of his defects and to come back again and see if he has done what you have suggested to him. Then you have answered the great function of the inspector, which is not merely writing a report of the defects of the school."

Well, what he wanted next was that the Dublin Board should be more in touch with every individual school in the country, with the four provincial councils which would be working for the welfare of education, and that the Board should

Sir James Haslett.

consider itself not the master but the servant of education. They should try to restore everything that would make for the general uplifting of the growth of their country. He trusted that in whatever form the Chief Secretary would give effect to his views he would not consider the pulling down as sufficient, but that he would show constructive power which he very earnestly hoped would be for the welfare of Ireland.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said the speech of the Chief Secretary was a most despairing one from an Irish point of view. The existing system of education in Ireland was gravely and fundamentally defective, and the right hon. Gentleman showed in his speech that it was so, and then he proceeded to show that it was almost impossible to reform it. That was a pretty condition for Parliament to reduce Ireland to in the twentieth century. This country had had the education of Ireland in its hands for 300 years, and now the House was told that no practical suggestion could be made for any amendment in the immediate future. If they could not reform Irish education, the Government ought to give the control of it to the people themselves. It was not for the Irish representatives to make suggestions to the Government because, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, where the power lies there also lies the responsibility. He protested against the financial references of the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the efforts made by the Government in support of primary education in Ireland, but he had omitted to mention that the greater part of the money granted was Irish money which came out of the Church supplies, and that every single penny granted for the pensions of the teachers came out of the same fund. It was a great grievance that the right hon. Gentleman should have used language which led British Members to think that the money voted out of public funds was Imperial money, whereas as a matter of fact a large portion of it was purely Irish money. The hon. Baronet disagreed with the statement in the Resolution that the national system in its operation had been injurious. But how could it be denied?

If the national system had not equipped the people of Ireland with the knowledge necessary to enable them to compete with the people of other countries, that in itself was an injury. In America, France, and Germany, the school-going populations were taught the arts and industries by which they would earn their bread and endeavour to maintain the commercial and industrial supremacy of their respective nations; but that was not done in Ireland. Was not that a distinct injury to the country? So far from exciting the opposition of the Member for such a constituency as Belfast, the proposition ought to have secured his most cordial support.

A further point had reference to the education of deaf and dumb, defective, and epileptic children. For ten or twelve years the sum of £40,000 had been voted for that purpose in England, and in Scotland the amount was proportionately even greater, but in response to the demand for similar treatment for Ireland the answer of the right hon. Gentleman was unsatisfactory and evasive. If legislation was necessary to enable such a grant to be made, a one-clause Bill would be sufficient, and not a single Member of the House would raise any opposition to it. The impression left upon his mind by the debate was one of despair. He was entirely at a loss as to the right hon. Gentleman's intentions. What a state of affairs! The education of a whole nation was in an utterly indefensible condition, and the Minister of a powerful Government was unable to devise a remedy! Ireland was already far behind the rest of the civilised world; her industries had been crushed out by English legislation and competition; and yet when she asked for a remedy for this shocking condition of affairs, she was met by an abject confession of incapacity on the part of the Minister in charge. If that was not a strong argument in favour of Home Rule he did not know what was, but he would rather see something done than hear such an argument every session. If the Irish people had the means they would be justified, after the speech of the Chief Secretary, in ridding themselves by force of the Government which attempted to govern them.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN, in supporting the Amendment, urged that some assistance should be given to the institutions charged with the education of the blind. He thought Irishmen had reason to complain of the speech of the Chief Secretary. If the right hon. Gentleman were a Minister in any other country, his first duty after such a speech would be to resign his office, for he claimed to have a policy but was afraid to carry it into effect. The hon. Member for North Belfast had put forward a curious reason for disagreeing with the Motion. The hon. Baronet had said that while it was possible that fifty years ago the school buildings, even in Belfast, were in a dilapidated condition, a vast improvement had taken place, and the buildings were now up-to-date. The recent Report of Mr. Dale, who was sent over specially to inquire into this matter, entirely disproved that contention, showing as it did that the buildings in Belfast and Dublin were vastly inferior from the point of view of convenience for teachers, and of the arrangements necessary for the health of teachers and scholars, to the average school buildings in towns of a corresponding size in England.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

— EVENING SITTING. —

SUPPLY (CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES)

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment to Question [18th April], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, 'in the opinion of this House, the system of Primary Education in Ireland is fundamentally defective, and has proved injurious in its operation.'"—(*Mr. Nannetti.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN, continuing, said on reading Mr. Dale's Report he

found on page 44 several footnotes composed of extracts taken from letters sent to Mr. Dale by various inspectors of schools in Ireland, and Mr. Dale dwelt on and seemed to agree with the opinion those letters expressed. For instance, Mr. Lebane, of the Galway circuit, wrote—

"There is, I regret to state, little local interest taken by the general public in the state and efficiency of the schools. Except in rare cases, when some real or imaginary grievance needs inquiry, no member of the general body of the people seems to think that the condition or state of efficiency of the school is a matter that concerns him. He leaves the school, with all that pertains to it, to be dealt with by teacher, manager, and inspector."

One inference only could be drawn from such statements, namely that the Irish parent took absolutely no interest in educational matters, did nothing to promote the best interests of his child, and that Ireland had lost all love for learning. It was unnecessary to delve into ancient history to disprove and remove so unfair and so unjust an accusation; for the whole history of Ireland was bound up with the love of the people for the best and highest education possible; and just as in the olden days eminent scholars went from the shores of Erin to carry light and learning into distant lands, so to-day the Irish race had an inextinguishable love of knowledge and science—so much so that the Irish parent never counted the cost or the sacrifice where the interest of education was concerned. It must not be forgotten that Ireland had not had the free exercise of her will in these any more than in other matters, that her every impulse had been thwarted by England, and that she had been fettered and hampered as no other race had ever been. In the last fifty years, during periods of distress, famine, persecution and coercion, the Irish nation had had to make a supreme struggle, with the life-blood drawn from her by a cruel and arrogant aristocracy who took everything and gave nothing, to keep alive the spark of national life. Ireland had to provide herself with churches, schools, hospitals, and all the requirements of a Christian people and of modern civilisation. Let the fair student of facts look Ireland in the face and he would have to admit that never was a

more heroic struggle for existence undertaken, or a more signal victory won over an unreasonable and unreasoning oppressor. There was one eminently satisfactory note running through Mr. Dale's Report, and it was this, that he could not find language sufficiently enthusiastic to speak of the convent schools of Ireland. He proclaimed their efficiency in spite of the little help they received from the State. The convent schools were the work of the people; they were built with the money provided by the people—and still they were told that the Irish people took no interest in educational matters. He knew the Irishman, and he made bold to say that whether at home or abroad in those distant lands to which he had been driven by the tyrannical laws imposed by England, no man surpassed him in his efforts to promote education, or in the sacrifices he bore for so sacred a cause, or in his desire to see his children—in the matter of intellectual equipment—equal to the best. If he did not succeed, it was because the State stood in the way and hindered rather than helped in the necessary work.

Let them take the case of Galway. With sorrow he was forced to admit that the district in which his constituency lay was one of the poorest in Ireland, much, alas, of its ancient prosperity and splendour having disappeared. Despite this, what did they find? Thanks to the zeal of the venerable prelate at the head of the diocese, to the priests and people as well as to the religions conducting the institutions, they found Brothers' schools and convent schools full of life, while State schools close by were dying and decaying. Owing its origin to the generosity of the people, and the energy of the Jesuit fathers, they would find a college for the young, surpassed by few, imparting the best possible education to hundreds of the Galway youths. What help had the State ever given to this institution or did it give now? Not one penny; while only a few yards away from this bright lively institution were the model school and Queen's College—death-like in the atmosphere around them, the flickering spark of life kept burning by the thousands of pounds slobered on them annually by the State.

This was a most important matter. They were told nothing more could be done for those schools, and no improvement could be made; they already cost too much. As to this Mr. Dale's Report said—

"23. The net expenditure incurred in maintaining the model schools out of the National Education Vote (excluding the expenditure by the Board of Works on repairs, etc.) amounted, in 1902, to £30,732 10s. 5d., the cost to the State of each pupil in average attendance being thus over £4 10s. In individual cases the cost far exceeds this. The cost of the model school at Athy in 1902 was over £7 per head; while at Clonmel, Enniscorthy, Kilkenny, and Waterford, it was over £6.

"24. The cost of the model schools is thus far higher than that of the ordinary national Irish schools* or the convent schools, which only cost the State from £1 5s. to £2 10s. per head."

The Irish representatives had been asked for suggestions; he would venture to offer one as a remedy for this state of things. Hand over the model school to those who could make use of it; transfer the control so that the door might open to Catholic children; sell it, make it useful and let some return be secured for the money spent upon it. There were those in Galway who could turn it into a useful institution. That was not all. A short time ago, want was felt for a boarding school for girls in Galway City and appeal made for support, which was so eagerly responded to that in a short time an elegant building was erected. The Dominicans stepped in and took possession and prepared it for the reception of the pupils, but the State, instead of assisting, taxed it so highly that the Dominicans could hardly meet the expense. To him, coming from the Province of Quebec, Canada, where such a tax would not have been tolerated for an instant, where the State was so generous in the matter of exemptions and subventions relating to education, this tax appeared an odious outrage. But it was thus that things were done in Ireland, always against the spirit, the wish, and interest of the people. It was thus that the art of government of a people was understood and practised. He was perhaps the most moderate among his fellow Nationalists, brought up as he had been under a better form of government and fairer institutions. He could not help saying, however, that Ireland

had no Government; for the three gentlemen sitting in this House practically represented nobody in Ireland; they were the gaolers of Ireland, the turnkeys of the vast prison into which Ireland had been converted.

Let it not be said that the Irish people took no interest in the cause of education. They had erected colleges everywhere. They had convents such as few lands possessed, and ordinary schools. He was not prepared to admit that by the people generally no interest was taken in the ordinary national schools. They had confidence in the manager who was their trusted friend and in the teacher. But it was hardly to be expected that poor parents, condemned to work in England in order to obtain money to pay their way, could take so much interest as others. Whose was the responsibility? What did this Parliament give? Who built the schools? Again he asked—Where did the responsibility rest? On this Parliament, the majority of whom did not give one fig for Ireland; upon the abominable system of laws devised to make the country poor and to keep it poor; upon the system which never wanted, and never was intended, to have the children of Irishmen educated. While Parliament could not give too much money to already richly endowed Universities which happened to be the pets of this Parliament, Ireland could have no University acceptable to the majority of the people. While the State most liberally helped education in every way in this country, it starved Ireland in this important matter, and he held that the cause of primary education in Ireland should receive more encouragement and more generous support than was now extended by the State. The taxes which England imposed upon Ireland were expended upon works bringing no benefit to her. They had no quarrel with any country in the world—except with England—and they could well do without an Army and a Navy. They would have no quarrel with this country if they were left to manage their own affairs. Their money, Irish money, was not spent for Irish purposes. Here was the chance of a reform and of a mighty reform. Let the State seriously undertake to help their schools, help in the matter of building and equipment,

and do such work as the State was supposed to do. The manager, the teacher, and the people understood their obligations, and, as at all times, would carry them out. For his part he had little hope for genuine reform in this matter until the right of the Irish people to the government of their own country should have been admitted, and until the only Parliament competent to deal with such matters should have been established—the Parliament of Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said he had only found during the whole course of the debate two speakers who had seemed to speak their minds and speak really to the question. One was the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, who had plainly told the House that the whole question was wrapped up in the denominational question and that it would never be settled until that was taken into account. A great deal had been said about popular control, but very little as to the difficulties in the way of popular control. There was a large body of opinion in Ireland who would have nothing else but denominational schools, and that was the question the Chief Secretary had to face. The whole question was that the teachers must be of the same religion as the children, and there was a very large section of the people of Ireland which would object to any system which did not permit that. It had been suggested that the present system should be done away with, but though it might not be a good system it was a much better system than many of those which had been mentioned. Ireland would not submit to the will of Parliament if it could help it, and it would be absurd to suppose the Catholics of Ireland would ask for a system which would necessitate the surrender of the whole of the management, and give the whole control of education in Ireland to this House. He had no objection to secular schools provided the various denominations had their own schools also. Then came the more insidious system of local control; there was a certain portion of the people who might adopt that system, but on the part of many, who hoped to keep out of Ireland local control of any kind, there was a very great objection to that.

Mr. Charles Devlin.

He had been told on the best authority that the Catholic clergy in Ireland not only took the greatest interest in ordinary education but also in technical education. He did not admire the present system, but he thought it was at any rate infinitely better than any of those which had been suggested. The Chief Secretary had said that there was one hopeful germ and one glimpse of light in Irish education, and that was technical education. He agreed that the technical education committees as a rule had done well and had shown themselves capable of managing their own affairs. There had, however, been a little friction occasionally with the Department which did not leave those committees undisputed power. He thought hon. Members would agree that neither agriculture nor the development of technical education lent itself very much to a denominational system, but when they came to the teaching of the children they were bound to have some differences. Probably the Chief Secretary thought the system had worked well because the elected bodies had got the management of the system, although the Government had a certain amount of control. It was possible that the Chief Secretary might be right in saying that this was a hopeful germ, but he thought that under the present system it would be a long time before that germ was fully developed. In this debate the question of religion had been suppressed because it was a rather awkward subject.

With regard to the money, he thought it was a very awkward time to discuss this question upon the night before the Budget. The Chief Secretary had admitted that he would like to improve the sanitary condition of the schools, but he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that whitewashing was not the principal reform that was wanted. The system of heating the schools by fires was most primitive, because the children had to carry the turf to school. Now those children were beginning to dress a little better and naturally they did not care about carrying turf to school. Ireland was a wet country, and an improved system of heating the schools was required. It had been said that in some districts there were too many schools and that a considerable sum of money was wasted in that way. He

agreed that the money spent on some of the Queen's Colleges was money wasted, especially in Galway and Cork, where the whole system was out of gear. In Galway and Cork they had in the Queen's Colleges beautiful buildings and good professors, but the population there would have very little to do with them. In those centres there was a very strong objection to any colleges with no religious teaching, and the colleges of Galway and Cork were situated in the centre of the county which had been celebrated for pride, poverty, and devotion. If the Queen's Colleges in Galway and Cork were conducted in a Catholic atmosphere they would have a very large college, whereas now they were practically being conducted without many students. The model schools were very good where they were used for educational purposes, but where they were used to fight the Catholics they were a waste of public funds. The Chief Secretary was nursing the Development Grant, and he agreed that it was a good thing to have a prudent Chief Secretary. He thought, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was pushing things too far. The Chief Secretary had tried to settle a great many questions, and he hoped that before he left office he would be able to give the teachers of Ireland nearly as much as they got in England and Scotland, that they would be able to have the schools decently warmed and with better sanitary arrangements, even if the Chief Secretary gave a little trouble to his colleagues in the Cabinet.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said he took part in the debate for two reasons. The first was because he wished to associate himself, in the complaints made in regard to primary education in Ireland, with the Members opposite. The second was because he wished to dissociate himself with hon. Members opposite when they said it was one of the great necessities for Home Rule. The Chief Secretary had given them very little hope this session, if any at all. He said a few weeks ago, in reply to the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, who said he stood there to ask for Home Rule, that he stood there to refuse it. But he could not see why all Irishmen, representing all parts, could not unite in

demanding for Ireland something that was reasonable and necessary without bringing in a lot of questions which did not concern the issue. The speech of the hon. Member for North Galway went straight to the root of the question. The hon. Member distinctly stated without reservation that the Roman Catholics in the South and West of Ireland would not have anything less than denominational education. That denominational education they felt a scruple about giving to the children of the North of Ireland. The hon. Member for South Tyrone, who had gone to the other side of the House to have a look at him, made a statement in the course of the debate which caused him to turn round and look very sternly at him. For a long time, he said, he had been carried away on the waves because of a belief that what was necessary for Ireland was not denominational education, and he found it was absolutely essential for him to depart from the views which he originally held.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What I said was that I entered this House a resolute adherent of secular education, believing that it was the duty of Parliament to provide secular education and the Church would provide religious education. I said I had been swept away. First of all England paid for Roman Catholic education in England, and Scotland for Roman Catholic education in Scotland. It was possible for the Irish child in England and Scotland—Protestant countries—to receive religious education at the expense of the State, and impossible for them to receive it in their own country.

MR. SLOAN said the statement made by the hon. Member did not alter his opinion of what he had said. The North of Ireland had as much right to the attention and respect of the House as any other part of the country. No man with any idea of how a child should be taught could go to a national school in any part of Ireland without deploring the conditions under which that child had to be educated. Not only did the Chief Secretary admit that the sanitary conditions of the schools were unsatisfactory, as well as the average attendance, which was necessary in order to get an assistant teacher, but the very

Mr. Sloan.

fact that these children were victims of a foul atmosphere was a question which ought to engage the attention of any Government more speedily than it had engaged the attention of the present one. The Development Grant Fund, the equivalent of which was allotted to England and Scotland, ought, without any quibbling, to be devoted to primary education in Ireland, not kept for every change that took place in the mind of some company like the Dingle Railway Company when it wanted to claim £10,000 or £20,000. The teachers had a great grievance. They had been alluded to by the hon. Member who seconded this Motion, who, he understood, was an expert upon the injustices which teachers suffered under. Out of a salary of about £50 or £60 a year those teachers had sometimes to provide necessities for the schools of which they were the principals, and that was not a state of things to encourage a man to do his work in a satisfactory manner. The residue grant which had been spoken of was never paid until about four months after it was due. He had often questioned the Chief Secretary about this grant, and his reply was that it could not be paid until the 31st March. After that they heard at the Congress of the National School Teachers, held in Belfast in the Queen's College, that when they went down to the post office there was no money there for their pay.

He was not going to say very much regarding denominational education or the ever-increasing demand for Home Rule for Ireland. It was sufficient for him to say that he had always tried to do his part, as a humble individual, to associate himself with every reform which he thought and believed was for the good of Ireland, at the same time maintaining his own principles. Not only had they to consider Ireland upon this question, but there was also a large section of English Protestants who had to be considered upon a subject which might arouse a great deal of hostility in the future. Could they not agree upon the common platform of primary education? Had they descended so low that they could not join hands to help the Roman Catholic and the Protestant child to get a better education, more sanitary schools, and to

place the teachers on a better footing? Could not secondary and technical education go up by leaps and bounds without this tremendous canker worm eating the vitals out of every debate in this House? He thought the Chief Secretary's reply had a disappointing tone about it, because another session of Parliament would have to pass before he could introduce a Bill dealing with this question. He had concluded from the debate that it was the intense desire of the Government to grapple with this great question, to revolutionise the present system of education in Ireland, and, if they got the opportunity, to bring about a reform which he hoped would meet with the acceptance of all hon. Gentlemen opposite. Therefore he had much pleasure in identifying himself with the demand made upon the Government.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said that for twenty years he had, full of despair, watched the fortunes of the Irish primary schools. It was a pathetic thing that Ireland, the home of learning in the dark ages, should have sunk into its present position. The speech of the Chief Secretary was the most hopeless to which he had listened since he had been a Member of Parliament. The Reports of the Government inspectors indicated a condition of things with respect to school buildings which should not be allowed any longer to continue. With these Reports before him, what was the answer of the Chief Secretary? The answer was that it would take £40,000 to put matters straight. Money had been found for things less urgent, and the money must be found for matters of this sort. The fit of economy had come rather late in regard to this Government. It would have been well for the country if it had come when they were squandering hundreds of thousands of pounds. The Chief Secretary said that the Irish teacher could be dismissed by one manager, and he asked, so long as that was the case, what was the use of improving his position. Was that a fair excuse why nothing could be done?

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Member had misunderstood what he stated.

DR. MACNAMARA said something ought to be done at once in regard to this matter. Many Irish teachers were personal friends of his own, and he wondered at the marvels they had achieved in the face of heart-breaking difficulties. According to Mr. Dale, the minor repairs of the schools in the country districts were often done by the teacher. The Chief Secretary seemed cordially to agree with Mr. Dale in his statement that the most vital defect in Irish education was the lack of any local interest in the conduct of the schools except among the clergy. Mr. Dale went on to suggest the creation of local authorities and the throwing of a larger financial burden than the present on the locality. Members of this House could probe the reason for the indifference of Irish parents to education in a way which would not become a public official like the author of this Report. The reason was that the system was superimposed upon them from the outside. It was not in harmony with popular sentiment, and the English Government, whether Tory or Liberal, had to learn the lesson that an educational system which might be suitable to England, Wales, or Scotland was not necessarily suitable to Ireland, and, if he might say so with great respect, his compatriots from Ireland had to learn that the converse also was true. The Government had recognised that in dealing with Scotland. A Bill had been introduced which conceded to Scotland every proposition which had been denounced from the Treasury Bench when asked for England and Wales. The Irish race had wit and genius in which there was a gold mine. The Government should cultivate that great national asset to the utmost as being the cheapest and most lasting security for the national prosperity and well-being.

*MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.) said he had been a teacher for forty years, and he knew something about the subject before the Committee. His belief was that the Irish national system had been going down since he was a young lad to the present hour. Some people might say that he was what was

called in the Latin language *laudator temporis acti*, but he could give reasons for stating that in some respects education in Ireland was better in former times than at present. For the first twenty years during which he was a teacher he had no difficulty in getting boys who had a knowledge of algebra, geometry, mensuration, and trigonometry, but in the later period of his professional work such boys could not be had from the national schools. He had also had some experience as a teacher in America, and he could state that the salaries paid to teachers in Ireland did not compare favourably with those paid in that country. He condemned the present system which required an average attendance of sixty before a school was entitled to a second teacher, pointing out that at certain seasons of the year, when work could be obtained in the fields, it was difficult to get the children to attend. The people of England did not know how things stood in Ireland. There was a class of people in the Augean stables called Dublin Castle who were no better than blood-suckers or vampires. As to the staffing of the schools he would say that they required a great many more teachers if they were to have efficient teaching. It was pitiful to see the children as they went to school in the morning. Their condition was almost as bad as that of barbarians in Timbuctoo.

Certain promises had been held out by the Chief Secretary; but they had not to deal with that right hon. Gentleman alone. There was the dark horse behind him, and they all knew that it was hard to break an old horse off his trot. He did not say that in any contemptuous way, but only repeated it as a common saying in Ireland. He denied the statement made by Dr. Starkie that there was a lack of capability or want of experience among the clerical managers of National Schools in Ireland. He had had more than forty years experience, and he knew that there were hundreds of men of great ability who were interested in all that concerned education and schools. Some of the ablest linguists and logicians in the country had been trained in the Catholic Colleges of Ireland in Maynooth and the various diocesan Colleges. He might instance the present Archbishop of

Mr London.

Dublin, whose great work on Theology, the *De Ecclesia*, could compare favourably with the writings of Gury or Perroni. It was easy to talk of the difficulty of discovering a remedy; but the remedy lay, as the hon. Member for Scotland Division had said, in Home Rule. If they ruled themselves, they would have a body responsible to the people to manage their education — a body composed of Bishops, priests, and laymen among whom there would be no bigotry. He hoped that the Government, whether of to-day, or the next day, would take up the case of Irish education, which was at present in a wretched state. There had been a falling off in national schools for a considerable time. When he was a pupil there were as many boys in the school in which he was taught who had a knowledge of trigonometry as there were now in the whole of the National Schools of all Ireland. He hoped that the Motion before the House, and the discussion upon it, would have some effect, and that the Chief Secretary would endeavour to bring round his colleagues to his view as to the necessity of an immediate improvement of the educational system of Ireland.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.) said that this debate had been looked forward to all over Ireland with great interest, and he was sure that there would be disappointment with the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary when it came to be read. It was certainly expected that some indication would have been given as to what was going to be done in regard to the National Education Board. That board had not enabled the people of Ireland to obtain the education they wanted; and in no sense could it be called a National Board, because the education given under their system was anything but national—it was anti-national. That was shown by their attitude in regard to the teaching of the Irish language. After the Government defeat on the subject five weeks ago, he certainly expected that the Chief Secretary would have told them to-night what was to be done in regard to the teaching of the Irish language in the national schools; but all that they were informed was that the National Board had not yet made up its mind with reference to that

important subject. He hoped that the Chief Secretary would not allow the anti-national line in regard to the Irish language, taken up by the board, to be continued. A few weeks ago he referred to the system of teaching music in the national schools, and urged that a proper system of teaching music should be based upon the folk-songs of the people. Since then a small school-book had been put into his hands, and he was sorry to see only ten folk-songs in their national language in the collection. He maintained that it was the duty of the National Board to make a complete collection of national folk-songs for use in schools.

MR. WOLFF (Belfast, E.) said he had seldom listened to a debate in which there had been such unanimity of abuse as in the case of the National Education Board. Every hon. Member who had spoken declared that that board was the cause of the backward state of education in Ireland, and the strongest condemnation of the board had come from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had devoted about ten minutes of his speech to showing what excellent work the board had done.

MR. WOLFF said that the board might have had excellent intentions, no doubt, but the result had not been very great. Everybody knew that primary education in Ireland was miles behind that of England and Scotland, and there was no chance of an alteration being made unless the system was altogether changed. The Chief Secretary had said that there was no money, but he agreed with the hon. Member for Camberwell that that was no excuse whatever. If the state of the primary schools was such as Mr. Dale had shown it to be, then the people of Scotland and England would be the very first to say that the money must be found to remedy the existing state of affairs. His own belief was that a child ought to be able to go from the meanest cottage in the land to a primary school, then to an intermediate school, next to pass to a secondary school, and finally to the

University without a single penny of expense. That was his ideal, and it had been carried out in Germany and America; but in the meantime they must tackle primary education in an efficient manner. That could not be done until they had another kind of Education Board for Ireland. He was disappointed more than he could say at the speech of the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman might have given the House some idea of what he intended to do. He would, however, take the right hon. Gentleman's assurance that he intended to do something, and in the hope and expectation of that he should support the Government in this matter.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said he would not go into the details of the complaints they had to make against the present system of education in Ireland. Irish education was in such a chaotic condition that it was admitted on all hands that it required amendment, and yet the right hon. Gentleman who was charged with the duty of governing Ireland in educational matters had just told the House that he had not quite made up his mind as to the necessity of carrying out this educational reform this session. At such a late hour he was going to detain the House only to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the fact that in every country in the world at the present moment education was regarded as the most important factor of national progress. Hon. Members knew what was being done in this matter in Germany, France, Switzerland, and every other Continental country. Those who had read the Moseley Education Committee's Report would be able to contrast what was put forward there with the attitude taken up by the right hon. Gentleman in regard to Ireland, and they could compare his policy with what had been done in America. In America £60,000,000 a year was devoted to education from the State resources, and local contributions were made most liberally. American millionaires also devoted a large amount of their spare money to the purpose of education; but when they pleaded the cause of education for Ireland the right hon. Gentleman told them that he had no time this session to consider it, and no money to devote to such

a purpose. He considered that that was a very unsatisfactory state of things, and that the subject was deserving of more careful consideration than it appeared to have received at the hands of the Government.

MR. WYNDHAM dissented.

MR. FIELD said the right hon. Gentleman had his opinion on this matter, and he had his, and after the report of this debate had appeared in the papers he would see who was right. It was the duty of the Government which took upon itself the function of governing Ireland to do it in a proper manner according to the needs and exigencies of the time. Education was a most important matter for any country, for the real progress of a country depended upon its education. They had been told by the Chief Secretary that they must wait. He would not go at length into all the details of the defects of Irish education, but he would ask what was the Government for? What were Ministers paid for? The function of a Government was to unravel difficulties and to provide

remedies for them in the country they governed, and if they were not capable of carrying out those duties they ought to permit other men to take on those responsibilities. He was convinced that the result of this debate would be received with the greatest possible disappointment in Ireland. It was the duty of the Government to try to solve this problem. He agreed that the different forms of education ought to be co-ordinated the one with the other, and that they could not approach it in a piecemeal fashion. He urged upon the Government the immediate necessity of reconsidering this question, which was one of the most pressing of Irish grievances. All Irish representatives were agreed as to the absolute importance of primary education in Ireland. He hoped that some attempt would be made to formulate a sensible co-ordinated plan to put an end to the present chaotic condition of education in Ireland.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 172; Noes, 118. (Division List No. 82.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarras, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhowanagree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James

Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield

Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, George Denison (York
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'ntm'ts)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry

Mr. Field.

Gretton, John	M'iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.)	Sharpe, William Edward T.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill	Malcolm, Ian	Sinclair Louis (Romford)
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry)	Martin, Richard Biddulph	Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Hare, Thomas Leigh	Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wig'tn)	Sloan, Thomas Henry
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)	Mildmay, Francis Bingham	Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.	Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
Haslet, Sir James Horner	Milvain, Thomas	Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Hay, Hon. Claude George	Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)	Spear, John Ward
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)	Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)	Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.)	Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)	Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Heaton, John Henniker	Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer	Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Helder, Augustus	Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)	Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute)	Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Pickman, Sir Alfred	Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)	Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Hogg, Lindsay	Myers, William Henry	Taylor, Austen (East Toxteth)
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)	Newdegate, Francis A. N.	Thornton, Percy M.
Houlst, Joseph	Parker, Sir Gilbert	Tollemache, Henry James
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse	Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)	Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.	Percy, Earl	Tuff, Charles
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)	Pierpoint, Robert	Tuke, Sir John Batty
Keswick, William	Platt-Higgins, Frederick	Valentia, Viscount
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)	Plummer, Walter R.	Walker, Col. William Hall
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)	Powell, Sir Francis Sharp	Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N. R.)	Pretyman, Ernest George	Warde, Colonel C. E.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham)	Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward	Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)	Randles, John S.	Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage	Rasch, Sir. Frederick Carne	Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.	Reid, James (Greenock)	Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)	Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)	Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Lonsdale, John Brownlee	Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)	Wylie, Alexander
Loyd, Archie Kirkman	Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)	Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)	Round, Rt. Hon. James	Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Lytelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred	Royds, Clement Molyneux	
Maddon, John Cumming	Rutherford, John (Lancashire)	
MacIver, David (Liverpool)	Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford	
M'Arthur Charles (Liverpool)	Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)	
M'Calmont, Colonel James	Seton-Karr, Sir Henry	

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Alexander Acland-Hood and
Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)	Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)	M'Hugh, Patrick A.
Ambrose, Robert	Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.	M'Kean, John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)	Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John	M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Black, Alexander William	Gray, Ernest (West Ham)	M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Blake, Edward	Griffith, Ellis J.	Munsfield, Horace Rendal
Boland, John	Hammond, John	Mooney, John J.
Brigg, John	Harrington, Timothy	Murphy, John
Burke, E. Haviland	Harwood, George	Nannetti, Joseph P.
Caldwell, James	Hayden, John Patrick	Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Cameron, Robert	Helme, Norval Watson	Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)	Hemphill Rt. Hon. Charles H.	O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
Causton, Richard Knight	Henderson, Arthur (Durham)	O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
Cawley, Frederick	Horniman, Frederick John	O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
Clancy, John Joseph	Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.	O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
Condon, Thomas Joseph	Jameson, Major J. Eustace	O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
Cran, Eugene	Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)	O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
Cramer, William Randal	Jordan, Jeremiah	O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
Cullinan, J.	Joyce, Michael	O'Malley, William
Dalziel, James Henry	Kilbride, Denis	O'Mara, James
Delany, William	Langley, Batty	O'Shee, James John
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)	Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)	Paulton, James Mellor
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)	Layland-Barratt, Francis	Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Dobbie, Joseph	Leamy, Edmund	Power, Patrick Joseph
Doogan, P. C.	Leigh, Sir Joseph	Price, Robert John
Duncan, J. Hastings	Leng, Sir John	Reddy, M.
Edwards, Frank	Levy, Maurice	Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Emmott, Alfred	London, W.	Redmond, William (Clare)
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)	Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.	Rigg, Richard
Fenwick, Charles	MacNeill, John Gordon Swift	Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Field, William	MacVeagh, Jeremiah	Russell, T. W.
Flavin, Michael Joseph	M'Crae, George	Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)

Samuel, S. M. (Whitchapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Soares, Ernest J.

Spencer, RtHn. C.R. (Northants)
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)

Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Thomas Esmonde and Cap-
 tain Donelan.

Main Question again proposed.

***MR. WEIR** (Ross and Cromarty) called attention to the congestion in certain areas in the Highland crofting counties; and urged that more adequate arrangements should be made by the Congested Districts Board for the settlement of the people on the land. The conditions of life in the Island of Lewis were, he said, becoming worse every year. No land had been secured, and nothing was being done. Access to the land was the one thing needful. The congestion was greater than ever, and the number of houses in which the cattle and occupants were separated merely by a handrail or low partition had not decreased. The people of this country had no idea of the terrible conditions under which people in the Island of Lewis had to live, and he considered that the Government were to blame for not taking action. It was the duty of the Congested Districts Board to take steps to alter this state of things. The farms should be broken up and arrangements should be made with the proprietor of the island, who, he believed, was prepared to come to terms. He had been unable to get information from the Scottish Office as to whether any negotiations were in progress. When he asked what steps were being taken, he was advised to wait. Well, he had done so

for a good many years, and, so far as he could ascertain, the authorities were still doing nothing. Why did not the Congested Districts Board make an effort to secure some of these farms? Why did they not make arrangements for migration schemes? It was very painful for him to have to raise this question time after time. The people in the Highlands wanted access to the land in order that they might earn their living from it, and they ought not to be penned up as they were in abominable and insanitary huts. Deer forests were being extended throughout the Western Highlands. Whenever the lease of a farm ran out, the farm was converted into a deer forest, and thus the chances of the people of securing holdings were daily being minimised. Yet the Congested Districts Board sat with folded arms and did nothing! Let them remember that there were no industries in that part of the country—there were no mills and no factories, and the fishing industry had been ruined by illegal trawling, which had been carried on to an alarming extent all around the coasts. The poverty of the people was most distressing. Let hon. Members go and see for themselves, and, if they did that, he was convinced that they would soon force the Congested Districts Board to take action.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

SUPPLY

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

Civil Services and Revenue Departments Estimates, 1904-5.

CLASS I.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,500, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for expenditure in respect of Royal Palaces."

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy, Burghs) moved to report Progress on the ground that an understanding had been arrived at, that no Votes should be taken that night, and that the Government should content themselves with getting the Army (Annual) Bill through.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (Mr. Dalziel.)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) said he believed that that was the arrangement.

Mr. DALZIEL said he should like to know how far the Government proposed to proceed with the Army (Annual) Bill, in view of the fact that the customary circular with reference to the measure had not been distributed to Members. He hoped they would not press the Third Reading that night.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Welling-ton) said they would be content if they got the Committee stage that night, and he would put down the Third Reading for to-morrow.

Question put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

Clause 4:—

Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) proposed the insertion of words with a view to the correction of an apparent error. The Clause referred to the Army (Annual) Act of 1881. But that Act had been amended in several instances in recent years, and, in order to make the clause clear, he ventured to suggest the necessity of introducing the words as amended by the Army (Annual) Acts.

Amendment proposed—

"In Clause 4, page 3, line 10, after the word 'Act' to add the words 'as amended by the Army (Annual) Acts.'"—(Mr. Caldwell.)

Question proposed "That those words be there added."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) said he had no objection to the

Amendment, although he did not know it was altogether necessary. The Army (Annual) Act was reprinted in 1901, and that, he was advised, was the Act that was really now being amended.

MR. CALDWELL: Then put in the words, "As amended by the Army (Annual) Act, 1901."

Amendment, as amended, put, and agreed to.

On Clause 8:—

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) asked for some information as to the object of the clause. Was it proposed to reduce the compulsory allowance by a soldier to his wife from 1s. to 6d. per day?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No. The object is to enable the allowance to be increased, not reduced.

MR. DALZIEL: That shows the difficulties caused by our not having the Bill before us.

Clause agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In Clause 9, page 4, line 6, after the word 'Act,' to add the words 'As amended by the Army (Annual) Act, 1891.'"—(Mr. Caldwell.)

Question proposed "That those words be there added."

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would not oppose the Amendment, though he considered it to be mere surplusage. They were now amending the 1901 Act, which no doubt amended the 1891 Act.

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

MR. CALDWELL pointed out that the words dealt with in this clause were not contained in the 1901 Act, but were to be found in the 1891 Act. The Committee must amend the Statute, and not rely merely upon printed copies of an Act of Parliament bringing the Act up to date, and issued solely for the information of the service.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said that if the hon. Member would look at the Army Act, 1885, he would find there a provision that the Army Act should always be available as amended by any subsequent Act. The present Bill referred to the Army Act, which, read by the light of the Statute of 1885, meant the Army Act of 1881 as amended by any subsequent Statute. Therefore the Amendment was unnecessary.

MR. CALDWELL said the reference in the Act of 1885 was a different thing altogether.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said the Amendment was quite unnecessary, but in order to save time he would accept it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn" (Sir A. Acland-Hood) put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 19th April, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Abinger sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Shields Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Kettering Improvement Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Birkdale Improvement Bill; Brixham Gas Bill; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill; Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill; Acton Improvement Bill; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; Colney Hatch Gas Bill; London and North-Western Railway Bill; Midland Railway Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [H.L.]; Young and Bell's Patents Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Ulster Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [H.L.]; Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [H.L.]; Buxton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Ellenborough be proposed to the

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Estcourt; read, and agreed to.

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [H.L.]; Leeds Corporation (Waterworks) Railway Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]; Hollywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Barrymore be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Boston; read, and agreed to.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts—Was presented by the Lord President (The Earl Vane [M. Londonderry]); read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 43.)

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 44.)

PETITIONS.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Petitions against restriction of the discretionary power of magistrates to grant licences; of Manchester, Salford, and District Temperance Union; Eccles Free Church Council; Eccles Congregational Church. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of the St. Pancras Corporation. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H.L.].

Petitions in favour of; of the Town, City, and County Councils of Bethnal Green; Beverley; Bootle; Burnley; Cardiff; Chester; Croydon; Dawsbury;

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Dover; Gateshead; Longton; Middlesborough; Neath; Poole and others; Reading; Richmond (Surrey); Rochdale; Scarborough; Shoreditch; Stoke Newington; Swindon; Worcester; Fulham; St. Pancras; Wiltshire; Edinburgh School Board; Sheffield Federated Trades Council; Ramsgate and District Incorporated Chamber of Commerce; Edinburgh and Leith Licensed Grocers Association; Chambers of Commerce, etc., signing; Persons signing. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Standing Order No. CXI., viz:—

POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF (SCOTLAND).

Report of a Departmental Committee, appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland, to inquire into the system of poor law medical relief, and into the rules and regulations for the management of poorhouses; with supplement. (March 30.)

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

Immigration Ordinances of Trinidad and British Guiana. (March 30.)

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 1902 (PART I. CRIMINAL STATISTICS).

Statistics relating to criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, reformatory and industrial schools, and criminal lunatics, for the year 1902. (April 7.)

EDUCATION.

Lists of public elementary schools and training colleges under the administration of the Board, 1903-4. (April 7.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Annual Report for the year ended March, 1903. (April 7.)

TRADE REPORTS—I. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 604. Belgium (Canals and other navigable waterways).

No. 605. Italy (Changes in the distribution of works of art in the Royal Galleries of Florence). (April 7.)

No. 606. Africa (Prospects of growing cotton in the East Africa Protectorate). (April 9.)

No. 607. Africa (Country produce traffic on the Uganda Railway). (April 13.)

II. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3135. West Africa (Report on the trade of Liberia). (April 9.)

TRINIDAD.

Further papers relating to the disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, in March, 1903. (In continuation of [Cd. 1661], July, 1903.) (April 8.)

EGYPT, No. 1 (1904).

Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the finances, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1903. (April 8.)

PRISONS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1877.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, being the Sixty-fifth Annual Report on Prisons in Scotland. (April 12.)

FRANCE, No. 1 (1904).

Despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, forwarding agreements between Great Britain and France of 8th April, 1904. (April 12.)

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1903.

Tables showing the constitution of county, district, and burgh licensing courts. (April 13.)

LUNACY (SCOTLAND) ACT.

Forty-sixth Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. (April 13.)

ROYAL OBSERVATORY, EDINBURGH.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Astronomer Royal for Scotland. (April 13.)

**AGRARIAN OFFENCES (PROVINCES)
(IRELAND).**

Return for the year ended 31st December, 1903. (April 13.)

INDIA (LAND REVENUE).

Statement showing the number of processes issued against land revenue defaulters during the year 1901-1902. (April 13.)

**BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES,
AND VACCINATION (SCOTLAND).**

Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Registrar-General in Scotland for the year 1903, and Thirty-ninth Annual Report on Vaccination. (April 13.)

**POOR LAW MEDICAL RELIEF.
(SCOTLAND).**

Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Scotland; Volume II. containing minutes of evidence, appendices, and index. (April 15.)

**CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND)
ACT, 1897.**

Sixth Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland. (April 15.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3136. Netherlands (Amsterdam).
No. 3137. Germany (Pomerania).

**CHARITY COMMISSIONERS (ENGLAND
AND WALES).**

Fifty-first Report.

INDIA (OFFICIAL SECRETS).

India Official Secrets (Amendment) Act, 1904.

EXPLOSIVES.

(Explosion at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, Faversham, Kent). Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain M. B. Lloyd, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of gunpowder which occurred in the mixing house of the factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey,

Limited, at the Marsh, Faversham, on the 2nd February, 1904.

(Explosion at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent). Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an accident which occurred in the drying house for nitro-cotton at the Factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at Cliffe, Kent, on the 4th February, 1904.

EMIGRATION STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Report and Tables for the year 1903.

BRITISH COTTON CULTIVATION.

Report to the Board of Trade on cotton cultivation in the British Empire and in Egypt, by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Orders, made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade:—

I. Authorising the construction of light railways—

(1.) In the parishes of Arkley, Barnet Vale, Chipping Barnet, Bushey Rural, Bushey Urban, and Watford Urban, in the county of Hertford.

(2.) In the urban and rural districts of Rugby, in the county of Warwick.

(3.) From St. Osyth to Clacton-on-Sea, in the county of Essex, in the rural district of Tendring, and the urban district of Clacton.

(4.) In the Borough of Leicester and in the rural districts of Barrow-upon-Soar, and of Market Bosworth, in the county of Leicester.

II. Transferring to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Bradford the powers conferred upon the Nidd Valley Light Railway Company by the Nidd Valley Light Railway Order, 1901, and amending that Order.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (COMMITTEE ON THE MODEL COURSE OF PHYSICAL EXERCISES).

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the model course of physical exercises.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).

Return of all loans raised in England, under the provisions of any Act of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 31st March, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc.

TRINIDAD.

Amended prison rule relating to indentured immigrants sentenced to hard labour.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.

Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Order of 1904.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (WELSH INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION ACT, 1889).

Report to the Board of Education on the administration of schools under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889.

GOVERNMENT INSURANCES AND ANNUITIES.

Account of all moneys received on account of contracts for the grant of deferred life annuities, and for payments on death, under the provisions of the Acts 27 and 28 Victoria, chap. 43, 45 and 46 Victoria, chap. 51, and 50 and 51 Victoria, chap. 40, and of the disposal thereof, and of the contracts made for the year ended 31st December, 1903.

POLLING DISTRICTS.

Orders made by the county councils of Hertford, altering certain polling districts in the Western or Watford Parliamentary Division; and Lancaster, altering certain polling districts in the Clitheroe and Westhoughton Parliamentary Divisions.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896; MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

The Motor Cars (Use and Construction) (Scotland) Order, 1904.

The Motor Car Registration and Licensing (Scotland) Order, 1903.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS ACT, 1893.

Amended regulations made by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES FUND (IRELAND).

Order transferring to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland the powers and duties of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland in respect of the portion of the fund placed at the disposal of the Department by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899.

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) ACT, 1888.

Order in Council, dated 24th March, 1904, adding the county of Armagh to the district assigned to the Belfast Local Bankruptcy Court.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Report of the proceedings of the Board of Trade up to the 31st December, 1903, and of the proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date.

EGYPTIAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1885.

Account up to 31st March, 1904.

GREEK LOAN OF 1898.

Accounts up to 31st March, 1904.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury minute, dated 13th April, 1904, declaring that David Gray, leading hand of fitters, Royal Gun Factory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Moved, That Standing Order No. XXI. be considered in order to its being suspended for this day's sitting (The Earl of Hardwicke); agreed to, and ordered accordingly. Then it was moved that the Motion on East Indian Revenues (Tibet) do have precedence of the Order of the Day which stands before it (The Earl of Hardwicke); agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I have given private notice to the noble Marquess the Leader of the House of a Question which I wish to put to him before the ordinary business begins. As a rule, by the custom of this country, the duty of the Opposition is to criticise generally the acts of the Government. It is not often that an Opposition can give unstinted congratulation on any action it may take. I rejoice to think there are exceptions to this rule, and the present is an occasion when we may offer this congratulation, because I believe your Lordships will all rejoice to accept as a great achievement what the noble Marquess has lately done in certain very important negotiations. In my speech on the opening night of the session I was able to congratulate His Majesty's Government on the passing of a Convention as to arbitration between this country and France, and, speaking on that occasion, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs used these words—

"I do not think you will find either here or in France that too much credit is taken to themselves by the diplomatists of either country for this happy condition of things. It is due, no doubt, partly to those courtesies which have recently been exchanged, and to which reference has been made; but I believe it to be due mainly to a deep-seated conviction on the part of the peoples of the two countries that there is no real divergence between our interests, that the greatest of our common interests is peace, and that there is no greater security for the peace of Europe than that it should be desired both by France and Great Britain."

We heartily concurred in those sentiments, and are glad that the noble Marquess has followed that up by further action in the interests of friendship between the two neighbouring countries.

It is a matter of the utmost importance to us to have friendly relations with France. It is the best pledge of peace for this country. One of the noblest aims of any statesman is to put peace on a profound and good security. We all know and appreciate the beneficent and admirable influence which the action of His Majesty the King has had with regard to this matter. His visit to Paris and the return visit to London of the President of the Republic had most excellent results. The noble Marquess has carried these results further, and has secured, by his negotiations, a Convention of the greatest possible importance. We thank him on this side of the House, and if I may be allowed to speak not only for those I represent on this Bench, but for the whole House, all your Lordships thank him for what he has done in the interests of peace and conciliation. I cannot help hoping that the same success which has marked his negotiations with France may in the future attend further negotiations with other countries with which we have differences. He has removed many differences which have been causes of trouble, irritation, and even of danger between the two countries in Asia, America, and in Africa. I beg to ask whether he proposes to present any further Papers on the recent negotiations, and whether any Resolution or Bill relating to the Convention will be brought before Parliament.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, before I attempt to answer the Question of which the noble Earl has given me private notice, I must be allowed to offer him the thanks of His Majesty's Government, and I hope I may add those who support His Majesty's Government, for the manner in which he has referred to the Agreements we have recently concluded with the French Republic. I am using no idle phrase when I say that there is no one in or out of this House whose commendation we would on an occasion like this sooner receive than that of the noble Earl opposite. In the conduct of foreign affairs the Government of the day always has this advantage, at any rate, that they may look forward to the transaction of their business with a certainty that they are not

likely to be impeded or obstructed by anything like captious criticism or opposition on the part of those who sit on the other side of the House. That is an honourable tradition always respected in this House, and one which, I trust, will never cease to be followed. But upon this occasion we can say rather more than this. For throughout the long months during which these negotiations have been continued, we had the absolute certainty that we had behind us the general public feeling of this country, and that that public feeling would be grievously disappointed if we had had to bring those negotiations to a close without finding a friendly and satisfactory solution of these international questions.

And now that the Agreements have been concluded we have no occasion to be disappointed, for their reception has certainly been, so far as their general principle is concerned, all that we could possibly have expected or desired. The documents are in your Lordships' hands, and we have published with them a despatch, in which we have endeavoured to explain both the nature of the Agreements themselves and also some of the considerations which weighed with us in concluding them. I do not, therefore, think it necessary upon this occasion to add any further explanations, but I will make this one observation only. Because these Agreements have been well received at the outset, we shall not for an instant allow ourselves to run away with the idea that they are likely to escape criticism. They cover a very extensive ground, they deal with interests of the most complicated description, and it will not surprise us if, upon close examination, we should be told that we might have made a better bargain for this country, or that we have left certain weak points, which we had not at first detected; but we may, at any rate, say this, that the general principle which underlies these Agreements does find favour with the people of this country; and when I speak of the general principle which underlies these Agreements I mean the principle that it is good for two great nations to examine frankly and fully all points of difference that exist between them, and to endeavour to dispose of these points upon a basis of mutual consideration and mutual appreciation of

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

each other's aspirations. May I add that if this principle is a sound one in regard to our foreign relations generally, it is in my belief especially sound when it is applied to our relations with the French Republic? I only add that I desire to echo what was said by the noble Earl at the close of his observations, and to express the hope, which I share with him, that the arrangement come to in this case may form a precedent which may be usefully followed in our dealings with other Powers.

Answering the two Questions which the noble Earl has put to me I have to say that, as at present advised, we have no intention of laying further Papers. As to his other inquiry, we have come to the conclusion that part, at any rate, of the arrangement which has been effected between this country and France cannot be properly carried out except by means of legislation. We shall therefore introduce a Bill dealing with the subject, and when that Bill comes before your Lordships, your Lordships will certainly have an opportunity of discussing the question. That, of course, does not preclude any Member of this House from raising points connected with the Agreements at any convenient moment. It remains for me to thank the noble Earl once more for the tenor of his remarks, and in particular, if I may say so, for the personal friendliness towards myself, by which those remarks were characterised. If I do not deserve all he said of me, I shall none the less cherish for a long time to come the remembrance of the kind words which he has used with reference to me.

TIBET (EAST INDIAN REVENUES).

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of HARDWICKE): My Lords, having very recently dealt, on the Motion of the noble Lord opposite (Lord REAY) for further Papers on Tibet, with the object and policy of Colonel Younghusband's Mission to Tibet, I do not propose, in asking your Lordships to agree to the Motion on the Paper, to deal at any length with the political aspect of this question. I might describe the policy of the Mission in the very words I used as recently as February last, with only this difference,

that whereas Colonel Younghusband was then on his way to Gyangtee, he has now arrived at that post, and also there has taken place that occurrence at Guru which we all so much deplore, and which is the real reason of the Motion now before the House. I, therefore, propose to confine my remarks to the substance of this Motion. As your Lordships are aware, the Government of India Act, 1858, contains this clause, which I believe was inserted in the Act at the instance of Mr. Gladstone—

"For preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Eastern possessions, or under other sudden or urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues."

The only criticism which suggests itself on the Motion, as it seems to me, is the question, Why did not His Majesty's Government make this Motion before? The answer to that question, as explained by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State in another place, is very plain. By doing so we should *ipso facto* have defeated our own object. We should have turned what we earnestly desired to be a peaceful Mission into a military expedition, and I can say that had it fallen to me to come down to this House and to have asked your Lordships to agree to this Motion a few months ago, I should have felt that I was giving the lie direct to all the professions that His Majesty's Government had made with regard to this Mission. It would certainly have shown that His Majesty's Government had very little confidence or faith in the pacific nature of Colonel Younghusband's movements; and I think we are entitled to ask, what would have been the effect on the minds of the Government of China and of the Lamas of Tibet, whose apprehensions we were most anxious not to arouse, had we taken such a course? I would also venture to ask what the impression would have been on the sensitive consciences of noble Lords opposite had we taken this course.

The necessity for this Motion depended not on His Majesty's Government, but on the action of the authorities at Lhasa, and had they not allowed their troops

to attack Colonel Younghusband's escort, we should not have had to come to Parliament with any Motion of this kind. Moreover, my Lords, the very insistence of His Majesty's Government on the pacific character of this Mission unfortunately conduced to the injury of the Tibetan people. The recent encounter with the Tibetans must be fresh in your Lordships' memory. General Macdonald forced an advance to take the Tibetan position, but the troops were under the strictest injunction not to fire. They advanced towards that position with fine, I would almost say with extraordinary, self-restraint. They approached the position and were literally face to face and actually in touch with the Lama's troops. Not a single man of the force employed forgot the injunction not to fire, and no blood would have been shed had it not been that a Lhasa general, by discharging his pistol at an Indian sepoy, gave the signal for an attack which does not require a very large stretch of the imagination to realise would in all ordinary circumstances have resulted, if not in the destruction of the British force, at any rate in a very serious disaster. No one can wonder that our Indian soldiers used their arms with energy and with deadly effect. Nor can we wonder that they made the Tibetans pay the penalty for the rashness of that Lhasa general. They paid far more dearly than they would have paid had those pacific instructions of His Majesty's Government not been given. Had General Macdonald advanced to the attack in the ordinary course he would, the moment that he knew the Tibetans intended to oppose our advance, have given the order to commence firing at long range. It is evident that the Tibetans would not have stood fire, and that when the position had been occupied by his forces the Tibetan losses would have been counted by less than tens instead of, as unfortunately happened, by hundreds. This encounter having taken place, the only course open to His Majesty's Government was to come to Parliament with this Motion, which I ask your Lordships to accept. I have only to add that Papers of political import additional to those already published do not exist, but such Papers as there are, relating to the advance of the Mission

from Tuna to Gyangtse and up to Colonel Younghusband's arrival there, will be laid on the Table in the course of a few days.

Moved to resolve, "That this House consents to the revenue of India being applied to defray the expenses of any military operations which have or may become necessary beyond the frontiers of His Majesty's Indian Possessions, for the purpose of protecting the Political Mission which has been despatched to the Tibetan Government."—(*The Earl of Hardwicke.*)

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I do not propose to follow a different course from that of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary for India in dealing with this subject. I am quite aware that it has been very fully discussed already in your Lordships' House. It was alluded to by myself in the debate on the Address. My observations were replied to by the noble Marquess the Leader of the House; and subsequently a lengthy debate took place upon the subject on the initiation of my noble friend Lord Reay, a former Governor of Bombay. My noble friend was supported by my noble friend Lord Ripon, an ex-Viceroy of India, and others also took part in that debate. All I will say with regard to the question of policy is this, that we on this side of the House adhere to the views we put forward on that occasion, and I do not think it necessary to repeat them. I ventured in my speech on the Address to refer to the 55th Section of the Government of India Act, 1858, and I expressed considerable surprise that His Majesty's Government had not then brought forward a Resolution in accordance with that section. I stated that it seemed impossible to conceive that a Mission with an escort of such dimensions, with all the arms connected with a formidable army of attack, could be considered wholly a peaceful Mission, and I fear that what I said then has been fully borne out. The noble Earl the Under-Secretary stated that if the Government had come forward then and asked for that Resolution, they would have given contradiction to all that had been

The Earl of Hardwicke.

stated as to the pacific nature of this Mission. I cannot help thinking that, knowing as we did the position of Tibet and the very strong views always expressed, and the strong action taken by the Tibetan Government against the admission of foreigners, His Majesty's Government were over-sanguine and self-deceiving in their view.

I maintain now, as I did, then, that the Government ought to have asked for this Resolution at once, and that it was impossible, in view of all the circumstances connected with it, to describe this Mission as altogether a peaceful one. I quite understand the wish of the Government that it should be so considered, but I know full well what the views were of all those who understand this subject. With hardly an exception, they were of opinion that the Tibetans would not alter their usual policy, but would oppose, by force if necessary, a Mission which proceeded into their country. We know the very melancholy circumstance that has occurred in consequence of the progress of this Mission. I do not for a moment wish to contradict the noble Earl, or to contend that there was not full self-restraint on the part of the troops; but the consequences were disastrous. There was heavy slaughter of these unfortunate men, who, no doubt, did attack us, and invited reprisals from our arms. They are an ignorant people; they seem to be not only ignorant of civilisation, but absolutely ignorant of the horrors and dangers of warfare. It is, I am sure, a matter of deep regret to the Government, as it is to everybody, that under such circumstances His Majesty's troops had to inflict severe punishment, not once, but, as I understand, twice, on these unfortunate people.

I will say no more upon that. I shall not, I need hardly say, now oppose a Resolution which I think ought to have been proposed to Parliament long before; but I should like to ask what the future policy of His Majesty's Government is to be. I think the policy set forth succinctly in a despatch of 6th November, is very complete, but I should like to ask His Majesty's Government whether they

adhere to that policy. The policy initiated in that despatch was contained in these words—

“In view of the recent conduct of the Tibetans, His Majesty's Government feel that it would be impossible not to take action, and they accordingly sanction the advance of the Mission to Gyantse. They are very clearly of opinion that this step should not be allowed to lead to occupation or permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form. The advance should be made for the sole purpose of obtaining satisfaction, and as soon as reparation is obtained a withdrawal should be effected. While His Majesty's Government consider the proposed action to be necessary, they are not prepared to establish a permanent Mission in Tibet, and the question of enforcing trade facilities in that country must be considered in the light of the decision conveyed in this telegram.”

That is a very important statement of policy. It is a statement of policy which, I need hardly say, I, and those who sit with me, heartily support, and we are most anxious to hear from the noble Marquess whether that policy is to be adhered to now in Tibet, and whether the Government, who have at present only authorised the advance to Gyantse, intend to give permission to go further. If we can be told that there is every prospect now of a settlement of the grievances we shall rejoice, but I think it is of the utmost importance that we should have clear and satisfactory assurances on the points that I have mentioned.

***THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK:** My Lords, I should not like this Resolution to pass your Lordships' House without a few words from me on a different aspect of the subject from that touched upon by the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition. The function which your Lordships have to perform to-day is one of very grave importance. It is to give the sanction of this House to the application of the revenues of India to an expedition sent beyond the frontiers of that country. This is one of those occasions on which the Parliament of this country has the responsibility put upon it of protecting the interests of the people of India against the improper application of the revenues of that Empire. No man can have a stronger opinion than I have of the importance of economy in the administration of the finances of India, and of the desira-

bility of reducing taxation in that country, and I think I may say that since I left India I have taken great pains on every occasion that has presented itself to advocate the interests of India in this House. With those feelings I have to inform your Lordships that in my opinion you can accept this Resolution with perfect propriety. This Mission is undoubtedly taken in the interests of India. The relations between India and Tibet only remotely affect this country, and therefore it seems to me that the application of the revenues of India which your Lordships are asked to sanction is a proper application of those revenues.

I wish, my Lords, on this occasion to go somewhat further, and to say that I have read the Papers connected with this Mission with attention and interest, and it has given me great satisfaction to observe the moderation with which His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have treated this question, which is one of great difficulty. The treaty with China on the subject of Tibet was not made at the instigation of the Indian Government or of the Government of this country. My noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was then Viceroy of India, and it was the Chinese themselves who urged upon the Government of India the conclusion of the treaty. At the same time they informed the Government of India—and this has been the origin of all these difficulties—that China was ready to undertake that the Tibetans carried out the provisions of that treaty. My noble friend opposite, the then Viceroy (The Marquess of Lansdowne) treated the matter with the greatest caution. I think he allowed three years to pass before a supplemental convention was concluded. He gave way upon several points which the Chinese Government asked him to give way upon, and nothing could have been more gentle or moderate than the course he pursued. The same course was taken by his successor the Earl of Elgin, and by Lord Curzon, the present Viceroy.

It fell to the Government of India and the Government of this country to take some steps to see that the provisions of the treaty were carried out. I think eight years must have passed since the

treaty was concluded, yet not one single provision of that treaty has been carried out by the Tibetans or the Chinese. The matter then was brought before Lord Curzon by the Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton. He asked—and it was very natural that he should have asked—what the condition of things was, eight years after the treaty had been made, in respect of the trade between Tibet and India and the demarcation of the frontier. The answer was most unsatisfactory. The place selected was found to be quite unsuitable for a trade mart. The Tibetans prevented any trade taking place with their country. Surely some step was necessary to be taken to remedy that condition of things. For three years Lord Curzon treated this matter with the greatest moderation. He went so far as to prohibit the erection of any pillar posts on the frontier—a proceeding which would naturally have created opposition on the part of the Tibetans; and his conduct appears to me to have been marked by great moderation. At last, however,—I think it was in the beginning of 1903—he made suggestions that a Mission should be sent to Lhasa and a Resident appointed in that country. With those suggestions His Majesty's Government did not concur, and Lord Curzon, having received the opinion of His Majesty's Government, accepted it with perfect loyalty, and from that time onwards carried out the views of His Majesty's Government. I naturally feel sympathy with anyone in the position of Viceroy of India, and I wish your Lordships to be in full knowledge of Lord Curzon's views on the matter. Writing on 5th November last year, Lord Curzon said—

“We (the Government of India) share the reluctance which His Majesty's Government have hitherto entertained to embark upon strong measures. We have no quarrel with the Tibetan people, and we have no desire to invade or permanently to occupy their country. Even now all that we solicit is sanction to transfer the scene of our negotiations to a locality in Tibet more suitable for the purpose than Khambojong and better calculated to impress the Tibetan Government with a sense of our earnestness and power.”

That is the view with which Lord Curzon has been carrying out the despatch of this Mission. Those being the

The Earl of Northbrook.

circumstances of the case as they present themselves to me after reading the Papers, I have no hesitation in supporting the Motion which has been moved so clearly by the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for India. I feel sure that His Majesty's Government will act in the future with the same forbearance and with the same moderation.

My noble friend behind me has alluded to a despatch which was sent by the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy on the subject of the future policy with regard to Tibet. There are two other despatches which strike me as of much greater importance as committing the Government than the despatch sent to the Viceroy. There was a despatch sent by my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Spring-Rice for communication to the Russian Government. In that despatch, after explaining the reason for sending the Mission, the Secretary of State wrote that—

“This step must not be taken as indicating any intention of annexing or even permanently occupying Tibetan territory.”

That was to the Government of Russia. There is another despatch, still more important, which was sent to the Government of China—the suzerain Power over Tibet. That despatch contains these words—

“In view of the recent conduct of the Tibetans His Majesty's Government feel that it is impossible not to take action, and they have, therefore, sanctioned the advance of the Mission. As soon as reparation is obtained the Mission will be withdrawn, as this step is to be taken purely for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction,”

and so on. I feel satisfied with those assurances. It hardly needs a statement from the Secretary of State to satisfy your Lordships as to the future policy of His Majesty's Government, for these miserable attacks by Tibetans upon our troops can hardly be a serious reason for changing the policy of the Government in this matter. I trust that His Majesty's Government will be very cautious in respect to the sanction of a permanent Resident at Lhasa. No one will deny that the presence in a native State such as Tibet of an English Resident cannot but be a great advantage to the country in which he is placed, as well as to the

Government sending him there, and no one can dispute the advantage of being able to communicate with such a Government in a diplomatic manner. But, at the same time, in these States, the people of which have very strong prejudices—and probably the prejudices are nowhere more strong than they are in Tibet—against foreigners, and where also there may be religious fanaticism, it would be in my opinion a dangerous thing to have a resident Minister unless with the thorough assurance on the part of the State to which that Minister has been sent of the desire to receive him and to be responsible for his protection. The time may arrive when Tibet, like other countries, will be more open to us, and when we may be able to send Residents into that country; but I hardly think anyone will assert that that time has yet arrived. There is another smaller matter which I would venture to suggest to His Majesty's Government, namely, that great caution should be enjoined on those in charge of this Mission not to send parties all over the country for the purpose of surveying the tops of the mountains and making maps, for there is nothing more likely to alarm ignorant people like the Tibetans than such proceedings.

I cannot conclude my remarks without assuring my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that I read with great satisfaction the language he used to the Russian Government in respect to certain communications which passed on the subject of Tibet. I hold that, while any military danger to India from Tibet is perfectly preposterous on account of the nature of the country, yet circumstances justified the remarks made by my noble friend the Foreign Minister. It has always been my opinion that plain speaking to Russia is the right way to treat affairs of this kind. I believe that difficulties, and, perhaps, even war, might have been avoided if we had spoken perfectly plainly to Russia in former years in somewhat similar circumstances. Therefore, I am glad that my noble friend used that language, and I will say also that I cannot conceive that the use of that language ought to be prejudicial to the friendly relations

between Russia and this country. Russia must perfectly well understand our position with regard to Tibet, and must have received, without surprise, and I should say without any adverse feeling, the remarks of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I heartily concur with what has fallen from my noble friend behind me, the Leader of the Opposition, with respect to the Anglo-French Agreement, and I trust, with him, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs may be enabled, perhaps at some more favourable time than the present, to enter into a similar arrangement with the Government of Russia with respect to those matters which he referred to on a former occasion in this House and in which our interests may not appear to be altogether identical.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE):** My Lords, the speech just delivered must have had the effect of removing from the minds of your Lordships any lingering doubts as to the propriety of this Resolution. This Mission has been undertaken in the interests of India, and the only question is at what moment that Mission ceased to have a political complexion and acquired a military complexion. We have been taken to task for not recognising from the first that the Mission was likely to acquire the character of a military operation. We desired in all sincerity that the Mission should have a political and not a military complexion, and as far as we were concerned there was no reason whatever why the Mission should not have achieved its object without firing a single shot, and why it should not have maintained its political character to the last. But the unfortunate collision which has taken place left us nothing to do but to regularise the matter by bringing it before Parliament in accordance with the 55th Section of the Government of India Act. If we had taken the other course, and had at the outset described this Mission as a military Mission, we should, in the first place, have misdescribed its true aim and purport; and by proclaiming the fact that it was an invasion of Tibet we should have increased the chances of collision and

diminished the chances of peace. We were, therefore, amply justified in preserving for the Mission its political complexion as long as we could. As to what was said by Lord Northbrook on the manner in which these negotiations have been conducted, I am extremely grateful to the noble Earl for his speech, for no one speaks with more knowledge than he does in regard to Indian affairs. I therefore rejoiced when I heard him give credit not only to Lord Curzon's Government but to other Governments before his for having dealt cautiously and considerately with this question. There, I am convinced, is no case on record in which a strong civilised Power has dealt more considerately with a weak and semi-barbarous Power.

I was glad to hear what fell from the noble Earl opposite in regard to the manner in which Lord Curzon has handled this question, because an attempt has been made to represent Lord Curzon as having from the first taken up an attitude of antagonism to His Majesty's Government—an attempt which is based on a misrepresentation of the facts. If your Lordships will look at Lord Curzon's despatch of 8th January of last year, you will find in it a full and complete account of the principles upon which Lord Curzon proposed to deal with the Tibetan question. What were they? In the first place, Lord Curzon insisted that it was necessary to resort to more practical measures in dealing with the Tibetans, measures more likely to be productive of results than the policy of friendly representation upon which we had so long relied. Then Lord Curzon proposed that, instead of attempting to deal with Tibet through China as the suzerain Power, we should deal directly with the Tibetans on Tibetan territory, and for this purpose he proposed a Mission with a sufficient military escort. Besides this, Lord Curzon laid down—and I ask your Lordships' particular attention to this point—that there was in the mind of the Government of India a complete absence of any political designs upon Tibet, and that we did not desire to establish a Protectorate or anything in the nature of a permanent occupation of the country. In all this His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy were completely at one, and the only point of

difference of opinion was that which arose when we came to consider whether negotiations should or should not be conducted at Lhasa, and whether a British agent should be left at that place, and upon this point Lord Curzon loyally accepted the policy of His Majesty's Government and has given effect to it. You will find that we applied this policy cautiously and considerately, and that it was not until the Viceroy represented to us that there was absolutely no prospect of bringing the negotiations which were in progress at Khambajong to a satisfactory result, and when all other means had failed, that we authorised the advance of the Mission to Gyangtse. It is not the case, as has sometimes been represented, that there was a kind of "Rake's Progress" on the part of His Majesty's Government, egged on by a militant Viceroy; our policy was deliberately adopted after very careful discussion, and after a complete accord had been arrived at between the Government in India and the India Office at home.

■ The noble Earl has expressed a hope that upon one point I would make an announcement to your Lordships' House. He asked me whether His Majesty's Government still adhere to the general line of policy indicated in the telegram sent to the Government of India on 6th November last. My Lords, we do adhere to the policy laid down in that despatch. I do not by that mean to say that, whatever happens, we are never to move an inch beyond the limits therein laid down, but the policy was adopted after the fullest consideration, and by it we shall be guided in dealing with the future aspects of the question. So far as we are able to understand the situation in Tibet, there seems now to be a better prospect than there has ever been before of arriving at a satisfactory settlement upon the basis of that despatch. Up to the present time the Tibetans have been induced to offer persistent resistance to our diplomatic overtures and to any attempt to send a Mission into their country by their reliance on the inaccessibility of their country and the stupendous difficulties to be encountered by an advancing force. These obstacles have been successfully surmounted by the gallant body of troops

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

which Colonel Younghusband has led into Tibet, and, although we may speak with more regret than pride of the actual collision which took place between Colonel Younghusband's soldiers and the badly armed and badly disciplined body opposed to them, I think we may speak with unmitigated pride of the energy and endurance displayed by our troops under great privations and the severe climatic conditions which they have experienced during protracted operations conducted at an altitude exceeding that of Mont Blanc. We have reason to know that the result has not been without effect on the minds of the Tibetan people.

But there are other considerations which are likely to have an effect upon the Tibetans. The noble Earl who spoke last referred to the relations between Russia and Tibet. We have received from the Russian Government official statements which are recorded in the Blue-book; we have received them without in the least calling in question their absolute sincerity, and I would rather not attempt to add anything on the point during the present discussion. But we have to consider not only the attitude of Russia towards Tibet, but the attitude of Tibet towards Russia, and there can be no doubt, because we are so informed by those who have the best means of knowing, that the comings and goings which have taken place, and which have not unnaturally taken place, between the monks of Lhasa and the Buddhist subjects of the Tsar in different parts of Asia have resulted, or had resulted, in creating in the minds of these extremely ignorant and superstitious people a belief that they might rely on Russian sympathy and assistance. That belief must by this time have been rudely dispelled by events which have taken place. Therefore I think we may fairly assume that the result of these events may be, and probably will be, to bring the Tibetans to a sense of reason, and we may hope before long to find them ready to accept the moderate and neighbourly terms we are ready to place within their reach. Meanwhile it is satisfactory to know that the Mission, after undergoing immense hardship and privations, appears to have arrived at a point where the conditions are much less rugged and unfavourable,

and where we can afford to wait, at any rate for a time, and see whether some ray of reason will steal through the solid darkness which appears to characterise the Tibetan mind.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1—

LORD TWEEDMOUTH, in rising to move the Amendment standing in his name, said that one of the commendable objects of this Bill was to do something to prolong the life of a large proportion of the vast number of small flat fish which were year by year destroyed in the North Sea. With that object he was entirely in sympathy, and he could assure their Lordships that if they accepted the Amendment standing in his name it would make the provisions of the Bill clearer and more acceptable to the fishermen of the country, and it would also make the Bill itself more efficient in practice. In all questions of sea fisheries there were certain considerations which should be clearly kept in mind. The first was the fact that, come what might, they could not help catching small fish, especially in trawling. When the trawl was down everything, big and small, went into it, and very little escaped out. The small fish were included in the general catch, and were brought up and taken on board the trawler. It was said that something could be done by means of enlarging the size of the mesh, but that could not be effective to any very great extent, because directly they enlarged the mesh to such a size as to allow of an appreciable escape of small flat fish, they also allowed round fish to escape, and the catching power of the net was thereby largely reduced. When a trawl which had been down for a considerable time dragging along the bottom of the sea was brought up and the fish released, it was generally found that a large proportion of the smaller fish were dead, and those that were not dead got trampled upon whilst the bigger and more marketable

fish were being selected on deck. When they necessarily had so many of these fish destroyed, was it not better to let them be used rather than be thrown back into the sea and altogether wasted? His first point was that they could not by any legislation prevent the catching and destruction of a great many small fish in the course of fishing operations.

The next consideration he would impress upon their Lordships was this, that it was a very moot question as to how far any operation of man could make any impression on the number of fish in the sea. Anything that man could do bulked very small in comparison with the destruction of fish caused by other fish, by birds, by whales, porpoises, and so forth. Many scientific observers held the opinion that the operations of man among fish were almost a negligible quantity. That certainly was the opinion held by the late Professor Huxley, who calculated that all the food fish caught by men of all the nations of the world did not amount to more than 5 per cent. of the whole of those fish living in the sea. He (Lord Tweedmouth) did not go so far as to say that he thought the operations of man were of no effect, but he did say that, so far as he was able to judge, those operations were of no effect in limiting the reproductive powers of the sea. He did believe that the operations of man might, temporarily, and in certain places, diminish the number of fish in a particular part of the sea, especially in limited areas where there was more difficulty for the sea to recuperate itself from the supply of fish outside. That was the reason why he had always strongly supported the prohibition of trawling in the territorial waters.

The third consideration he would press upon their Lordships was that they should realise the enormous reproductive power of the fish themselves, and also their methods of spawning. An ordinary sized sole would have about 50,000 eggs, and a good sized turbot would have 2,000,000 or upwards of eggs in it. The whole process of the hatching out of spawn was carried out with the spawn held in suspension in the water. It was carried about by the winds, the currents, and the waves. The same thing applied

to the young fish after they were first hatched; they were all carried about in the water, and were the prey of every sort of fish and bird. The destruction of spawn by being used as food by all sorts of creatures that inhabited the sea was something enormous. It had been conclusively proved that in the course of this operation a large quantity of the spawn and the young flat fish were carried across to the other side of the North Sea, to the comparatively shallow water bordering on the coast of Holland and to the east side of the North Sea, where there were great sandbanks which seemed to have become very favourite nurseries for these young fish. Again, too, he would remind their Lordships that when these fish were hatched out of the eggs they were not flat fish, but round fish, and did not become flat fish until they reached a certain size and settled at the bottom. That operation went on to a very large extent in the eastern waters of the North Sea, and at certain seasons of the year these waters were perfectly swarming with small fish.

These grounds were open to the fishermen of every other nation just as they were to the fishermen of this country, and they would see it stated in the Report of their Lordships' Committee that the ideal method would be to have a convention between all the Powers in the North Sea which would deal with this subject and prevent the catching of small fish on the banks. That, however, might be a counsel of perfection. As he understood, Lord Onslow desired to do what he could at any rate to protect these nurseries of small flat fish from the operations of the fishermen of this country. They must all recognise that they could not prevent fishing there. They could not say that these men should not fish there. The only thing they could do was by some means or other to secure that it should not be worth their while to go there. That was the method which had been adopted in the Bill, but the Bill gave the fisheries authorities the power to forbid the landing of small flat fish in this country from all vessels. He thought that was going too far. It was giving a power that was not necessary and a power which the Department

Lord Tweedmouth.

would say themselves they did not intend to use. They only wanted to have it in case they might like to use it. What they wanted to do was to prevent those vessels which fished at certain seasons of the year on these particular grounds from landing small fish, in the hope that they would not find it worth their while to go there during the months in which the landing of the small fish was prohibited. The clause, as at present drafted, read—

“The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries may, if they think it expedient so to do for the purpose of preventing the destruction of undersized flat fish, make orders for prohibiting, either absolutely or subject to such exceptions and conditions as may be prescribed, the landing of any flat fish not exceeding the prescribed length.”

He proposed by his Amendment to omit all the words after the word “prohibiting,” and to insert in their place the following words—

“the landing from steam trawlers, steam carriers, and sailing smacks with auxiliary power or of 65 tons and upwards, of turbot and brill not exceeding 13 inches in length, and of soles and plaice not exceeding 11 inches in length.”

He believed those were the only vessels which could possibly fish in these particular waters, and that if they limited it to them they would get all the good they could out of their proposal, and would make it perfectly clear to the owners of, and the fishermen working in, the smaller fishing-boats that it was not intended to at all interfere with them. He desired to limit the powers of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to dealing for this purpose with only certain vessels. With regard to the second part of his Amendment fixing the size below which fish should not be landed, the Bill at present left the limit to be laid down absolutely to the discretion of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. He did not see any necessity for that at all. He thought a size should be definitely named in the Bill, and that the Department should not be allowed to go above that size, though they should have power to fix a size below the maximum laid down. He moved his Amendment in all friendliness towards the Bill, believing that, so far from injuring the measure, it would make it sounder and more efficient.

Amendment moved—

“In Clause 1, page 1, line 7, to leave out from the word ‘prohibiting’ to the word ‘pro-

vided’ in line 10, and to insert the words ‘the landing from steam trawlers, steam carriers, and sailing smacks with auxiliary power or of sixty-five tons and upwards, of turbot and brill not exceeding 13 inches in length, and of soles and plaice not exceeding 11 inches in length.’—(Lord Tweedmouth.)

LORD HENEAGE was afraid he could not agree with his noble friend that this Amendment would be of any assistance in passing the Bill. He thought it would have a contrary effect. The point they had before them was an extremely narrow one—namely, whether they were going to put a limit into the Bill with regard to the size of the fish and the boats. They had had various Bills before them at different times, and they had all been wrecked on exactly this point when they got to the House of Commons. The proposal now was to give powers to the Department so that they might use them in an experimental way in order to prevent the destruction of small fish. He believed that if they placed in the Bill the limits proposed it would meet the same fate as previous measures. He could not help regretting that after the exhaustive discussion that had taken place in Committee, and after the Amendment had been defeated thereby six to one, his noble friend should have thought it necessary to bring it forward again in their Lordships’ House. Wishing, as he did, to see the Bill passed through the other House, he strongly opposed the Amendment being inserted. He also objected to it on a second ground. As his noble friend had said, the ideal state of things was a convention of all the nations concerned, and he believed that to put an Amendment of this kind into the Bill and thereby prevent the Government from having a free hand in experiments, and in joining other nations in experiments, would be a fatal mistake. He did not believe that the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries would want to exercise undue powers; he did not believe that they would desire in the slightest degree to injure the trade. Of one thing, however, he was quite certain—that the trade at this moment was pretty well able to take care of itself, and the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries would have a bad time if he attempted to go beyond the requirements and necessities of the case. It wa

for these reasons that he strongly opposed taking away from the Department the power of exercising a free hand. Moreover, if they adopted the Amendment they would be going in the teeth of their own Report, which declared that it was very desirable to give the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries a free hand.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (The Earl of Onslow) said he welcomed the friendly spirit in which the noble Lord opposite had greeted the Bill. He quite understood that the Amendment which had been suggested to their Lordships was couched in terms which the noble Lord believed might facilitate the passage of the Bill in another place. But he would venture to point out to the noble Lord that there were many classes of persons engaged in the fishing industry, and it was quite possible that if they passed an Act preventing interference with trawlers of sixty-five tons or under a great many who now took a lively interest in the passing of this measure would cease to do so. They must recollect that the very large steam trawling industry would strongly object to a possibility of sailing-vessels coming in and fishing where they were either prohibited from going or where it would be useless for them to go if they could not land fish under a certain size limit. The noble Lord had quite correctly described the object of the Government in introducing the Bill. It was not proposed to prevent the destruction of every small flat fish in the North Sea. There were a very large number of His Majesty's subjects who exercised a calling which provided them with a somewhat precarious living and which necessitated the capture and even the sale of a number of small fish. The Bills which had been introduced in former sessions had invariably been directed at the act of sale. The object of this Bill was to protect not the whole, but a large portion of the small flat fish in the North Sea. The idea was that by an order of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries it should be made no longer worth the while of the large steam trawlers to go to the eastern grounds where small fish most abounded. But if it was to be limited exclusively to steam trawlers and to the very large sail-

Lord Heneage.

ing trawlers, the day might come when the smaller vessels of sixty-four tons and under might say that here was a rich ground to which the large steam vessels were debarred from going, and they would go there and reap the harvest which was denied to the larger vessels. He did not think it would be necessary for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to put in operation an order which would affect any other vessels than those described in the Amendment of the noble Lord. At the same time he thought it would be rash if Parliament were to deprive the Department of elasticity of powers in regard both to the vessels and the size of the fish. As regarded the latter point his noble friend was well aware that the evidence given before the Committee tended to show that there was considerable variation in the size of small fish at different periods and at different times, and that a size limit which would be perfectly efficient to-day might not be so ten years hence. Again, the North Sea was not the only part of the coast of these islands where it might be desirable to protect undersized fish. He had received a representation only the other day from the Solway Firth in which he was strongly urged that a limit of eight inches for plaice and soles would be heartily welcomed by all those who fished there. He did not say that the moment had arrived when that should be done, but he thought that where there was a general consensus of opinion in favour of adopting a size limit in any part of the territorial waters the Department over which he presided ought not to be debarred from giving effect to the wishes of those who fished in the particular waters concerned.

It was quite true that his Board had only recently taken over the Fisheries Department, but they had exercised powers of a very similar nature for many years past in the interests of agriculturists. They had had to impose orders which no doubt at first were considered somewhat onerous and vexatious, but he ventured to think that the Board of Agriculture had never gone beyond the mature opinion of the agriculturists of the country, and that the orders had always been framed in the interests, and with the general consent, of those for

whom they were acting. He therefore asked their Lordships to believe that in the matter of fisheries the Board would not act in any manner different from that in which they had acted in agricultural matters. He would have no objection to accepting the Amendment if he thought that it would be easy to persuade Parliament next session, or in any succeeding session, to give such further powers as experience might prove to be necessary, but the fishing industry had been suing at the doors of Parliament for years past, and many Bills had been introduced not only by private Members but by the representative of the Board of Trade in both Conservative and Liberal Administrations, but none of those measures had ever passed into law. With that experience before them it would, he thought, be most unwise to tie the hands of the Department in the hard-and-fast manner proposed by the noble Lord, more especially as the Select Committee, of which the noble Lord was a member, had added a clause to the Bill which so far curtailed the powers of the Department in this direction as to provide that no order of the Board should come into force until it had been laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament and every opportunity given for its consideration, and, if necessary in the interest of the fishing industry, its alteration. With that safeguard given to Parliament he thought they might safely entrust to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries elastic powers, especially in view of the fact, as already stated by Lord Heneage, that the fishing industry was well organised, and that it would be very difficult for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to fly in the face of the expressed wishes of that industry.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH said this demand for a limit with regard to the taking of flat fish was purely a North Sea demand. This Bill had arisen out of a desire that there should be some such arrangements made in regard to the North Sea. The mass of these small fish were on the far side of the North Sea. Unless they could somehow or other induce the nations on the other side of the North Sea to prevent their men fishing on those grounds, His Majesty's Government never would be

able to enforce it against their own people. The noble Earl himself, in the Report which he drafted, had made it clear that he looked upon this Bill as a method of giving a lead to other nations. The noble Earl hoped other nations would take a similar course, and that the result would be that the larger vessels of all nations would be induced not to fish in those waters at the time they were so full of small fish. For his part, he would like to see a close time in those waters against all nations. If they thought that by any legislation in this country they were going permanently to exclude the trawlers of Great Britain from fishing there while the waters remained open to French, Danish, and Dutch trawlers, they were mistaken. Therefore he held that it was best to show clearly to foreign nations that they meant only to put a certain restriction on the wholesale catches of fish. Foreign nations, when they saw that it was not proposed to interfere with their small fishermen, would be much more likely to agree to some restriction on their bigger fishing boats. He did not propose to place any limitation whatever on the powers of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to make whatever regulations they thought fit as to the size of fish to be prohibited from being landed, except that he wished to provide that they should not prohibit the landing of turbot and brill above thirteen inches in length and of soles and plaice over eleven inches in length, at which size they were quite marketable.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW said the bulk of the evidence went to show that there was practically very little market for small fish on the Continent. Of course, it would be in the power of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to prohibit the landing of undersized fish from foreign ships of any tonnage.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH said that in his opinion the evidence on the first point was conflicting.

On Question, Amendment negatived.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW said that the next Amendment standing in his name

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was merely to enable the Board to make use, for the purposes of carrying out the Act, of the officers appointed by the fisheries committees round the coast.

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 1, line 23, after the word 'or' to insert the words 'any fishery officer appointed under the Sea Fisheries Regulation Act, 1888, or, in England or Wales, any officer appointed in that behalf.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW explained that there were a number of different kinds of soles, and he proposed to insert the scientific title of the common sole—namely, *solea vulgaris*—for the purpose of avoiding any possible misdescription.

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 1, page 2, line 10, after the word 'sole' to insert the words '*solea vulgaris*.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW said the object of the next Amendment standing in his name was to apply the Act to Scotland.

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 1, page 2, line 21, after the word 'Fisheries' to insert the words 'and a reference to the Sea Fisheries Regulation (Scotland) Act, 1895, shall be substituted for the reference to the Sea Fisheries Regulation Act, 1888.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW said his next Amendment was drafted with the object of giving to the City of London the same powers as were possessed by the county councils, the City Corporation having, within its jurisdiction, the only fish markets existing in the Metropolis.

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 1, page 2, after line 21, to insert the words 'In the application of this section to the administrative county of London references to the "mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled" shall be substituted for references to the council of a county or borough.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

The Earl of Onslow.

Clause 2:—

LORD TWEEDMOUTH said that in his last Amendment he had endeavoured to limit the powers of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, but in the Amendment which he now moved, he desired to extend those powers. If the opening words of Clause 2, which he proposed to delete, remained in the clause the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries would be limited, so far as this clause was concerned, to matters affecting the prevention of the destruction of undersized flat fish. He desired these words cut out because he thought the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries should have power over every kind of fish in the sea all round the coast. Already they had in different parts of England a number of sea fisheries committees, which had done an immense amount of useful work, especially those in Lancashire and Northumberland; and he thought it would be a great advantage if the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries had the power of securing uniformity wherever possible between the action of the various fisheries committees. He thought it would be a good thing for the Board to have concurrent powers with those committees as to regulations, which would enable them to fill in the gaps where fisheries committees did not exist at present, or where they might fall in in the future. The noble Earl would be well advised in taking this additional power for his Board, and he, therefore, trusted he would see his way to accept the Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 2, page 2, line 33, to leave out the words 'for the purpose of preventing the destruction of any undersized flat fish.'"—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

*THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY hoped that His Majesty's Government would see their way to accept the Amendment. It seemed to him that to confine the Bill simply to the prevention of the destruction of immature fish was rather a timid action on the part of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, and he thought it would be a good thing if opportunity were taken of this Bill to enable the Board to secure the powers which the noble Lord proposed should be given to them. At

the present time there were many anomalies existing. Foreign trawlers, for instance, that fished in the Moray Firth were allowed to land the fish in English ports, whilst they were precluded from landing them in Scottish ports. This Amendment would give to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries power to assimilate the various by-laws. He understood that the same thing was going on in the Clyde, where waters which were closed to home trawlers by the order of the Fisheries Board were being fished by trawlers under a foreign flag, and the fish were being landed in Lancashire, where a very extensive market was being got for them. That was an anomaly which was creating very great heart-burning in Scotland. Their experiments were useless as long as foreign vessels were allowed to go there and catch fish and land them in England. Therefore he thought it would be wise for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to take the powers which the Amendment would give them to remove this anomaly. Lord Tweedmouth had been told that the Committee were six to one against him in regard to his first Amendment, but on the subject which their Lordships now had before them the Committee were unanimously in favour of something being done, for in their Report they declared that it was desirable that so far as possible there should be greater uniformity of by-laws round the whole of the coast, and they expressed the opinion that Clause 2 of the Bill would tend in that direction. It was true quite that the clause would tend in that direction, but, if the words which the noble Lord proposed to strike out were left in, it limited the Bill to the prevention of the destruction of undersized flat fish. He hoped that if the numbers in the House were sufficient the noble Lord would divide on the Amendment, and that if there were not a sufficient number of noble Lords present to go to a division, he would bring it up at a future stage.

LORD HENEAGE said his noble friend had apparently forgotten that by international law foreigners were entitled to fish at a distance of three miles from the shore outside the territorial waters, and that neither any by-law in Scotland or

anywhere else could possibly prevent them. Having that right, the noble Lord asked the House to deprive them of the right of selling their fish in English ports, which they had always up to the present time enjoyed and which was hoped—and hoped sometimes in vain—would encourage them to give to British trawlers the same right in their ports. The Bill, as introduced and read a second time, was to prevent the destruction of undersized fish, and it had been thoroughly thrashed out before a Select Committee on that principle. Witnesses were never called with regard to any other question except to the best way of stopping the destruction of undersized flat fish. To now put in the Bill a clause which would be a red rag to every fisherman round the coast would be a great mistake. He hoped uniformity might be promoted amongst the various fishery committees, but he did not wish to see this Bill turned into one for enforcing by-laws which the English fisherman objected to so much.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW said he did not know which to admire most, the solicitude of the noble Lord opposite to protect the fishermen of the country from the tyranny of the Board of Agriculture or the confidence which he reposed in that Board in his desire to give it power to make by-laws on any subject connected with fishing round the whole of the coast. He viewed with some misgiving the idea of throwing open the Bill to other purposes than that of the prevention of the destruction of undersized flat fish. A great deal of what his noble friend aimed at in regard to the uniformity of by-laws was already provided, for there was power given to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to make by-laws themselves in cases where there were no fishery committees, and to assimilate the by-laws which existed so far as they applied to undersized fish. The noble Marquess opposite had alluded to the anomaly of foreign vessels not being permitted to land fish in Scotland but being permitted to land them in England. He admitted that that was an anomaly, but he did not think it would be proper to deal with it in a Bill of this sort. It should be dealt with in an entirely separate measure. He had considerable

sympathy with the views of his noble friend, though he was afraid he had not quite as much sympathy with the policy which closed the Moray Firth to British trawlers. But, be that as it might, he did not think it would be wise to extend the scope of the Bill.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH said he did not wish to force powers on the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries which they did not wish to possess, and he would not, therefore, persist in his Amendment. But he thought it was an anomalous state of things that all round the coast they had fishery committees able to deal with all sorts of fishing in their jurisdiction, whilst the principal Department in London had only power in regard to the prevention of the destruction of undersized flat fish. Surely they might have equal powers with the sea fishery committees to deal with the catching of round fish as well as flat fish.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived.

The House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 19th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz.:—Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

The Earl of Onslow.

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill; Wolverhampton Corporation Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Cambrian Railways Bill [Lords]; Elysée Palace Hotel Company Bill [Lords]; Gosport Water Bill [Lords]; Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [Lords]; New River Company Bill [Lords]; Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords]; University of Leeds Bill [Lords]; Victoria University of Manchester Bill [Lords]; West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment) Bill [Lords]; Yorktown and Blackwater Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Captain JESSEL reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned until Friday, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

1. "That, in the case of the Tottenham Improvement Bill, Petition for Additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to introduce their Additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

2. "That, in the case of the Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill, Petition for Additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to introduce their additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

3. "That, in the case of the City of London (Central Criminal Court House), Petition for leave to deposit a Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to deposit their Petition for a Bill."

4. "That, in the case of the North Wales Electric Power Bill [Lords], the

Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

Resolutions agreed to.

PETITIONS.

DOGS BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Worthing; St. Just; Drift Sancreed; Carfury; Penzance (two); Gosen; Bow; Knowlwood; Ilminster; Acton; Yeadon (three); Bolton; Chelsea; Baildon Green; Morton Banks; Guiseley; Barnstaple; Buckland Brewer; Ilfracombe; Ilkley; Plumstead; Glasgow (two); Bristol (two); Walbottle; Blyth; Brow; Beech Grove; and Flimby (two); to lie upon the Table.

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from St. Helens, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Chelsea, against; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN AND COUNTY COUNCILS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE).

Petition from Chelmsford, for withdrawal; to lie upon the Table.

VAGRANTS' CHILDREN PROTECTION BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban and rural districts of Rugby, in the county of Warwick (Rugby and District Light Railway Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT (1904-5).

Copy ordered, "of Statement and Revenue and Expenditure as laid before the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when opening the Budget."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 132.]

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT [DEFICIENCY ANNUITY].

Committee to consider of authorising the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH GERMANY.

Return [presented 18th April] to be printed. [No. 131.]

EXPLOSIONS (EXPLOSION AT THE FACTORY OF MESSRS. CURTIS AND HARVEY, LIMITED, FAVERSHAM, KENT).

Copy presented, of Report by Captain M. B. Lloyd, His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an explosion of gunpowder which occurred in the mixing house of the factory of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, Limited, at the Marsh, Faversham, on the 2nd February, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade,

authorising the construction of Light Railways from St. Osyth to Clacton-on-Sea, in the county of Essex, in the rural district of Tendring, and the urban district of Clacton (Clacton-on-Sea and Osyth Light Railway Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the borough of Leicester and in the rural districts of Barrow-upon-Soar and of Market Bosworth, in the county of Leicester (Leicester and District Light Railways Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parishes of Arkley, Barnet Vale, Chipping Barnet, Bushey Rural, Bushey Urban, and Watford Urban, in the county of Hertford (County of Hertford Light Railways (No. 1) Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, transferring to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford the powers conferred upon the Nidd Valley Light Railway Company by the Nidd Valley Light Railway Order, 1901, and amending that Order (Bradford Corporation (Nidd Valley Transfer) Light Railway Order, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Distribution of Contraband Tobacco to Chelsea and Kilmainham Pensioners.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will consider the practicability of distributing amongst the pensioners of the

Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham the balance now on hand of the tobacco which has been seized as contraband.

(Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.)

I regret that it is not possible to adopt this suggestion. The grant of seized tobacco is confined in the first instance to cases where the tobacco would otherwise be charged upon the Votes. This covers not only the Kew and Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, but also the Criminal Lunatic Asylums at Broadmoor, Dundrum, and Perth. Any surplus not needed for these institutions is given, under an arrangement made in 1893, to troops going on foreign service.

Inspection of Tenement Houses used as Workshops.

MR. FORDE RIDLEY (Bethnal Green, S.W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to a statement lately made by one of the sanitary inspectors of the borough of Bethnal Green as to the evasion of the Factory Act in consequence of workrooms being part of tenement houses, thus avoiding inspection by the authorities as to the sanitary conditions, overcrowding, and other circumstances under which the work is done; and, if so, can he give any hope of these evils being remedied by the issuing of an Order in Council or other method.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) I do not clearly understand the Question, and I think there may be some misconception. So far as I can gather from inquiries, the statement referred to did not attribute any difficulty in enforcing the Factory Act in workrooms to the fact that they form part of tenement houses; and, as a fact, the provisions of that Act are enforceable equally in tenement houses as elsewhere. I understand that it is a rule in Bethnal Green that these houses should be visited once a month. On the information before me no question appears to have arisen which calls for further action on my part.

Licensing and Drunkenness in Liverpool.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that during the last five years in Liverpool 248 licences have been taken away by the magistrates, and that proceedings for drunkenness have increased from 4,069 in 1899 to 7,507 in 1903; and, if so, whether he can take steps by legislation or otherwise to deal with the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) Accepting the figures given as correct (though I have been unable to verify the number of licences stated to have been taken away), I confess that I do not gather from the Question what is the evil which my right hon. friend suggests should be remedied by legislation. I may say that the increase in prosecutions for drunkenness is discussed in the Report on the Liverpool Police for 1903, and is attributed by the head constable not to an increase in drunkenness but to a more strict administration of the law, due, in some part, to the Licensing Act of 1902.

Postal Arrangements at Donard, County Wicklow.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has come to any decision in reference to an alteration in the postal arrangements of Donard, county Wicklow.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I hope shortly to be in a position to inform the hon. Member of the arrangements which are being made for an improved service to Donard during the summer months.

Consular Reports.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the attention of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs been given to the Report of Mr. Consul-General Chapman, dated 5th March, 1904, on the changes in the distribution of works of art in the royal galleries of Florence; does the preparation of such Reports as this come within the sphere of Consular duties; and will he consider the propriety of abstaining in future from

printing and circulating Reports of this character at the public expense.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) 1. Yes, Sir. 2. Consular officers are expected to send home from time to time, in addition to their annual Reports on trade, special Reports on subjects of general interest, including the arts and sciences. The Report in question is supplementary to a Report by Consul-General Chapman on "Florence, its Administration and Institutions," which was laid before Parliament in June, 1898. 3. It is not intended to publish Reports of this character except in special instances; but the Secretary of State would prefer not to lay down any hard and fast rule on the subject.

Cotton in India—Consumption and Growth.

MR. EMMOTT (Oldham): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state how the estimates of local consumption of cotton for purposes other than cotton spinning are made; and whether he will consider the advisability of presenting to the House each year a Return showing, in regard to the previous year, the total estimated yield of cotton both in British India and the Native States, and the export from India and the consumption in India both in cotton manufacture and for other purposes.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Various estimates have at different times been made of the quantity of cotton locally consumed in India otherwise than by the Indian spinning mills. A summary of the data on which the calculation has been made is given in volume 4, page 55, of Dr. George Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. I will ask the Viceroy whether any more recent and reliable estimate has been made, and whether the Return asked for by the hon. Member can be prepared.

Soldiers and Sailors in Irish Lunatic Asylums.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of British sailors and soldiers at present confined in lunatic asylums in

Ireland; and whether the Treasury, in accordance with the Lunacy (Ireland) Act, 1901, contribute to their maintenance; and, if so, how much per head.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The inspectors of lunatics have no information of the number of sailors and soldiers confined in district asylums. There is no Treasury contribution in aid of the maintenance of discharged sailors and soldiers while so confined, but the ordinary capitation grant is payable in such cases out of the local taxation account.

Expenses of Candidates for Dental Appointments to the Army.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the fact that the expenses of the candidates for dental appointments who were asked to attend at the War Office for an interview were not paid; and, if so, whether he proposes to reconsider this decision.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) It is not the practice to give travelling expenses in such cases, and there would not appear to be any sound grounds for making any alteration of the practice for the case in question.

Rifle Manufacture.

COLONEL BOWLES (Middlesex, Enfield): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the contract for the manufacture of rifles at £4 10s., given to trading firms, is only for the number to be delivered and paid for during the present financial year; and, if not, whether it will be possible to revise the price should it be found the rifle can be turned out more cheaply than expected.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) The price mentioned applies to a specific number of rifles, which, it is anticipated, will be delivered before the close of the current financial year, when fresh arrangements can be made if necessary.

Committee on Barrack Construction—Publication of Report.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the Secretary of State for

War when the terms of the Report of Lord Esher's Committee on the Construction of Barracks, 1902, will be printed for the information of Parliament.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) There do not appear to be any grounds for departing from the decision previously announced not to publish this Report, which was one of a purely Departmental character.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Salvage Operations.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in cases like that of Al Submarine, the British Navy is entirely dependent on foreign or other salvage companies; whether it is adequately equipped with appliances for lifting sunken or stranded vessels; whether our naval officers are instructed in carrying out salvage operations; and whether there is a naval salvage corps, and who is at the head of it.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): I think the hon. Member will find all the information asked for in my printed reply to the hon. Member for Chester on the 15th instant.†

SIR JOHN LENG: Is there any naval salvage corps?

*MR. PRETYMAN: No, Sir.

The War in the Far East.

SIR JOHN LENG: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any officer connected with the Naval Intelligence Department has been sent out to the Far East to observe and report upon the tactics of the naval combatants in the war between Russia and Japan.

*MR. PRETYMAN: The reply is in the affirmative.

Royal Garrison Regiment.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

† See page 296.

War whether provision will be made that the men of the Royal Garrison Regiment, at present under orders for transport from Malta to South Africa, who are within twelve months of the completion of their term of service, and many of whom are within from seven to ten months of that completion, should not proceed to South Africa but should be sent to the depot at home to complete the remainder of their period of service, having regard to the expense involved on their return home after a few months service in South Africa, and to the fact that the Indian Government, before the departure of the Lancaster Regiment from Malta to India, refused to take over men who had less than twelve months to serve before the completion of their term of service from the date of the landing of the regiment in India.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The services of these men are not required at home, and there will be such ample transport available from South Africa about the 1st November that no extra cost to the public will be incurred by sending to South Africa all men whose time will not expire before that date. The question of expense does not, therefore, enter into the matter, nor is it analogous to the case quoted.

Recruiting in Ireland.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to a lithographed circular, dated 3rd March, 1894, signed by Major Gerard, Recruiting Staff Officer for Dublin, and sent to business firms in Dublin asking them to advise any respectable young man between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who may apply to them for work which they cannot give them, or whom these firms may dismiss for any reason other than misconduct or physical inability, to join the Army, with the promise of situations on leaving the Army; whether this circular was issued on the initiative, direct or indirect, of the War Office authorities, and whether it meets with the sanction of those authorities; and what explanation, if any, has the War Office to give for the issue of this circular.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have seen the circular in question, which is signed by Major Luard, and which appears to be a very proper one. The document contains no promise, as alleged in the Question, of situations on leaving the service, but expresses a hope of, in future, being able to thoroughly recommend men when leaving the service for situations in firms such as the firm in question. I must point out to the hon. Member that recruiting officers carry out their duties under the orders of the General Officer Commanding without reference to the War Office.

Irish Army Ordnance Department.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether labourers employed in the Army Ordnance Department in Ireland are paid a full week's wage when holidays occur in a week, or whether they are paid only for the actual days upon which work is done; and whether he will state the maximum and minimum wage per week of such labourers.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Labourers employed in the Army Ordnance Department in Ireland and elsewhere receive pay for the official Government holidays, as laid down in the Pay Warrant only. The wages vary according to the market rates in the various districts. The lowest rate paid is 16s. a week and the highest 18s. 6d.; leading hands receive about 2s. a week extra.

Chinese Government and the Transvaal Labour Ordinance.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the negotiations with the Chinese Government relating to the recruiting of labourers for the Transvaal are yet completed; and when he will be able to lay further Papers on this subject.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): Every possible effort has been made to expedite the completion of arrangements. As soon as the negotiations are complete no time will be lost in laying Papers.

Chinese Indentured Labour in the Transvaal.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now state what safeguard there will be for the Chinese indentured labourer if, after an experience of some months, he finds that continuous work in the mines is deleterious to his health; whether if, under these circumstances, he breaks his contract with the object of returning to China, he will have to repay the expenses and the cost of his passage home; and, if so, whether arrangements will be made to render it possible for him to earn the necessary amount, seeing that he is prohibited from doing any work above ground.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I have to refer the hon. Member to my answer to a similar Question on the 29th March.†

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: On the last occasion the right hon. Gentleman said he did not quite understand my Question. It was intended to refer to men who became unhealthy some months after they arrived in the Transvaal and found themselves unable to continue to work in the mines.

Unemployed Kaffirs in the Transvaal.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now state the number of Kaffirs at present in what are termed the unemployed shelters in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony; and whether he can give the number of the occupants of these unemployed shelters on the first of each month for the last six months.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I have not yet received the information but hope to do so soon. I have telegraphed to Lord Milner on the subject.

Congo Free State—Injuries to British Subjects.

MR. EMMOTT (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Memoranda giving examples of injuries suffered by British subjects in the Congo Free State

mentioned in the third paragraph of page 84 of White-book, Africa, No. 1 (1904), have been sent to the Government of the Congo Free State; and, if so, whether a copy will be laid upon the Table.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): The answer to the first Question is in the affirmative. These matters were dealt with locally. The Memoranda were communicated to the Congo Government in consequence of the doubt expressed in their Note of 17th September as to the statement that the time of His Majesty's Consul had been engrossed by inquiries into the grievances of British subjects. As they have no connection with the general complaint by His Majesty's Government of the system of administration prevailing in the Free State, it is not proposed to lay the Papers.

Congo Free State—III.—Treatment of Natives.

MR. EMMOTT: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any reply has been made to the request of the Government of the Congo Free State, reported in the third paragraph of page 3 of the White-book, Africa No. 1 (1904), for the facts in reference to cases of ill-treatment of natives, which had then been reported in the despatches of His Majesty's Consular Agents; and, if so, whether a copy of the reply will be laid upon the Table.

EARL PERCY: His Majesty's Minister at Brussels has been instructed to inform the Congo Government that His Majesty's Government see no object in communicating the reports mentioned in the Question, which are now of ancient date, and although founded on apparently reliable testimony, were not, like the recent Report by Mr. Casement, the result of personal inquiry by His Majesty's Consular Officers.

Macedonian Gendarmerie.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state whether the Turkish Government have refused the proposals with regard to

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 975.

the Macedonian gendarmerie put forward by the Governments of Austria and Russia since the Turkish Note of 25th March; and, if so, whether the twenty-five foreign officers appointed to the gendarmerie will be accompanied by non-commissioned officers; and whether the powers of these officers have as yet been fully agreed upon and defined.

EARL PERCY: The Turkish Government have since their Note of the 24th maintained their refusal to employ the full complement of officers and non-commissioned officers proposed by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ambassadors. The latter have in a Note dated 1st April, insisted on an unreserved acceptance of their demands and in the meantime the twenty-five foreign officers, whose employment has already been sanctioned, have been ordered to proceed to Salonica. No non-commissioned officers have yet been sent out. The powers to be exercised by the foreign officers were defined in the Note presented to the Porte, and no objection was raised in their last reply.

Siam.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government will lay before Parliament the Agreements entered into with Siam by the French Government as well as by His Majesty's Government as to the outlying portions of the Siamese dominions, and referred to in Lord Lansdowne's despatch covering the documents relating to the arrangements with France; whether the French Agreements thus referred to or incorporated have yet received the sanction of the French Legislature; and, if not, whether their present form may be considered as final in connection with the assent to be asked from the French Legislature to all the arrangements dealing with Siam.

EARL PERCY: Two Agreements have been entered into with Siam by the French Government; as the first of these was not ratified by the French Legislature a second Agreement was negotiated, and now awaits ratification. Both of these Agreements have been published

in the French Press. The first Agreement has, we understand, been entirely superseded, and there would be no object in presenting it to Parliament. Until the second Agreement has received the sanction of the French Chambers, we cannot undertake to say that it has assumed its final shape. The Agreements entered into between His Majesty's Government and Siam with regard to the Siamese Dependencies in the Malay Peninsula are of a strictly confidential nature, and in deference to the strong wish of the Siamese Government it is not intended to make them public.

Smuggling of Ammunition in the Persian Gulf.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Board is aware of the recent discovery of smuggling from the Persian Gulf, through our Custom House at Kurachi, of ball cartridge ammunition, marked Birmingham Arms Factory; and have efforts been made to trace here, from the place of origin, the channels through which this illicit traffic reached British India, also its subsequent destination.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have no information on this matter beyond what I have seen in a newspaper. The Government of India will be asked to furnish a report.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will make inquiries nearer home—say at some of the Birmingham factories!

Promotion in the Central Telegraph Office.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that on 7th May, 1903, it was officially stated that a certain female telegraphist of the Central Office, London, had not been promoted to any superior grade, but had been merely temporarily lent to the Central Telephone Exchange, he will state if the lady in question is still employed at the Central Telephone Exchange, and, if so, what rank she is holding at that place and when her temporary period of duty will expire.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The lady to whom the hon. Member is understood to refer has recently been appointed a first class assistant supervisor in the Central Telephone Exchange, a post for which, during her temporary employment at the Central Exchange, she showed herself to be fully qualified.

MR. NANNETTI: Has this lady been promoted over the heads of other ladies equally competent and of longer service.

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir, certainly not of equal competence.

Workmen's Compensation Act Inquiry.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Departmental Committee appointed to consider the amendment of the Workmen's Compensation for Accidents Acts has yet completed its inquiry; and whether the Government propose to proceed during this session with a Bill for the amendment of those Acts.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's):** I understand that this Committee, having concluded the taking of a large amount of evidence, is now engaged in considering its Report, and will proceed with all reasonable expedition. When the Report is received the Government will take it into immediate consideration with a view to legislation, but I cannot, at present, make any statement as to dates. I have every hope of being able to deal with the question this session.

Customs Boatmen.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury between what ages men are admitted to employment as Customs boatmen; and whether any, and, if so, what exceptions to the age limits are allowed.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington): The age of admission to appointments as Customs boatmen is at present

between seventeen and twenty-two years. On and after 12th May, 1905, the limits of age will be seventeen and twenty. An established officer may be appointed to a second situation whatever his age, provided that at the time of his first appointment to the service he was eligible under the regulations then in force for his second situation. Extra officers may be admitted up to the age of forty, provided they were first employed in the Customs before they were twenty-two† and have been employed for not less than six months in each year.

Protection of Scotch Fisheries—Sea Police Duty.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland, having regard to the fact that H.M.S. "Seamew," "Speedwell," and "Cockchafer" have not been engaged on sea police duty during the present year, will he state what vessels have been directed to patrol the areas which came within the patrol of these vessels last year.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): As previously stated none of the vessels named by the hon. Member have been engaged on sea police duty for the Fishery Board during the present year, but I am informed by the Admiralty that H.M.S. "Speedwell," "Cockchafer," and "Redwing" were all employed at various times for the protection of Scotch Fisheries during 1903. The "Margaret" and the "Cockchafer" are carrying out this duty at the present moment.

Irish Queen's Colleges—Deputy-Presidents.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can give the names of the persons who act respectively as deputies for the presidents of Queen's College, Cork and Belfast; how many times during the past year each individual has so acted; who appoints such deputy; what salary they receive, if any; from what fund such salary, if any, is paid; is any regular record of such appointment kept; if he can state the names of the

†After the 12th of May, 1905, this limit will be twenty.

persons who have filled the post in each case; and what part of the session does the president of each college spend in residence.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The College statutes require the president, on occasions of absence, to appoint a deputy from among the professors. The president of Belfast College was not absent last year. In the cases of Cork and Galway the statutory requirement has been strictly observed when the occasion arose, but no record has been kept of the appointment of deputies. No salary is attached to the position of deputy.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Will the right hon. Gentleman take into consideration the absurdity of the position that the president of the Queen's College, Cork is permanently living out of the country.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): Did not this gentleman recently give a pledge on the strength of which he was elected member of a certain committee?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

The White Estate.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether in view of the fact that an order for the sale of the White Estate has been made by Judge Ross, and that several evicted tenants of that estate have given particulars of their evictions to the Estates Commissioners, he will state what the Estates Commissioners propose to do for these evicted tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: The cases of any tenants evicted from this estate will be duly considered by the Estates Commissioners.

Castletown, Berehaven, and Bantry Harbours.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the necessity that exists for dredging the inner harbours of Castletown, Berehaven, and Bantry; and whether he will take steps to have this work effected.

MR. WYNDHAM: I would refer to my reply to the Question put to me on the 28th March by the hon. Member for South Kerry† on the subject of the dredging of harbours generally.

Dohern National School.

MR. P. A. M'HUGH (Leitrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that inconvenience has resulted from the closing of the national school in Dohern, Upper Drumreilly, county Leitrim, and that children in the Dohern district are now obliged to walk about three miles to school; and, if so, will he state what action does the National Board propose to take in connection with this matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed by the Commissioners that prior to the closing of this school it had been declining for some years in number of pupils, in efficiency, and in suitability of accommodation. In October last the manager stated that it was impossible to continue the school owing to insufficient attendance of children and the existence of so many other schools in the district. In these circumstances, and having regard to the unsuitable condition of the building, it was closed.

Irish Police and United Irish League Meetings.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the police attend and take the names of those meeting in the United Irish League rooms, Corofin, county Clare; and whether he can state by whose sanction the police act in reference to the meetings of an organisation which is not illegal.

MR. WYNDHAM: The police on duty in the vicinity of the building referred to took cognisance of the persons attending the meetings. It is the duty of the police to make notes, mentally or otherwise, of matters of general interest. The terms of instruction to this effect are being modified.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said this action on the part of the police was calculated to lead to considerable trouble.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 848.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): And it is the practice generally in the South of Ireland, where the police have nothing else to do.

Rathmines Urban District.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Local Government Board have not yet held the inquiry on the petition for the division of Rathmines into wards; and, if so, whether, in view of the inconvenience likely to result from their delay in this matter, he will take steps to see that this inquiry is held forthwith.

MR. WYNDHAM: The inquiry cannot be held until after the lapse of three months from the date of publication of the order of the county council proposing the division of the urban district into wards. This period will expire on the 26th instant, and the inquiry will take place as soon as possible after that date.

Tithe, Quit, and Crown Rents in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM McKILLOP (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state in terms of years purchase the maximum, minimum, and average prices at which quit rents, Crown rents, and tithe rents were redeemed in Ireland in the years ending 31st December, 1901, 1902, and 1903.

MR. WYNDHAM: With respect to tithe rents, the average number of years purchase during the last three years is as follows:—In 1901, 22·11 years; in 1902, 22·07 years; in 1903, 22·2 years. With respect to quit rents and Crown rents, I must ask the hon. Member to address this part of the Question to my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury.

Irish Estates Commissioners—Forms for Sale and Purchase of Land.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will lay on the Table of the House a copy of the forms issued by the Estates Commissioners in connection with the sale and purchase of land in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: The forms are on sale at all law stationers. It is not considered necessary to lay them on the Table of the House.

Irish Land Purchase.

MR. KILBRIDE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that it was the practice, under the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896, to publish in the *Dublin Gazette* from week to week the particulars of applications for advances and the decisions of the Land Commission in reference thereto, and that these particulars stated what advances were applied for, what advances were sanctioned, what advances were refused, the rents that were being sold, and the price paid for them; if so, will he say whether this procedure is being followed with regard to all sales under the Land Purchase Act of 1903; and, if not, will he state what caused the departure from precedent.

MR. WYNDHAM: These weekly schedules still continue to be published in the *Gazette* in pursuance of Section 32 of the Act of 1891. The publication of the proceedings of the Estates Commissioners is provided for in Section 23 (14) of the Act of 1903, and, as I have already stated, a Return will shortly be laid on the Table of the House containing a variety of information in respect of sales to, or sanctioned by, the Commissioners.

Irish Post Office—Delays in Forwarding Post Office Order Advices.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELI (Kerry, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the inconvenience caused in poor districts in Ireland owing to the delay in forwarding advices to post office orders issued abroad; and, if so, whether steps will be taken to have a second advice issued and sent direct to the paying office.

LORD STANLEY: I am aware that the system of transmitting through the Chief Money Order Office in London all advices of money orders issued abroad for payment in the United Kingdom may in some cases cause a certain amount of delay in payment, not only in Ireland,

but elsewhere; but I am not, as at present advised, prepared to alter the system, which possesses great advantages.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Is the noble Lord aware that in many parts of the West of Ireland the delay often extends to a fortnight?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir, I am not aware of that.

Castletown Postal Service.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what arrangements, if any, have been made to improve the postal service in Castletown, Berehaven.

LORD STANLEY: The question of improving the mail service in Castletown, Berehaven, is still under consideration, and I will inform the hon. Member of the result at the earliest possible date.

National Expenditure Committee's Report.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he has conferred with the Leader of the Opposition, and if he can now state what action he will take on the Report of the National Expenditure Committee; and what facilities he will afford for the discussion of the said Report.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have had the opportunity of a short conversation with the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, and I think I am not misrepresenting his views when I say that he and I were agreed in having some doubts as to the efficacy or practicability of the scheme advocated by the majority of the National Expenditure Committee. But we were also agreed that it represented a serious and honest attempt to deal with a very important question, and we thought it would be desirable, if possible, that some debate should take place in the House on the subject. At the same time I have to say for myself—and this is a question in which the right hon. Gentleman opposite, fortunately for himself, has no responsibility—that I do not at this moment see when that opportunity is to be provided.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Has the right hon. Gentleman come to any decision as to giving a day for the Public Accounts Committee Report?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think my hon. friend will remember that I suggested to the House that if there was a general desire that the Report of the Public Accounts Committee should be discussed—a question on which I do not pronounce any opinion—the best plan would be to diminish the number of days in Supply, making twenty-two instead of twenty-three, on the understanding that the twenty-third day should be given to the discussion my hon. friend desires.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to take any measures to ascertain if there is such a feeling as to justify him in taking that course.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is rather early to do that. We have not yet reached the twenty allotted days, and, until that period approaches, how we are to dispose of the additional three days which may be allotted seems almost premature.

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 155.]

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Trade, etc., with an Amended Title.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 133.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 133.]

Bill as amended (in the Standing Committee) to be taken into consideration upon Friday, 17th June, and to be printed. [Bill 156.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures—Sir Barrington Simeon; and had appointed in substitution—Mr. Victor Cavendish.

Report to lie upon the Table.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WAYS AND MEANS).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Proceedings of the Committee of Ways and Means, if under consideration at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House.)"—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

The House divided:—Ayes, 292; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 83.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. Sir John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birmingham)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worcester)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis

Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-shire)
Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ellis, John Edward (Nottingham)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manchester)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. E. (Tower Hamlets)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby (Lincoln)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon

Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambridge)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (Middlesex)
Hamilton, Marq. of (Londonderry)
Harcourt, Rt. Hn. Sir W. (Monmouth)
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tyne & Wear)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somerset, E.)
Hogg, Lindsay
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Middlesex, Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Kitson, Sir James
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Acreington)
Legge, Col. Hon. Hensage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)

Lonedale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Moon, Edward Robert Percy
 Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, William Henry
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Norman, Henry
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parker, Sir Gilbert
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl

Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretzman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Rea, Russell
 Renwick, George
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Rigg, Richard
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rose, Charles Day
 Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)

Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Wills, Sir Frederick
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh., N.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Atherley-Jones, L.
 Austin, Sir John
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Blake, Edward
 Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burns, John
 Caldwell, James
 Cameron, Robert
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Channing Francis Allston
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Cremer, William Randal
 Crombie, John William
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
 Delany, William

Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Eamonde, Sir Thomas
 Fenwick, Charles
 Field, William
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Hammond, John
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobbhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)

Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lambert, George
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)

O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
 O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 Partington, Oswald
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)

Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Slack, John Bamford
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Ure, Alexander

Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Cap-
 tain Norton and Mr. Jacoby.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

THE BUDGET STATEMENT.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-
 CHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN,
 Worcestershire, E.): I do not know how
 far I may count upon the sympathy of
 the Committee in the difficult task which
 lies before me, but at any rate I would
 appeal to their indulgence. I shall have
 need of all their forbearance. I am new
 to these great responsibilities. I enter
 upon them at a moment of considerable
 difficulty, and I am confronted in this
 House with an unusual number of
 critics who, if I may use a civic
 phrase, have passed the chair, and
 have themselves had personal experi-
 ence of the office that I now fill.
 To my right hon. friend the
 Member for West Bristol I owe my first
 introduction to national finance, and
 though, perhaps, he would not be grati-
 fied if I attributed to his influence all
 the opinions which I have formed upon
 fiscal subjects, at any rate I am glad to
 acknowledge my obligations to him.
 Both to him and to the right hon. Mem-
 ber for West Monmouth we owe a large
 part of the huge revenue that we now
 raise. I hope I may be permitted to
 say with what regret I read the an-
 nouncement recently made by those two
 right hon. Gentlemen that they would
 not again seek seats in this House. Sir,
 we shall miss them from our Budget
 debates, in which for so long they have
 borne the leading part; but I may venture
 to promise that long after they have

left us their memory will be kept green
 in these discussions by the taxes which
 they have imposed. I said just now
 that the circumstances of the moment
 were unusually difficult. When my pre-
 decessor made his financial statement
 last year, he was able to look forward to
 a great surplus, and to propose consider-
 able remissions of taxation. Unfortu-
 nately the financial out-turn of the year
 has been far less favourable than was
 then anticipated. The great wave of
 prosperity which we have enjoyed for
 many years seems at length to have
 spent its force, and the cycle of less
 prosperous years, which experience
 teaches us to expect after every period
 of great expansion and prosperity,
 appears at length to have overtaken us;
 and it has made its effects felt especi-
 ally during the latter half of the past
 year. The season was, I am afraid,
 a disastrous one for agriculture; it
 adversely affected the building trades
 and many other industries; and the
 cotton industry was depressed by the
 shortage of the supply of the raw material,
 while the evil was aggravated by the
 operations of speculators. Freights were
 depressed, in part, no doubt, owing to
 the large increase in tonnage in recent
 years, and in part owing to the cessation
 of the heavy demands which during the
 war, and after the war, the Government
 were obliged to make upon the mercantile
 marine of the country; and, as is not
 unusual under those circumstances, ship-
 building has not had a very flourishing
 year. Our own depression has been
 aggravated by the depression in South
 Africa, and foreign competition has been
 keener, I suppose, than ever before, so
 that markets in which we used to regard
 ourselves as supreme have become in-
 creasingly threatened by the enterprise

and the successful commercial organisation of other countries. Some of these causes are permanent, some are merely temporary, but all have combined to affect our present prosperity, and have thrown their shadow over the financial aspects of the past year. Though there have been few serious labour disputes, wages have, I am afraid, generally fallen, and the number of the unemployed has increased. On the whole there has been a shrinkage of trade, a lessening of employment, a fall in wages; and all these facts have had their influence upon the revenue of the year.

THE EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS 1903-4.

The exact figures of the revenue are already in the hands of the House. They show that the Exchequer receipts from taxes fell short of the estimate by no less a sum than £2,790,000. The land tax and the house duty exceed the estimate by £50,000, and the income-tax produced £300,000 in excess of what was anticipated. But Customs and Excise, Death Duties, and Stamps all did badly and in the aggregate produced £3,140,000 less than the estimate which my right hon. friend put forward. The non-tax revenue did rather better and slightly exceeded the estimate, but the final result is that the year closed with a deficit on the revenue side of the account of £2,724,000 as compared with the anticipations of my predecessor. The Committee may expect from me some explanation of this great deficiency. I need not enter into a detailed account of the calculations upon which the Budget Estimates were based; it is sufficient to say that they were framed in the usual manner, on the best information which the Customs and Inland Revenue authorities could supply to my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon. It is never a very easy task, as I think my predecessors will admit, to forecast the revenue of the coming year; it is increasingly difficult to do so when the amount we raise from individual taxes is so high as it is at present, and when a very small percentage of error in the total estimate makes a very large practical difference. I must say that I think anyone who will look back over a period of years and compare the Estimates given by my predecessors, and supplied to them by

the great departments of revenue for the then ensuing year, will be not so much surprised that sometimes they are in error as astonished that in the aggregate they should be so wonderfully close to the ascertained result. But the Committee may like to know more particularly wherein these Estimates were erroneous. I take first the Customs. The Customs revenue fell short of Budget anticipations by nearly £800,000. I am glad to say, and I think the Committee will be pleased to note the fact, that that is not wholly due to a falling off in consumption of dutiable articles.

THE REPEAL OF THE CORN TAX.

The Committee will remember that the repeal of the corn duty only took effect on the 1st of July last. For the three months of the last financial year for which it remained in force my right hon. friend estimated that, after making all allowances for repayments on stocks in hand and for drawbacks, he would obtain a revenue of £400,000 net. Unfortunately, the repayments and the drawbacks proved very much heavier than was anticipated, and instead of getting a net yield from the tax of £400,000 we obtained only £100,000, or one-fourth of the estimated amount. So that the repeal of this tax has proved a more costly operation for the revenue than was anticipated; whilst, if we may judge by the course of prices since, I am afraid it has hardly produced that advantage to the consumer which was anticipated in some quarters.

OTHER CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Of the other Customs duties, coal fell short of the Estimate by £50,000, a decrease mainly—indeed, in my opinion, almost wholly—due to the fall in the price of coal, which has caused a larger amount to be exported below the tax value. Dried fruits produced an excess of £50,000, in part due to the very unfortunate fruit season which we had at home, and in part to an exceptionally fine crop of raisins and figs abroad. The coffee group yielded £45,000 more than the Estimate, an increase almost wholly attributable to the increased consumption of cocoa. Spirits show a deficiency of no less than £330,000, as to which I shall have more to say when I come to deal

with Excise. The wine duties fell short of the Estimate by £220,000. They have been a very unsatisfactory source of revenue for some years past. They have shown no sort of elasticity, and they are quick to react to any diminution in our prosperity. I am afraid they are evidence that business has been less prosperous in the past year than in preceding years. Sugar fell short of the estimate by £290,000. But that decrease is almost wholly due to the introduction in September last of the system of refining in bond. Up to that time sugar paid the duty before it entered the refinery. After that time the refining was done in bond, and the duty was only collected when the sugar left the refinery. On 1st September, when the new system came into force, the refineries had in stock sugar upon which duty had been paid to a value of £250,000; and the Committee will understand that it was not until that sugar had been worked off and a fresh lot of sugar had passed through the refineries that any further duty could be collected from it. The drop in sugar, therefore, is almost wholly due to a change in the point at which we collect our duty, and is not, I am glad to say, due to decreased consumption on the part of the people. There remain tea and tobacco. Both have done well. Tobacco yielded £60,000 more than the estimate. For many years past the consumption has been increasing uninterruptedly, and the yield of last year was larger than the yield of any preceding year except 1900-1901, when it was swollen by large forestalments in expectation of an increase in the duty. It amounted last year to the large figure of £12,560,000. Tea was even more successful. The Budget estimate for tea was £6,350,000. The receipts were £6,595,000, showing an excess of receipts over the estimate of a quarter of a million.

EXCISE.

I now turn to Excise. The yield of Excise was even more disappointing than the yield of Customs. It was only £31,550,000, against an estimate of £32,700,000, or a deficiency of the enormous sum of £1,150,000. The beer duty was expected to yield £13,400,000. It produced only £13,100,000. Spirits show an even greater falling off. They yielded only

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

£17,750,000—that is to say, £850,000 less than the Budget estimate. Thus, taking Customs and Excise together, beer and spirits combined fell short of the Budget estimate by nearly £1,500,000. To what are we to attribute this great deficiency? The beer revenue was affected by the cold summer. I am told that that makes a very considerable difference in the consumption of beer. I remember on one occasion, some years ago, when I was walking in the Lake Country, coming on a cold summer afternoon upon a shanty in the hills, where I asked if I could have a cup of tea. The proprietor replied, “Yes, I thought you would be wanting tea. I have got the kettle boiling. It is not bottle weather.” Last summer was not bottle weather. I believe that this decrease in the consumption of beer, which was due to the cold, wet summer, has been paralleled by a similar decrease in the consumption of temperance beverages such as ginger-beer and herb-beer. But if the cold summer was injurious to the revenue, the mild winter was equally harmful, because, if the cold summer decreases the consumption of beer, the mild winter checks the consumption of spirits. Then, also, the Licensing Act of 1902 had, I am advised, some influence upon the consumption of these drinks. It can hardly be a coincidence that the marked falling off in the duty began from the date when the Act came into force. I am told that it has had a discouraging effect upon those who are not only heavy drinkers themselves, but the cause of heavy drinking in others. But when all allowance is made for each of these factors, I am afraid that some part of the falling off in the consumption is to be put down to the fact that people have had less to spend, and must be taken as evidence of the decreased prosperity of the country.

DEATH DUTIES AND STAMPS.

The death duties produced £13,000,000—that is £300,000 less than the estimate. Their course during the year has been wholly normal, and the falling off is due entirely to the great depreciation in Stock Exchange values, which has caused the total value of individual estates to be lower than it

otherwise would, and, of course, has in some cases had the effect of removing an estate from a category of higher graduation to a category of lower graduation. In fact, it is hardly too much to say that it was almost the duty of a prudent millionaire to take the opportunity of stocks and shares being so low to pass his property in the ordinary way to his successor. Stamps were estimated to yield £8,400,000, and they produced only £7,500,000, less by £900,000 than the estimate, and less by £700,000 than the actual yield of the preceding year. In that year the stamp revenue was £8,200,000. It was collected regularly throughout the year, and showed no sign of falling off in the last quarter. It was hoped in the past year that we might have seen a great revival of industrial activity in South Africa, which would have had its effect upon Stock Exchange transactions at home. But the past twelve months have been a period of extreme depression on the Stock Exchange, and we have obtained less revenue both in consequence of the falling off in the number and value of stocks and shares transferred and by reason of lower receipts from the companies' capital share duty, owing to there having been fewer flotations of new companies in the year. This closes my review of revenue.

EXPENDITURE, 1903-4.

I turn now to the expenditure. The Budget estimate of expenditure in 1903-4 was £143,954,000. Since that time supplementary grants have been made to the extent of £4,488,000, bringing up the total expenditure to £148,442,000. Against this we have to set the realised savings of previous years and the estimated savings of last year. The net result is that the Exchequer issues were £146,961,000, an excess over the Budget estimate of £3,007,000. The Committee may ask why, with the knowledge I obtained shortly after assuming my present office that the revenue of the year was falling below the receipts which were anticipated from it, I sanctioned any fresh expenditure. The answer is short and simple. I had practically no choice in this matter. I came into office in October last. By

that time, for good or for evil, the fortunes of the past year were fixed. The prolongation of the military operations in Somaliland and the inadequacy of the amounts provided in the original Navy Estimates for shipbuilding and repairs had already caused the expenditure to exceed the Estimates, and there was practically only one item of any consequence over which I had any control. That one item was the sum of about £700,000, included in the expenditure of last year, for the purchase of the Chilean ships. If I had refused my sanction to that expenditure I might indeed have reduced the deficit by a little over £700,000; but at what cost to the taxpayer in the future, let the Committee judge. For, had these two ships been allowed to pass into a foreign fleet, we should have had to spend a much larger sum in building to restore the balance of naval strength, and for the time during which our ships were under construction, our relative position amongst the Navies of the world would have been seriously impaired. I need not labour my defence on that point. The subject has already been under discussion in the House and I do not think that in any quarter the decision of the Government to purchase these ships has been seriously questioned. That was my responsibility. I assume it gladly. I think I should have been lacking in my duty if I had failed to respond to the demand made upon me. I now conclude my review of the past year's expenditure. In addition to the £146,961,000 chargeable to the income account of the Exchequer, it collected and assigned in the course of the past twelve months in relief of local rates £9,795,000, and provided for an expenditure of £7,305,000 on capital account, on behalf of certain services for which the spending departments are authorised to borrow. I have been asked to give the figures, and they are made up as follows: For Naval Works, £3,318,000; Military Works, £2,950,000; Telephones, £780,000; Uganda Railway, £67,000; Land Registry buildings, £16,000; new general buildings, £162,000; and public offices, Dublin, £12,000. Thus the total outlay of the State, on income and capital account combined, amounted during last year to £164,061,000.

STATE OF THE BALANCES.

I return to the Exchequer account and we find that, the Exchequer expenditure having been £146,961,000 and the Exchequer revenue having been £141,546,000, the year closed with a deficit of £5,415,000, which has constituted a draft upon our balances. Fortunately, Sir, they were in a better position to stand a heavy draft than usual. During the course of the South African war we raised cash to the amount in round figures of £152,300,000, whilst the expenditure charged against capital was only about £149,500,000. We thus raised during the war £2,800,000 in excess of our actual requirements, and the balances were abnormally swollen to that extent. But the deficit of the year did not constitute the only demand upon our balances. We made a further draft upon them for capital purposes to the extent of £2,000,000, in connection with the various works programmes which I have already explained to the Committee, and which the National Debt Commissioners were unable to replace from the moneys at their disposal within the year. Thus the state of the balances is as follows:—We began the year with a balance at our bankers of £6,637,000, but we were owed by the Transvaal a sum of £3,000,000, which formed a temporary advance made to them under the terms of surrender and which was to be repaid out of the first issue of the Guaranteed Loan. That sum as it was repaid was paid back into the balances. Thus our real balance at the beginning of the year was £9,637,000. This was depleted as follows:—Our expenditure exceeded the revenue by £5,415,000; our advances on capital account exceeded the amount which the National Debt Commissioners could supply by £2,000,000, and we lost on Exchequer bonds, which had to be renewed at a discount, £38,000. On the other hand, the repayment on account of bullion exceeded the advance by £80,000, and we obtained from our bankers a temporary advance of £2,000,000, to recoup us the amount which we had advanced from balances on capital account. We thus ended the year with a balance on 31st March last of £4,264,000. There is, of course, no fixed standard of balances, and they

have, as a matter of fact, varied considerably at different times. It is, certainly, not convenient to have them very low at a time when the income-tax is very high, because the income-tax is mainly collected in the last quarter of the year, and we are rather short of supplies for financing the Exchequer in the earlier portions of the financial year. But to the extent to which the balances were abnormally swollen by cash raised during the war, for the purposes of the war, and not at the moment applied to the war, they may now be fairly reduced, and we may allow a sum of a little less than £3,000,000 of the deficit of last year to be borne by the balances. The Committee must remember that is less than the amount of the war charges which fell upon last year's Estimates; and it was to meet war charges that this sum of £2,800,000 was raised.

THE UNCLAIMED DIVIDEND ACCOUNT.

There remains a further inroad upon the balances of a little over £2,500,000. Towards making good that sum I propose to realise an asset, at present not utilised, to the extent of £1,000,000. I do not know whether the Committee are aware that all Government stock which has remained unclaimed for ten years is transferred to the National Debt Commissioners. The dividends which have accrued upon that stock are transferred at the same time, and, together with the dividends subsequently accruing, they form an account which is known as the Unclaimed Dividend Account. It is with that account alone I propose to deal. I do not intend to touch the unclaimed stock, but only the dividends which have accrued upon it. The liability on the Unclaimed Dividend Account is a liability for the dividends actually paid—that is to say, for simple interest on the unclaimed stock. The fund itself accumulates at compound interest, and therefore, quite apart from the fact that it is absolutely certain that a large portion of this money never will be reclaimed, the fund itself is always making a profit, and its assets are always tending to grow in excess of its liabilities. So large had this profit become in 1866 that in that year stock to the amount of £3,000,000 out of a total sum standing at the credit

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

of the fund of £3,087,375, was cancelled. The assets now again exceed the liabilities. They amounted in round figures at the close of last financial year to £1,760,000, whilst the claims which are annually established against the account have averaged no more than £4,000 or £5,000. It is clear, therefore, that it is perfectly safe once more to have recourse to this fund now, as was done by Mr. Gladstone in 1866; but instead of cancelling the stock I propose to realise it, as opportunity offers, to the extent of £1,000,000, and to credit the proceeds to the balance. The only difference is that, instead of writing off a liability, I shall add to our available assets. Assuming the Committee to agree, as I hope they will, to this proposal, there will remain in round figures £1,500,000 of last year's deficit still to be made good out of the surplus of this or succeeding years. What I propose to do in that respect the Committee will see when I come to my proposals for balancing the account of 1904-5.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

I turn next to the account of the National Debt, and I am glad to say that it is rather more favourable. For the first time since the opening of the late war our total liabilities show a reduction in the course of the past twelve months. On 31st March, 1903, the total liabilities were £798,349,000; on 31st March last, they had fallen to £794,493,000, being a reduction of £3,851,000. Of this amount £31,863,000 represents the liability in respect of sums borrowed for various works of permanent improvement, for which the War Office, Admiralty, and other Departments are authorised to provide by loan. That sum has increased in the course of the year by £4,293,000. But, as the Committee know, both the interest and the Sinking Fund of the Terminable Annuities, by which this money is borrowed, are charged on the ordinary Estimates of the year. Deducting, therefore, that sum, as has been done by my predecessors in other years, so as to keep my account in harmony with the figures they have given to the Committee, the total dead-weight debt on 31st March last was £762,630,000, or a reduction in the course of the year of £8,149,000. The Funded Debt in 1903-4 has been

reduced by £2,453,000; the liability in respect of terminable annuities is reduced by £4,196,000; and the Unfunded Debt by £1,500,000. Of this sum £3,000,000 represent the repayment by the Transvaal of an advance made during the war. That money was repaid in the course of the past year, but, to make the point clear, I should say that it is in addition to the £3,000,000 of which I have already spoken, which went into the balances. This £3,000,000 which was repaid was used to redeem Exchequer bonds. Accordingly, deducting this sum of £3,000,000, the amount by which our own exertions reduced the National Debt in the course of the year, was £5,149,000, not, I hope the Committee will think, an altogether unsatisfactory account of our proceedings.

A COMPARISON OF INDEBTEDNESS.

It may interest the Committee to have a comparison of our position in respect of debt during the last five years. In the course of the five years ended 31st March last we created debt to the amount of £188,630,000. This amount is attributable; to the war, £159,000,000; to other expenditure charged to capital account, £27,630,000; and to recent low state of our balances, £2,000,000. The total amount redeemed in the period has been £29,525,000, leaving a net increase of the State's liabilities over this period of five years of £159,105,000, or almost exactly the same amount as we raised for the purposes of the war.

GROWTH OF LOCAL INDEBTEDNESS.

I think it will be interesting to turn for a few moments from this account of our national indebtedness to the figures of local indebtedness. They will repay attention. We sometimes hear it said or suggested that the great fall in the values of Government stocks and all high-class securities in recent years is wholly due to the extravagant borrowings of the State. In a time of great war you must borrow, but if we examine the matter a little more closely, it will be seen that other causes have been at work to reduce the price of gilt-edged securities, and that, if national stocks and the stocks of local authorities are to regain their old credit, local authorities as well as the

Exchequer must agree to restrict for a time their demand on the money market. At the close of the year 1901-2, the latest for which figures are available, the total outstanding loans of local authorities in the United Kingdom amounted to £412,000,000. For England and Wales figures are available to show the growth of this indebtedness during the last twenty years. In England and Wales alone the total outstanding loans in 1880 were £137,000,000. In the ten years from 1880 to 1890 that amount was increased by £62,000,000. In the ten years from 1890 to 1900 the amount was further increased by £95,000,000, while in the two years from 1900 to 1902 the amount was increased by no less a sum than £49,000,000. That is to say, the present rate of increase is two and a half times as great as it was in the period between 1890 and 1900; more than four times as great as between 1880 and 1890. In the twenty years between 1880 and 1900, while in England and Wales the local indebtedness increased by £157,000,000, the gross capital liabilities of the State were reduced by £132,000,000. But when the State was forced again to become a borrower, owing to the exigencies of a great and prolonged war, there was no compensatory restriction in the demands of the local authorities. In the three years ending 31st March, 1902, the local authorities of the United Kingdom borrowed over £103,000,000. The total sum added to the National Debt on account of the war, which disturbed the equilibrium of four financial years, is therefore only just about four-and-a-half years borrowings of local authorities in the United Kingdom at the present rate of progress.

THE LOCAL LOANS FUND.

Of course, a great part of this local indebtedness is incurred in fulfilment of new obligations which this House thrusts on the local authorities. I think that may perhaps give us some reason to pause before we continue to place so many new obligations upon them. And it is true also that a very considerable portion of the indebtedness is invested in remunerative undertakings, or at least in undertakings which it is hoped will prove to be remunerative. That does not alter the fact that for the great mass of

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

these liabilities the resources of the rate-payers are either directly or contingently liable. Sooner or later it will be necessary to call a halt in this process of mortgaging the future. Despite the great success of the recent issue of the London County Council, there are many signs that local authorities are less welcome visitants to the money market than was the case a few years ago. Discouraged there, they naturally turn to the State to help them in their difficulties. The Local Loans Fund was established in order to give local authorities, and especially those not in a favourable position to borrow on their own credit the advantage of the superior credit of the State. But the State is entitled to discriminate between the demands which are made upon it. It is not tolerable that, after they have spoiled the money market by their own large demands, local authorities should be in a position to force the State into the money market so spoiled. In order to check that process, and in order to preserve the Local Loans Fund against loss which would have been incurred otherwise, the Treasury have already been obliged to make an all-round advance in the rates which the Public Works Loan Commissioners charge. I am considering in conjunction with my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board and with the Public Works Loan Commissioners, whether it may not be advisable to still further restrict these loans to those authorities who are least able to borrow upon reasonable terms for themselves, and to those purposes which this House has specially desired to encourage. In any case the State cannot continue to provide money with as lavish a hand as in recent years, now that money is dear and the Savings Banks no longer afford us as large resources as formerly.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE 1904-5.

What are the prospects of the present year? I take expenditure first. The Consolidated Fund charges, including the fixed debt charge, amount to £29,800,000. The Supply services embodied in the Estimates amount to £112,580,000, or, together, £142,380,000. But to these figures I have to add some provision on account of Somaliland, for

which, as the Committee know, nothing was taken in the Estimates. Of course the announcement made by the Secretary for War is fresh in the recollection of the Committee, but still, although the active military operations have come to an end, we must, I fear, face a considerable charge. There are heavy terminal charges in the first place. We have then to make provision for such forces or garrisons as it may be necessary to leave in the country. After consultation with my right hon. friend, I fix the whole amount to be provided for Somaliland in the present year at £500,000, which he believes to be a safe figure. That brings the total expenditure charged to the revenue account of the Exchequer to £142,880,000. In addition the State will collect and pay over in relief of local charges a sum estimated at £9,696,000, and it will incur fresh capital expenditure, for the purposes for which, as already explained, the spending departments are authorised to borrow, to an amount estimated at £10,000,000. The last figure is provisional. I am still in communication with the spending departments on the subject. It will not in any case be exceeded, and I hope that, without causing any serious interruption to work now in progress, it may be possible still further to reduce it. That includes Military and Naval Works and expenditure on telephone extension.

ESTIMATED REVENUE 1904-5.

But my present concern is with the expenditure of £142,880,000 on Supply and Consolidated Fund services, and the question to which I now invite the attention of the Committee is, upon how much revenue can I count, on the present basis of taxation, towards meeting this liability? Customs should yield £33,900,000. That is an increase of only £50,000 over the yield of last year. I have to allow for decreases on several articles of consumption and for the loss of the £100,000, which were the net proceeds of the corn tax last year. On the other hand, tobacco should give me some increase, and the sugar duty will be free from the disturbance, to which I have already referred, caused by the introduction in the middle of last year of the system of refining in bond. Excise I put at £31,500,000, a decrease

of £50,000 from the receipts of last year, in order to allow for a further fall in spirits. Death duties I take at £13,000,000, the figure of last year. Stamps I put at £7,550,000. That is an increase of £50,000 over last year, but is still far below the yield of 1902-3. I am not sure that I am not putting the figure too low; but stamps are, of all sources of revenue, perhaps the most difficult to estimate. They react very quickly to any rise or fall in Stock Exchange business. I think that there are already signs that the extreme depression of the past twelve months is passing away, and that we may look forward to better things this year. At the same time, warned by the disappointments of the past, I think it is better that if I err at all I should err on the side of moderation, and I accordingly take a figure which my advisers and I myself, after hearing all they have to say, think a safe figure. Land tax and house duty I take at £2,650,000, the same as last year. Then I come to income-tax. I have to allow for a further loss of £2,000,000 in consequence of the reduction of the tax last year, because the arrears remaining over into this year will be collected at the lower figure. But I have also to make a further allowance, because, in the three years average on which the profits assessable under Schedule D are computed, a bad year takes the place of a very good one. I therefore put the total yield of the income-tax at £28,000,000 which is £2,800,000 less than last year. This makes a total tax revenue of £116,600,000. From the Post Office I anticipate £15,950,000, an increase of £500,000; from the telegraphs, which include the telephones, I expect £3,750,000. Telegraphs have not done well in the past year, and but for the telephones would have done very much worse. That was in part due to the absence of a certain class of Stock Exchange business, and in part due to the supersession of the telegraph by the telephone. From Crown lands I expect £450,000, from Suez Canal shares £960,000, and from miscellaneous revenue £1,350,000, making a total non-tax revenue of £22,460,000, and a total revenue from all sources of £139,060,000, against a total expenditure of £142,880,000.

THE DEFICIT.

The Committee will therefore see that I have still to make good a sum of £3,820,000, without allowing any margin for contingencies, and without making any further progress towards the restoration of balances. How are we to get it? I have been favoured, like my predecessors, with a great number of suggestions, and if in a multitude of counsellors there were always wisdom I ought to be a very Solomon. Unfortunately, many of these suggestions ignore the practical limitations under which I must work. Many of them are contradictory; not a few of them are impracticable, and a large proportion of them emanate from gentlemen who are evidently much more concerned to tax out of existence somebody or something which they dislike, than to provide revenue to the Exchequer.

THE SINKING FUND

But there is one suggestion to which I must allude, because from communications that have reached me I gather it finds favour amongst some Members of this Committee. It is that I should suspend the Sinking Fund. That is, no doubt, the simplest, as it certainly is from a Parliamentary point of view the easiest, way of getting out of my difficulty, but it is a suggestion to which I for one am unwilling to assent, and I hope the Committee will support me in my refusal. The Sinking Fund was only recently re-established on the cessation of war. It is our first reserve should—which God forbid—war break out afresh. It ought to be jealously preserved for such a contingency, and to have recourse to it recklessly and without imperious necessity in time of peace is to make as direct an onslaught on our power to wage an effective war, as if we were directly to diminish our naval or military preparations. If for these reasons I should consider that it was at all times bad policy to suspend the Sinking Fund without absolute necessity or at least very urgent cause, I think it would be doubly bad policy at the present time, with the price of Government securities at the figure at which they now stand, and with the knowledge that for several years to come the Government must be borrowers in pursuit of their statutory obligations under the Naval and Military Works

Acts, for the Irish Land Purchase Acts, and for other purposes. I therefore dismiss that suggestion.

INCREASE OF THE INCOME-TAX.

Then it is suggested to me that, as the income-tax payer received the major portion of the relief accorded last year, he should bear the whole burden of the new taxation required in the present year. But that is to ignore altogether the course of taxation during the war. During the war the income-tax payer did not only bear his fair proportion of the war charges, but he was called upon, as he always will be called upon in time of war, to contribute to the expenses of the war out of proportion to his ordinary contribution to peace expenditure. The income-tax is, in fact, the second of our great financial reserves for time of war. In a famous passage of his Budget speech of 1853 Mr. Gladstone illustrated its potency by showing how we need have had no National Debt at all if there had been resolution enough to impose an income-tax in an effective form at an earlier period of the great Napoleonic war, and he pointed to what the tax might do for us again in a similar great emergency, provided that its efficacy were not destroyed by pretended reforms, chief among which was differentiation. But, Sir, we can destroy the efficacy of the income-tax as a reserve for war just as completely by keeping it at too high a rate in peace, as by attempting to make a fundamental change in the basis on which it is levied. I have to make an appeal to the patriotism of the income-tax payer. I have to ask the Committee to support me in increasing the figure, the already high figure, at which it now stands. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government 11d. is too high a rate to be permanent in time of peace. It leaves too small a margin of reserve in case of war, and although I am obliged to ask the Committee to add an additional penny this year and to raise the rate to 1s., I say for myself that, in my opinion, it is the income-tax payer who will have the first claim to relief, and I hope the sacrifice I am now asking of him will not endure for long. There are some disadvantages attendant on the income-tax—some cases of hardship, real

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

or apparent—which are inseparable from the nature of the tax itself; but they are all of them increased and aggravated when the tax is at so high a figure. In my opinion the remedy and the only remedy for them is to be sought in reducing the tax again to a more moderate level and not in fundamental alterations of the nature of the tax itself. There are other objections to the tax less inherent in the nature of the tax, and less inseparable from it. There is the question to which my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon called attention in a very striking passage last year, the question of evasion, by means of which some gentlemen escape from their due share of burden and throw a heavier burden upon all their fellow-citizens. There is the question of the proper way to charge income derived from patent rights, copyrights, and such sources. There is the very difficult question of the allowances which it may be proper to make in respect of wasting assets charged to capital; and, lastly, there are the complaints with which every Chancellor of the Exchequer and, I imagine, most Members are familiar from people of small income as to the difficulty of recovering payment of income-tax which has been overpaid. I propose to refer these questions to a Departmental Committee, and I had hoped to be in a position to state exactly of whom the Committee would be composed. I cannot yet give all the names, but I may say I have been fortunate in obtaining the assistance of my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon, who will be Chairman of the Committee, and of the hon. Member for Poplar, who has always taken great interest in our financial discussions. They will have the assistance of the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, and of one or two other gentlemen, amongst whom will be at least one representative Income-tax Commissioner. I hope they will be able very shortly to get to work, and that, as a result of their efforts, we may see our way to meet some of these cases of hardship, which I think are the most serious danger which the income-tax incurs, and the removal of which would do much to mitigate the hostility which is felt to it in any form. The additional penny which I ask the Committee to

impose would yield, in a full year, £2,500,000. In the present year it should give me £2,000,000. For the balance of my requirements I must turn to indirect taxation. After the account I have given to the Committee of the wine duties and of the beer and spirit duties, they will see that it is useless to have recourse to them in the present year. If I were to raise the duty I should probably lose more revenue than I should gain; and, however desirable that might be in the opinion of some hon. Gentlemen because of its social effects on the country, it is, certainly, not a change that can commend itself to me when I am seeking revenue.

THE TOBACCO DUTIES.

I come next to tobacco. Tobacco has done well during the past year, but it is already heavily taxed, and I am advised that to attempt to raise the whole of the sum I require from tobacco alone would involve so great an increase in the duty as would seriously check consumption and destroy the purposes for which it was imposed. I do not, therefore, propose to make any general alteration in the rates of the tobacco duty. But there are some changes and adjustments which I think it would be desirable to introduce. The tobacco duties are an interesting study. They comprise a series of rates on the raw material and on various manufactured products, and, although the rates have been several times varied, the proportion which these rates now bear to one another is practically the same as that at which it was fixed by Mr. Gladstone in 1863. There is no doubt what was his object at that time. He intended to throw open the tobacco trade to foreign competition as other trades had then recently been thrown open; and he explained that he allowed the difference between the rates on manufactured and on raw tobacco as a full and fair equivalent for all charges—both the direct and the indirect charges—to which the British manufacturer was subject, and “in order that the labourers who were employed in the manufacture, amongst whom were women and children, might be well looked after.” What has been the result? In the first place, I think it is

demonstrable that there was an error in the calculations on which Mr. Gladstone worked. He himself, indeed, subsequently corrected the error, but he did not alter the rates which he had proposed, and the result is that the home manufacturer, making for home consumption, has a larger measure of—shall I say compensation?—than Mr. Gladstone had intended. The anomalies do not end here. There are separate rates for cigars, cigarettes, cavendish, snuff, and other manufactured tobaccos, and for raw leaf.

The basis of the whole is the duty on raw leaf, which at the time of Mr. Gladstone's changes was fixed at 3s. 1 4-5d., soon after raised to 3s. 2d., and which now stands at 3s. I do not propose to alter that rate. But the principle of the scale being that there should be a rate for raw tobacco, with a correlative but increased rate for each form of the manufactured article, it has always been an anomaly that the first process of manufacture or treatment which the leaf goes through is marked by no corresponding rate in our scale. That process is the process of stemming or stripping the leaf—that is, separating the less valuable stalk from the more valuable portion of the leaf—and the omission to mark that stage by a separate rate of duty, coupled with the unsatisfactory condition of our drawbacks, as to which I will say something later, has resulted in the transference of a great portion of this work from this country to other places. In the five years, 1860–1864, only 43 per cent. of the tobacco that entered this country was stripped before importation. Last year no less than 77 per cent. had undergone this process before it was brought into this country. That is to say that by our Customs regulations we have actually driven employment away from our shores. Now, I do not know what degree of acceptance Mr. Gladstone's proviso that we should allow something in order to enable workpeople engaged in the trade to receive fair treatment would meet in this Committee to-day, but I imagine that nowhere would there be any desire that our Customs duties should go out of their way to penalise and discourage the employment of British labour and to force manufacturers, contrary to

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

the natural course of trade, to carry on part of their processes of manufacture elsewhere. But if this failure to have a separate rate for tobacco which has undergone this process of treatment has been injurious to labour, it is also injurious to the revenue. In the first place, the revenue loses the additional sum which it might gain if this part of our tobacco duties were framed in accordance with the rest of them. In the second place, the stalk is the moistest part of the leaf; and, as the duty is assessed upon the total weight, including any natural moisture of the leaf, it is decidedly to the disadvantage of the revenue to discourage the importation of the stalk. It is clear that the stripped leaf has a definite and distinct value differing from that which the whole leaf enjoys. It is not right that this separate value, this process of manufacture which the leaf has undergone, should not, like all other processes of manufacture which add to the value, be marked on our scale and find its reflection in the appropriate way. I propose, therefore, to remove this anomaly. I leave the rate on the raw leaf at 3s., and I introduce a new rate of 3s. 3d. on tobacco stripped before importation—that is, a rate of 3d. in excess of the rate on the raw material.

Next, Sir, I come to cigars. In 1898, when my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol reduced the duties on tobacco generally, he left the cigar duty unchanged. He treated foreign cigars as an article of luxury which might very fairly pay a luxury duty in excess of that paid on tobacco. The luxury tax at that time was 6d., and was exactly comparable to the special tax which Lord Goschen, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, imposed upon sparkling wines in addition to the ordinary wine duty calculated on the alcoholic strength, to which they were also subject. I do not think that any complaint has been made of the luxury duty of 6d. When the duties were further altered in 1900 that 6d. was increased to 8d. I now propose to add an additional 6d. to the duty on foreign cigars, and, at the same time, I propose to put a similar luxury tax of 1s. on foreign cigarettes. These rates, I ought to have said, are per lb. in both cases. There

are two other changes which I must explain to the Committee as briefly as I can. In 1887 the limit of moisture allowed in tobacco was fixed at 35 per cent. In 1898, in connection with the reduction of the duties, it was reduced to 30 per cent. Well, Sir, in practice it has been found that it is not possible, especially for the smaller manufacturers, to work up to the full limit allowed them for fear that they may accidentally exceed it in some portion of their production, and so incur the very heavy penalties which are contingent upon such an offence. Practically, with a nominal limit of 30 per cent., they can very little exceed 28 per cent. I think it has been proved that it is desirable, as it certainly was the intention that in certain kinds of tobacco they should actually be able to work up to the full limit of 30 per cent. I propose, therefore, now to raise the moisture limit to 32 per cent. in order to give them a little latitude.

Lastly, Sir, there is the question of drawbacks on which, also, I must say a few words. It has long been a complaint of the trade that the present rate of drawback is insufficient, unequal, and unfair; and, I think if any hon. Member likes to follow the calculations which were presented to the House in 1863 he will see that that must be so. But since that time there has been a change in the nature of the tobacco imported which aggravates the injustice. The public taste has changed. It now requires a lighter tobacco, which can only be grown on light and sandy soils; and tobacco grown on these soils contains a greater amount of inorganic matter than was the case with the tobacco of old days. The whole subject is very technical, and I will not enter into it in detail now. But I may say that a Joint Committee of the Customs and Inland Revenue authorities has been carefully examining this subject; and they have laid before me proposals which I am prepared substantially to accept, subject to such alterations as are necessitated by the changes in the duty which I have announced to-day. I shall be able to tell the Committee exactly what is proposed before we get to the Second Reading of the Finance Bill. But I may say at once that in place of one rate we shall propose to introduce four or five different

rates of drawback; and I am not without hope that one result of this change may be to lead to a considerable increase in our export trade of manufactured tobacco, and more particularly of cigars, especially to our Colonies. I am told that at the present day the Colonies are supplied to a very large extent from Hamburg and from Holland, not in consequence of any superiority of the manufactures of those countries, but because the insufficiency of our drawback acts as a penalty on export. The net result of these changes, after making allowance for the increase in the limit of moisture, will be a gain to the revenue which I estimate will this year amount to £550,000. What the yield will be in future years must of course depend upon the proportion which the importation of stripped leaf bears to whole leaf in each year. I do not myself anticipate any marked or sudden change in this respect, and, if I am right, this change which I propose will continue to give us an additional revenue in future years, whilst, in any case, we shall remove an anomaly and an injustice in our scale of Customs. By these means I obtain an additional revenue of £2,550,000. I still require a sum of something like £2,000,000.

INCREASED TEA DUTY.

I can obtain it from tea or from sugar. Sir, the sugar duty was only recently imposed, and the trade has lately been subjected to some uncertainty owing to the Brussels Sugar Convention. On the whole, therefore, it has appeared to His Majesty's Government that it is better that the sugar trade should not be disturbed again at the present time, and we propose to have recourse to tea. I shall ask the Committee to add twopence per pound on tea. As I have already said, tea did well. It produced last year £250,000 more than the estimate in twelve months when almost every other source of revenue failed to realise anticipations. Allowing for the disturbance created by forestalments and backwardations in recent years when changes in taxation have been anticipated, it has been a steadily growing revenue, and the consumption is not likely to be materially checked by the increase which I propose. Even with that increase the

average price to-day, duty paid, will be hardly one half of what it was in 1864. From this source I expect to get £2,000,000.

THE FINAL BALANCE SHEET.

I am now in a position to present my final balance-sheet to the Committee. I will not repeat the figures which are unaltered by the changes which I have proposed in taxation. I have added to Customs £2,550,000, bringing its total yield up to £36,450,000. I have added to income tax for the present year £2,000,000, making its estimated yield for this twelve months £30,000,000. By these means I arrive at a total revenue of £143,610,000, against an expenditure of £142,880,000, leaving a surplus of revenue over expenditure of £730,000. That is a larger margin than it has been customary to allow in recent years, and it is to this source that I look for the further restoration of the balances beyond the amount which I have already provided. Sir, I have now finished my task. I thank the Committee for the patience with which they have listened to me, and the indulgence that they have shown. Assuming office at a moment when the revenue was falling below the estimates, and when expenditure was already in excess of the Budget provision, I have found myself face to face with a double deficit. I have been obliged to propose to the Committee new taxation. But the difficulties which I have to meet are largely temporary, and I look for further relief to the cessation of the military operations in Somaliland and to the reforms which my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War is preparing in our Army system. But the time for that relief is not yet, and it has been my duty to increase, and not to remit, taxation. Additional taxation is never popular, and the resources to which I can have recourse in present circumstances are limited. I have done my best with the means at my disposal, and I appeal with some confidence to the Committee to support proposals which I believe to be sound in themselves, necessary and adequate for the maintenance of our high financial credit, and framed in harmony with our existing financial system and with due regard to the just interests of all classes of the community

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

CUSTOMS—TEA.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on tea, there shall be charged on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five, the following duty (that is to say):—

"Tea, the pound . . . Eight pence."
—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman has discharged himself of a task of unusual difficulty in a manner which, I am sure, has earned the admiration of the House. I think I should not do justice to what is in all our minds if I did not allude to one personal difficulty which I need only allude to for the purpose of putting it aside. It is that the right hon. Gentleman finds himself, as it appears to most of us, in a position presenting some incongruity between the office which he holds and the opinions and ambitions which he does not conceal in fiscal and trade matters, and, possibly, even with the avowed policy, so far as we can know it, of the Administration of which he is a member. And, therefore, he must have expected that all he said to-day would be scrutinised by every one who listened to him with a view to discovering whether there was anything which might appear to any of us, whatever our opinions on this vexed question may be, to be of a subterranean character applicable to that question. I think the right hon. Gentleman must have been conscious of a certain peculiar interest on that ground which pervaded the Assembly which he was addressing. On one or two occasions, I think, he made an observation which, to a very sensitive ear, might appear to have a further meaning than appeared on the surface, but on the whole, I think, in this respect as well as in the lucidity and completeness of his statement, the right hon. Gentleman has acquitted himself most admirably.

The right hon. Gentleman had a task of great difficulty to undertake. We have not known a financial position so serious in our time. In the second

year of peace, after the war taxation had been only partially reduced in the first year, the rest of that war taxation is not only to be maintained but absolutely to be increased, and the right hon. Gentleman has found himself obliged, as he thinks, to add to the indirect taxation of the country at a time when it is universally admitted that that branch of taxation had not received the relief it was entitled to last year. The right hon. Gentleman has at least shown courage, of different kinds perhaps, in two particulars. He has maintained unequivocally the Sinking Fund, which, as he says, is the great resource of this country in an emergency. But, at the same time, he has shown another sort of courage in proposing, I venture to say, two of the most unpopular taxes which could be brought forward by any Chancellor of the Exchequer—namely, an addition to the already high income-tax and an addition to the tax upon tea. The right hon. Gentleman has touched upon a vast number of most important subjects which will require the due consideration of the Committee, and I wish to repeat, on behalf of the Committee, the claim which was made last year and acknowledged by the right hon. Gentleman who was then the spokesman of the Government. That is the claim that we should have an ample opportunity of discussing, not this or that particular Resolution, not the individual taxes that are interfered with, one after another, but also the general policy of the Budget. This question arose last year, and members of the Committee then found themselves stopped from what they considered was the full discussion that was required of the general financial situation on the ground that, unless there was a general agreement on the subject, and, of course, subject always to the acquiescence of the Chair, they must confine themselves to the limits of the particular Resolution. The then Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged that there was “a good deal in the argument, and if he should have again to bring in a Budget he should take care that the House was not put into the position in which, to his regret, it now found itself.” I think it only right, and a matter of duty to the other Members who are interested in the

subject, that I should distinctly claim that the Government should allow not only the general discussion on the first Resolution to-night, but on another Resolution which will give that ample opportunity which, I am sure, the right hon. Gentleman himself would agree ought to be given. I am not going to enter upon all those elaborate and detailed questions which the right hon. Gentleman has so ably dealt with. I am not sure that, on this occasion, our interest has turned so much upon conjectures as to the particular tax which is to be increased or modified, or imposed or abolished, or on any other of the details of the scheme of taxation. The great governing fact which stands over the whole finance of the year is the enormous growth of expenditure. I regret that the right hon. Gentleman did not make his survey a little more complete by saying something upon that point. He was severe upon the local authorities. He said it was necessary to call “Halt!” in the process of expenditure, and he seemed shocked by their extravagance; but he had not a word to say as to the huge Estimates for which he is himself responsible.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I referred to borrowing.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Well, but nobody needs to borrow unless he spends, and the way to get rid of the necessity of borrowing is to refrain from spending. We used to have little admonitions from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol which I am bound to say—I have often remarked it before—did not appear to have much effect. But we have not had even the blessing of a homily or an admonition from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, perhaps, bases his neglect of that part of his usual performance on the knowledge and experience he had of the ineffectual results of those speeches. I believe it is to this growth of expenditure rather than to ingenious devices for meeting the charge and covering up the cost that the country should direct its most earnest attention. The facts speak for themselves. For the hundredth time I will repeat some of them, because they

ought to be constantly brought before the House. Our national expenditure in 1886 was £92,200,000. In 1895, with some variations, it still remained at £93,900,000. The estimated expenditure for the coming year is £142,300,000. The Navy has gone from £9,400,000 in 1870 to £17,600,000 in 1895 and £42,100,000 in 1905. The Army has risen from £12,300,000 in 1870 to £18,700,000 in 1895 and £32,500,000 in 1905. And we have been told by the Secretary of State for War himself that we must expect an increased expenditure in the next year and the year after because of the re-armament, which is at present concealed from our view by the fact that it is being mainly defrayed by India. This is a state of things which requires only to be recited in this House, surely, to invite to it the most earnest and serious attention of the Committee.

And let me say that the right hon. Gentleman referred incidentally to a further expenditure which is going on and which is often allowed to pass without notice. I refer to the expenditure from capital under a series of Acts which are hidden away from the public and often from Parliamentary knowledge. And this expenditure is being rapidly developed. The money is expended and is repaid by annuities which are charged on the ordinary Estimates. I am quite aware of the convenience and advantages of this system. It gives continuity to the administration of the works undertaken. It prevents the confusion and disturbance created by the periodical necessity of surrendering balances. I daresay it is economical in some respects. It frees the hands of the administering authority, but its by-product, if I may say so, is the concealment from the country of this expenditure that is going on. I will recite the Acts. They are the Barracks Act, 1890, the Naval Works Acts from 1895 to 1908, the Military Works Acts from 1897 to 1901, the Telegraphs Acts from 1802 to 1899, the Uganda Railway Acts from 1896 to 1902, the Niger Company Act, 1899, the Pacific Cable Act, 1901, Public Offices (Acquisition of Sites) Act, 1895, Public Offices (Whitehall Site) Act, 1897, and the Land Registry (New Buildings) Act, 1900. I venture to say there are many

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

Members of the House who are not in the least aware of the extent to which this expenditure is going on. At the end of 1892-93 the total liability under legislation of this kind was £621,000. What does the Committee think it is now? At the end of 1902-3 it was £27,408,000. Here is, practically, £27,000,000 added to the National Debt in ten years, and it is a growing expenditure. The amount spent last year was £8,119,000, and the amount expected to be spent in this year is £9,789,000. Therefore, besides the ordinary expenditure charged against revenue, with which we are familiar in the Estimates, we are spending this year £9,750,000 and concealing it from ourselves by charging it against capital. We talk of the Sinking Fund, and I have said how much we approve of the stern virtue of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in not tampering with the Sinking Fund, but here is an expenditure that obliterates the Sinking Fund.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH (Bristol, W.): No.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It goes far to do so.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman, who is well acquainted with these things, will, I hope, explain them to the House, and if he can explain them satisfactorily no one will rejoice more than I shall. These are facts which, it seems to me, give importance to this Budget, and I mention this subterranean expenditure, as it were, only by the way, in order to impress upon the House the fact that the enormous sums which we see on the face of the Estimates do not include all our liabilities. These facts appear to me urgently to call upon us to arrest, while we may, the headlong extravagance of recent years. This is a question which far transcends Party interest. It is the interest of us all to maintain the financial strength of the country, and also as Members of the House of Commons to show that we are not idle and indifferent to such progress of expenditure. I trust that the House of Commons will not be slow to discharge

its first duty in this matter, and will not be content with discussing taxes which may be imposed or removed, or general administration, but will discuss the source and origin of all the evil, which is the growing expenditure of the country.

***MR. RITCHIE** (Croydon): My first duty, an agreeable one, is to congratulate my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the great ability with which he has discharged a duty which he has rightly described as on this occasion especially difficult. He has stated the views he holds and the proposals he makes with such clearness that they are perfectly plain to the Committee, which, as I myself know, is by no means an easy task. I very much regret that my right hon. friend was placed in the difficult position of having to meet a falling revenue, and I regret it the more because it may be, and no doubt has been, contended in many quarters that it was my own proposals of last year which have landed my right hon. friend in his present difficulty. Sir, I have myself received many congratulations from friends that it has not been my duty on this occasion to perform my right hon. friend's task, congratulations which do doubt were well intended, and I will, therefore, take the opportunity of saying that I should have been glad if anything I could have done could have relieved my right hon. friend from the difficulties created by last year. My right hon. friend has stated with great clearness the various circumstances which led to the revenue being considerably less than was anticipated last year. Those who have occupied the position know well that a Chancellor of the Exchequer has to rely, and properly to rely, for the estimates he makes on the advice he receives from those efficient officers of the State who have for so long performed their duties admirably. It must not be supposed that these estimates are made in anything like a haphazard way, they are made after most complete inquiry into all the various circumstances that are likely to affect the revenue, and I for my part did what I am sure my right hon. friend has done—I went very carefully into every item of the estimates with my advisers, being most anxious, above all things, that the estimates of

revenue should not be excessive. I did not feel justified, after the inquiry and discussion, in making material reductions on the proposals put before me, and if I had made any reductions they would certainly not have been in any degree adequate to the deficiency, which, unfortunately, has arisen.

My right hon. friend has stated, quite truly, that the falling off of the revenue is largely owing to a cycle of bad trade. But last year there were no indications of sufficient magnitude to justify a Chancellor of the Exchequer in inferring that this falling off would occur. Many circumstances have led to it. There have been the after-effects of the war. It was anticipated that after the war there would be a very considerable revival of trade, especially with South Africa, but nothing of the kind has occurred; on the contrary, the trade with South Africa last year has not been so good as it was in previous times. Then there has been the disturbance in the cotton trade, which has been very injurious to a large number of people. I do not wish to touch on any controversial subject just now, but my own belief is that the controversy which unhappily has taken place in connection with our fiscal policy has made trade perhaps somewhat less than it would otherwise have been. But however that may be, I think I am justified in contending that, as far as the falling off in the revenue is concerned, it is of a character that could not have been foreseen either by myself or my advisers last year. One reason which my right hon. friend gave, although unsatisfactory to him from the point of view of a revenue collector, must be satisfactory to the House—namely, that, to some extent at least, the falling off in the consumption of beer and spirits was owing to the Licensing Act of 1902. That Act has undoubtedly made everyone more careful: it has hindered the drunkard from getting more drink, it has made the dispenser of drink more careful in selling, and I think it has had some effect in removing the abuses of drinking which unfortunately occur in a large number of bogus clubs. However slight the effect may be, that it has had any effect is matter not for regret but for sincere congratulation.

My right hon. friend has said that the repeal of the corn tax was more costly than had been anticipated and that the advantages were less apparent. How costly the character of the repeal may be is a matter over which no one had any control; it merely depended, I imagine, on dealing fairly with the people who were engaged in the trade who had paid the tax and had large stocks in hand. I am sure the Committee will feel that I myself acted rightly in dealing fairly, and indeed generously, with those people and in making remissions.

***MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN:** I did not criticise the repayments made, I did not say that they were not necessary or justified. On the contrary I think my right hon. friend was quite right to make them.

***MR. RITCHIE:** My right hon. friend has suggested that the advantages anticipated were not very apparent, although earlier in his speech he said that one of the reasons for the deficiency in the revenue was a very bad harvest. Surely my right hon. friend will not argue, when there has been a bad harvest, that, although the price of bread has not been reduced, the consumer does not therefore receive any advantage from the remission of this tax. It is impossible to say exactly what has been the effect, how much or how little, because of other circumstances which have to be taken into account, but, in view of the years of bad harvest, I think it was a matter not for regret but congratulation that the tax was taken off. However, I do not say that in any controversial spirit.

My right hon. friend has said that expenditure had been increased by three items. One of them was the extra expenditure in Somaliland. None of us anticipated that anything like that expenditure would be necessary, but I certainly am not one of those who desire to say one word against the expenditure. We entered upon that campaign for very adequate reasons, and we are bound to carry that campaign through to a successful termination, whatever the cost. No one regrets the cost more than do the Government, and for my part I make no complaint against them for the extra expenditure. With regard to the Naval

Mr. Ritchie.

Estimates, if my right hon. friend meant to imply that I cut down naval expenditure in a way that made the Estimates inadequate, I am sure my right hon. friend will accept from me the statement that there is no foundation for that implication.

***MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN:** What I said was that I understood from the First Lord of the Admiralty that there was some doubt as to what sums were required; that my right hon. friend undertook to provide a larger sum than was included in the original Estimates if experience showed that it would be necessary; and that the sum which was needed was even larger than was anticipated.

***MR. RITCHIE:** I was going to say that the whole matter of dispute between my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty and myself was a mere matter of £200,000 upon the question of contract work. I declined to add £200,000 more to the Estimate for contract work which might not have been earned. It has turned out that the contractors have done more work than I anticipated they would do. With regard to the purchase of the Chilean battleships, in my opinion the Government were amply justified in that expenditure. It would have been most unwise if the Government had allowed them to go to a foreign fleet, when they might have altered the balance of power, but I warn my noble friend that we shall expect to see some reduction in future Naval Estimates on account of the transaction. I do not say that the naval programme of the Government ought to be reduced, but I do say that the expenditure on these ships ought to be regarded as an anticipatory expenditure, which should reduce by so much the Naval Estimates of a future year. Both sides of the House will acknowledge that my right hon. friend has met the deficit in the revenue in a bold and statesmanlike manner. Some people may find fault with my right hon. friend for the depletion of the Exchequer balances, but, under the circumstances, I think my right hon. friend was justified in utilising some of those balances. It has always been the practice when there has been a deficit, and when taxation has been high,

for a sum to be taken out of the balances, and, therefore, I have no fault to find with my right hon. friend on account of this proposal.

There is one thing on which I heartily congratulate my right hon. friend, and that is his decision not to touch the Sinking Fund. It is an easy thing to reduce the Sinking Fund, but a difficult thing to justify, and I am convinced that he was wise in not touching it. I think my right hon. friend was perfectly justified in adding a penny to the income-tax because I am perfectly certain that I should not have taken 4d. off the income-tax last year had I anticipated that there would have been such a fall in the revenue; therefore, no fault can be found with my right hon. friend in putting a penny on the tax, which would have remained on last year if the deficit could have been anticipated. I was glad to hear that my right hon. friend intends to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the subject of the income-tax. There is a very large field of inquiry for such a Committee, and I can only say that for my part I shall be glad to render such assistance in the matter as I can. I do not propose to say anything about the tobacco which is a complicated question; but I am sorry my right hon. friend has thought it necessary to increase the duty on tea. Tea has done well, said my right hon. friend, and therefore let an additional tax be put upon it. That may be an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer reason, but it has always appeared to me unfair that people who pay most freely should be most heavily taxed. I am not, however, prepared to say that in this matter my right hon. friend has been unwise in acting as he has done. I should have preferred to see a higher duty put upon tobacco; but I do not press the point, because I know there are difficulties connected with an increase in the duty on tobacco. I am sure the Government will attend to the request of the Leader of the Opposition that adequate time shall be given for the discussion of the whole Budget. Owing to a misunderstanding, partly, I am afraid, my fault and partly the fault of the Front Opposition Bench, an opportunity was not given for a full discussion of the Budget last year, and I then promised on behalf of the

Government that care should be taken to prevent a repetition of the mistake. My right hon. friend remarked that the indirect taxpayer had not received adequate relief last year. In my opinion the indirect taxpayer has received perfectly adequate relief. It must be remembered that a larger share of the burden of taxation last year was borne by the income-tax payer than by the indirect taxpayer, and that consequently the direct taxpayer had a more urgent claim to relief, which could not possibly be set aside. In conclusion, I have again to offer my right hon. friend the heartiest congratulations upon the manner in which he has discharged the difficult task that has fallen to him as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

*MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) said the House would not blame the right hon. Gentleman for Croydon for being out in his estimates last year. The period was an exceedingly difficult one, and that the estimates were inaccurate was not the fault of those who advised the right hon. Gentleman. Whether or not the cause was a cycle of depression he was not quite sure. It was perfectly true there had been a period of depression but it was of a different kind to that to which they had been used in the past. At other times, when depression had occurred, it had been general in its character, affecting many countries, but of late the depression had been local and he was not sure whether it was not due to a shortage of the purchasing power of this country owing to the withdrawal of capital from its proper channel owing to the war. All would be agreed in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the way that he had performed his task in bringing in his Budget. He had kept up the high reputation of the Chancellors of the Exchequer of this House for lucidity. Lucidity was the characteristic of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and it was a quality for which they were all grateful. The right hon. Gentleman had had a difficult task to perform and it was impossible at this moment to make criticisms as to details. The right hon. Gentleman was to be warmly congratulated on having had the courage to refrain from suspending the Sinking Fund,

but the right hon. Member for Croydon, he thought, had been a little too generous in his defence of the Exchequer balances. It was quite plain the Exchequer balances could not be touched without the money obtained therefrom being charged to capital, and therefore the defence which had been made by the right hon. Member for resorting to the Exchequer balances, although it might be right to resort to them under the present circumstances, could not be allowed to go without question.

With regard to the income-tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done quite right, and he had explained that the country could not afford even the reduction of last year, not because of the circumstances the right hon. Member for Croydon had before him, but because the estimates of that season had turned out to be too sanguine. He regarded, however, the imposition of the additional tax upon tea with the greatest suspicion. Nothing was more plain than the fact that successive Chancellors of the Exchequer had not made any inquiries lately into the incidence of indirect taxation; as to how the incidence of the revenue raised fell upon the taxpayer, especially in regard to indirect taxation. Indirect taxation was a matter which required a great deal more investigation than it had received, and as regarded the tax on tea he proposed to reserve his criticisms until the time came to deal with the matter specifically. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman had intimated his intention to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the income-tax, but the incidence of the income-tax was very wide and he was not quite sure that the terms of reference for the proposed inquiry would carry the matter far enough. The difficulty of collection was far more stringent than it had ever been, and he was not quite sure whether the right hon. Gentleman would not have to consider whether he was not killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. It was extremely difficult to differentiate between the different kinds of profits, especially when they were made by persons only casually in this country. The whole burden of the income-tax required very careful reconsideration. The principles remained the same as they were in the early

fifties, and before long they would have to be revised in a much more comprehensive sense than had been stated this afternoon if the full efficiency of that tax was to be realised. He was glad to hear there was to be no additional tax on alcohol. Some of that tax pressed now very heavily on certain individual industries, and he could state case after case, if necessary, of industries being starved in this country owing to the duty on alcohol as, for instance, the cellulose industry. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on having dealt with the tobacco duties in a scientific spirit. Cigars were now to be manufactured in this country far more than before. Whether they would be of the kind that one would expect to receive from the right hon. Gentleman he did not know, but an opportunity was to be given for the manufacture of cigars for export.

They did not, however, need to go into the details at this stage, but they could turn their minds to the broad issues which the Budget disclosed. He doubted whether the Budget realised the very serious situation in which the country was at the present time. There was no doubt that in the last twenty years the annual income from all sources had been steadily growing. The annual income was calculated in 1882-3 at £14,000,000,000; in 1891-2 it was £16,000,000,000, whilst in 1902-3 it was probably no less than £20,000,000,000. That was a very great increase in twenty years. It meant an increase of annual income of 38 per cent., as against an increase in population of 15 per cent., or an increase of income per head of the population of 20 per cent. On the other hand, the growth of expenditure from 1873 to 1883 was £1,000,000 a year; from 1883-4 to 1896, including the period when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire was at the Treasury, there was a period of economy during which the increase of expenditure was not more than £750,000. Then came a change of administration and in the following eight years the increase of expenditure was over £50,000,000, or an increase of £6,250,000 a year. The right hon. Member for West Bristol appeared to dissent. He had retired from the Government before that limit was reached; but he made a most remarkable speech,

Mr. Haldane.

substantially to this same effect, in September, 1902, which contained one of the most valuable warnings which had been given to the country for some years. The Votes which were responsible for this enormous increase of £50,000,000 in eight years were the Army and Navy Votes. During the period from 1883-4 to 1893-4 the Army Estimates had increased by £14,000,000, whilst during the same period the Navy Vote showed an increase of £24,000,000. Educational expenditure had also increased by £9,000,000. That was a striking expenditure. He was the last to wish to reduce the naval expenditure in any way that would prevent the Navy being the most efficient that could be obtained, but it could not be forgotten that that efficiency was relative. The position of other Powers had to be considered, and he thought the time had come when a thorough-going diplomatic effort should be made to arrange with the great Powers to put a check on this startling rate of increase. He was glad to see in the Army Estimates that something like a beginning had been made, but the Navy deserved consideration from the point of view of highest statesmanship for the purpose of dealing with this important question. The National Debt was another serious matter. In 1897 Consols reached the figure of 113½, whereas in 1903 they were as low as 86½. Then, too, the Government recently issued their guaranteed 2½ per cent. Land Stock at 87, which meant that they were paying about 3¼ per cent. for money. That was a startling alteration in the state of the national credit which could hardly be accounted for by the increase of local taxation and local loans, though he quite admitted that there had been a tendency to come into the market with local loans in competition with the Government, which had made the position of the Government weaker than it used to be. The fact that 3¼ per cent. had now to be paid as against less than 2½ per cent. eight years ago was a serious matter to be taken into account. Then there was the question of local rates, which, for the last year, had been estimated at £55,000,000, and it had been calculated that these had doubled in the last twenty years. Local debt amounted to upwards of £400,000,000, but a large

part of that was reproductive, being represented by telephones, water supply, lighting, tramways, and other services which brought in returns. The unremunerative portion of the debt might be taken at one-half the total amount. Be that as it might, local and Imperial taxation together amounted to the formidable sum of over £190,000,000. It was true that that was only about 10 per cent. on the national income, but had anybody any serious idea of what was the incidence of that taxation, how it was distributed between the various classes of the population, and how more was to be obtained if the emergency arose?

He did not think it was any use having an inquiry into expenditure. Expenditure was a matter of policy, and policy was a matter of which this House and the nation had to judge. But on the question of expenditure and the raising of revenue the House and the nation were very much in the dark as to the incidence of taxation, and he would like to see a Royal Commission, containing the very best statisticians and economists of the country with some of the first men of business, set to work and devoting, if necessary, two or three years to the task of furnishing the country with a thorough Report on the subject. The Income-Tax Commissioners and the Board of Inland Revenue were certain to have masses of information of the most useful kind with regard to the distribution of the national income and the way in which taxation fell upon it. He agreed that it was not easy to see how the existing sources of taxation could be increased. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the extreme lucidity with which he had placed his Budget statement before the Committee, and he had made these criticisms of a general character in the belief that they concerned subjects which ought to be dealt with at an early date by one occupying the responsible position of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR M. [HICKS] BEACH : The right hon. Gentleman, opposite, has dealt with much knowledge and ability with many important subjects connected with the financial situations

of the country. He has gone far beyond the finance of this particular year, but I think his main desire was to call the attention of the Committee to the great difficulties of the present situation. In that I entirely agree with him. But if the difficulties are such as have been described, all the more credit is due to my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the admirable and courageous manner in which he has performed his task to-day. My right hon. friend was good enough to refer in a very friendly way to the relations which used to exist between us at the Treasury. I can only say that if my views on fiscal subjects in any way modelled the opinions of my right hon. friend, he has amply fulfilled to-day, in performance, the promise which he gave in his early days at the Treasury. I recognise, as the Leader of the Opposition recognised, that in this matter my right hon. friend had a difficult and delicate task to perform. He has views on fiscal subjects with regard to the future from which I unhappily differ, but not a trace of those views was to be found in his speech to-night; and I welcome with even greater satisfaction the fact that not a trace of those views is to be found in the proposals of the Budget.

What was the situation with which my right hon. friend had to deal? It was none of his making. Nobody can blame him in the smallest degree for the fact that there has been in the past year a deficit of £2,750,000 in our revenue as compared with the estimate of his predecessor, and an increased expenditure beyond the Estimates of about the same amount, making altogether a realised deficit in the year of nearly £5,500,000. Nor should I wish at all to blame his predecessor my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon. I know too well the difficulties of framing estimates of revenue for the coming year. I was more fortunate. In my time the country was more prosperous, and my estimates of revenue were, with one exception, invariably exceeded in the result. Sometimes they were very largely exceeded, but I always confessed to the Committee—and I hold the opinion strongly—that no Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to take credit for a revenue far in excess of

his anticipations any more than he can fairly be blamed if, owing to depression of trade or other causes, the revenue falls short of his estimates. The pride of a Chancellor of the Exchequer should be to make the yield of the revenue and his estimates, as nearly as possible, balance.

Now, what is the manner in which my right hon. friend has proposed to deal with the deficit of the past year? There is one point in regard to that deficit to which I wish to call attention. I have said that I do not in the least blame my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon, but I do think that greater caution should have been exercised by him and the responsible heads of the Revenue Departments with regard to the estimates of revenue last year from Customs and Excise. What are the facts? My right hon. friend was advised to estimate his receipts from Customs at £207,000 beyond the yield of the previous year, but there was an actual falling off as compared with the yield of the previous year of £583,000. That was a mistake of nearly £800,000. Then my right hon. friend expected an increased yield from Excise of £600,000, and there was an actual decrease of £550,000; a mistake of £1,150,000. What happened in the year before? In the year before that—the last for which I was responsible—Excise had shown a considerable falling off. The Excise had shown a falling off of £600,000 in 1902–3 and Customs a falling off of £767,000 as compared with my estimate, and in the year 1901–2 the receipts from Excise had been equally discouraging. I mention these matters, not in order to suggest blame to any one, but in order to express a hope that my right hon. friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken warning in the framing of his estimates for the coming year from this steady falling off, especially in Excise. I notice that he estimated his receipts from Excise next year on the present basis of taxation at within £50,000 of the receipts in the present year. Well, I hope he has taken account of the tendency to fall off and also of the fact that he has had the benefit of an additional day in the year that has just passed. I hope the same with regard to Customs.

Sir M. Hicks Beach.

But there is still another matter. My right hon. friend the Member for Croydon has said to-day, and we must all feel that if we could only be wise before the event instead of after it, we should all have agreed last year that it was wrong to reduce the taxation of the country by so large an amount as was actually remitted, and my right hon. friend has said that if he had known how the year would turn out he would not have taken off a penny of the income-tax. Well, I think there are a good many people who will be disposed to go a little further. I supported His Majesty's Government last year in the repeal of the corn duty, for which I was responsible; I did it with the greatest reluctance, but I did it because I believed it to be the least of two evils. I believed it to be better that that duty should be repealed than that it should be used as the first step in a policy of preference or protection. But, Sir, I had another reason for supporting the repeal of that duty. That was because my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon as Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed in his Budget speech to the House a strong hope that he would be able so to reduce the increase of expenditure that he might be justified on that account also in remitting the amount of taxation which he proposed to remit. Well, I trusted, and I said so at the time, to the sense which I hoped right hon. Gentlemen on that Bench had at last begun to feel of the danger of this increasing expenditure, and that that would induce them to stop the increase and justify the remission of the corn duty. But what has happened? We have seen again an increase in the present year of £2,750,000 on the Naval Estimates, for which I am bound to say that in my opinion no sufficient reason has yet been given. We have seen Estimates produced by the Secretary of State for War which he has declined himself to defend or even to excuse except as merely provisional Estimates, necessary in the transition stage towards a time of greater efficiency, and, I hope, of diminished military expenditure. It is in those circumstances that my right hon. friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has been deprived of a penny on the income-tax, and of £2,500,000 from the corn duty, a

duty which I still think, as I told the House two years ago, when once established would do very little practical harm to anybody, whatever might be said against it in theory, and the repeal of which, so far as I know, has done no good whatever to anybody. That is the position in which we now stand, thanks to the remission of these taxes last year.

How does my right hon. friend propose to deal with this deficit due to the past year of £5,400,000? I do not quite understand, I confess, his proposals on that score. He appropriates, in the first place, from the balances £3,000,000 which has been paid into them from the Transvaal Guaranteed Loan for advances made by this country to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, I think, in the year 1902-3. I do not quite understand for what object those particular advances were made, and I would remind my right hon. friend that, though the money was taken from the balances to make those advances, yet it got into the balances from the loan which I borrowed in the year 1901-2. It was borrowed money, borrowed for the purposes of the war, and, having been borrowed, I must say I think that in strictness it ought to have been applied to the redemption of Exchequer bonds or to the redemption of some form of debt, rather than applied to pay off a deficit in the balancing of the finances of any particular year. But I do not at all wish to say this by way of criticism of my right hon. friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, because, on my conscience, I believe that if I had been in his place I should have done exactly the same thing. I think that we owe him so much for having declined the temptation to take anything from the Sinking Fund that we may well forgive him this proposal with regard to the £3,000,000. Then, having taken these £3,000,000, my right hon. friend proposes to draw still further upon the balances towards the deficit of £5,400,000. I do not quite gather to what extent he draws. [An Hon. MEMBER: The whole.] No, I do not think it was the whole, because he proposes to appropriate certain dividends arising from unclaimed stock, and waiting demands from the owners of that stock, who never appear, a course which I think is perfectly justified by the precedents of former years, and I can only congratulate

him on having so fortunate a windfall. That he has put, I think, at £1,000,000.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I propose to realise to that extent.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Well, I hope my right hon. friend will be careful about the realisation, because these funds are invested in Consols, and we all feel that this is not precisely the time at which it would be advisable to realise Consols if it can possibly be avoided. But that would account for £4,000,000, out of the deficit of £5,400,000. I do not quite understand how the remainder is to be dealt with, and perhaps when he comes to answer my right hon. friend will explain this point. When he came to the imposition of taxation for the coming year I certainly understood that he only provided for the deficit of the present year. He proposes to provide for that deficit by imposing an additional penny on the income-tax, 2d. per lb. on tea, and by certain changes in the tobacco duties, which he thinks would produce him a revenue of £550,000. I will not attempt to discuss the proposed changes in the tobacco duties. I sympathise with my right hon. friend in one of his proposals, that with regard to imposing greater taxation on the imported leaf without the stalk than is now imposed upon it, as compared with the tax on the imported leaf with the stalk. But I would venture to give my right hon. friend a little warning with regard to the tobacco duties. It is a very dangerous thing, as I know from experience. The trade is a very sensitive trade. Tobacco is an article not merely of consumption here but of manufacture, and you have to consider the question of the manufacturer, the dealer, and the consumer; and when you are dealing with an article which produces a revenue to this country of something like £12,500,000, it may very well be that changes of this kind may so disturb the trade as to bring about the loss of a greater revenue than you ever expected to gain. I merely give my right hon. friend that caution without professing at the present moment to be able to speak on this matter with the technical knowledge which any discussion of it would demand.

Next I come to the duty on tea. I congratulate my right hon. friend in

Sir M. Hicks Beach.

that he has chosen tea [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh" and MINISTERIAL cheers] in the circumstances as the main source of his new indirect taxation. I think that he was absolutely right when he had to impose fresh taxation for the coming year to divide his proposals between direct and indirect taxation, and I think that, having regard to the circumstances of the present revenue which he has detailed to us, tea was certainly the best subject that he could have chosen for that purpose. There is one point only which I would venture to suggest. I hope that he will get the £2,000,000 which he has every right to expect from the additional 2d. on tea, but I have found in more than one year that if there was one article more than another which lent itself to the machinations of those acute gentlemen connected with trade who are always clearing goods in the anticipation of an increase of duty or holding them back from clearance in the anticipation of a reduction of duty—if there was one article more than another which lent itself to this it was tea. I have been deprived of a large amount of revenue in some years by these operations, and I hope my right hon. friend will not find when next January and February come, if he continues to be, as I devoutly hope he will continue to be, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Estimates presented at the beginning of the new session look so favourable for the reduction of taxation that the dealers of tea may be tempted during the last two months of the financial year to keep back their tea in the hope of a reduction of the 2d. instead of clearing it, as they ought to do, to meet the demands of my right hon. friend. I think my right hon. friend is right in adding to the duty on tea on this main ground. Tea is an article of almost universal consumption. It is not the subject of any manufacture in this country, and therefore the Exchequer receives from the tax on tea a larger proportion of the burden that falls on the people than from many other matters that I could mention. But I hope my right hon. friend will not be attacked, as I was attacked, with regard to the duty on tea. I remember when I proposed to maintain or increase—I forget which it was—the duty on tea I was

met by an enthusiastic fiscal Member—my hon. friend the Member for Sheffield—with the proposal that I should apply colonial preference to the question of tea. I resisted that proposal. I called the attention of the Committee to the fact that if I accepted it I should lose most of the revenue I expected to derive from tea, and that our colonial fellow-subjects were able to drive foreign tea pretty well out of the market without any preference at all. I hope that no similar attack will be made on my right hon. friend. I hope he will not be told that this tax, which does nothing more than yield a large sum to the revenue at the least possible cost to the consumer, is an unscientific tax, because it does no good to distressed producers in this country. I hope my right hon. friend will not excite bitter hostility on the part of tea producers in India and in Ceylon because he has not only not listened to their desires, if these desires exist, for a preference on tea—he has not only not listened to desires which were expressed to me for a reduction of the existing duty on tea—he has not merely dissembled his love with regard to them, but he has kicked them downstairs by the proposal of an additional twopence on tea. Well, I should entirely sympathise with my right hon. friend in the resistance to any such attack which, no doubt, he would feel it his duty to offer.

Now I come to the income-tax. My right hon. friend proposes an addition of a penny on the income-tax. That raises to my mind very grave questions which were alluded to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire, and were alluded to, and obviously felt, by my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. It is surely a very grave matter that in time of peace, when every proposal before us, I hope, tends to show better and more peaceful relations between us and two of the greatest nations of the world than have been the case for many years—it is a grave matter that at such a time we should be asked to raise the income-tax to 1s. in the £. My right hon. friend expressed his feeling that we were dangerously reducing our resources in the event of war coming upon

us by such a proposal as this. Is it not obvious that if the income-tax had been, before the commencement of the South African war, a shilling instead of eightpence, this country would have lost for the purposes of the war no less than £10,000,000 a year, which would have had to be raised by some other form of taxation. That being so, I think it is a very serious matter that we should be asked now for an income-tax of 1s. in the £1. But this raises a question to which I confess I attach some little importance. Who will feel this taxation most? Not the rich man. There is a sort of idea in the mind of some people that the income-tax is a rich man's tax. Why, Sir, rich men do not much mind what taxation you put upon them, except in regard to the death duties. No; those whom the income-tax really affect are the income-tax payers who are above the income-tax limit and yet do not possess an income of more than £2,000 a year. They are the most heavily taxed and rated class of people in this country. Of course, our present system of abatements does something, and in some cases does a great deal, to reduce the poundage of the income-tax upon incomes below £700 a year. But when you have 1s. in the £1 of income-tax, I confess it does seem to me that there is great reason in the demand that something of this kind shall be further extended. It is not as if we were asked to impose this tax for a year only. Can any one of us hold out much hope to the income-tax payers that it is likely to be lowered next year or the year after? My right hon. friend told us that he hoped for some relief next year from the cessation of the war in Somaliland, which I hope by that time may not have been renewed, and also from some reduction in the Army Estimates, which I hope we may receive, although we do not receive it this year. But I do not believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year will be able to reduce the 1s. in the £1 income-tax. If that be so, it looks something very like a permanent burden upon a class of persons who, I think, are ill able to bear it. Is it not possible, by way of an extension of abatements or by some system of graduation, to make the income-tax on a certain poundage less heavy upon these people, if not more heavy upon those who are richer. To my mind

there has never been any objection in principle to a movement of this kind. We know very well that we have graduation in the death duties; we have graduation in the house duty already. The difficulty is its practical application to the income-tax. I confess I doubt its practicability, but what I would earnestly press upon my right hon. friend, as I pressed upon the late Chancellor of the Exchequer the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon last year, is that this question of the practicability of some extension of abatements or some kind of graduation should be examined by the practical skilled Committee which he intends to appoint to deal with the income-tax. I cannot but think that this is a moment when this claim may very fairly be made. If it should be possible that any result should come from it which would relieve the income-tax payers, I think nobody ought to be more grateful than the Party of which I am a member. But if it should be impossible, all I can say is that I fear that you will create in the minds of the payers of income-tax a very grave and discontented feeling towards the Government of the country, and towards the authorities, as regards the amount of taxation which they are called upon to pay.

It may be impossible, I do not know—

“Hope springs eternal in the human breast.”

It may be impossible for the present Government to stop the increase of expenditure. That is a matter which must occupy a good deal of our time in the debates on this question. The right hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire quoted some figures with regard to the annual increase of expenditure in this country in late years; I will just mention some of them. I have looked back to the year 1881-2, twenty-three years ago, and I find that in that year the total annual expenditure of the country was £85,500,000. For the seven years following it increased at the rate of £500,000 a year; for the seven years again following that it increased at the rate of £2,250,000 a year, and for the nine years ending this year it has increased at the rate of £4,250,000. I say such an increase cannot go on. If it goes on, in my belief it will impose a burden of taxation that this country will not

stand. It has already imposed upon us £23,500,000 of taxation primarily imposed for war purposes, but maintained in time of peace and added to this year by my right hon. friend to the extent of another £4,000,000. If this is to go on, in my belief the burdens of the taxpayer will become so great that there will be a reaction in this country which will not only sweep away us who may be held responsible for it, but will do what is very much worse. It will diminish expenditure to such an extent as to destroy that efficiency which those who are responsible for the present extravagance, as I believe it to be, are always telling us it is their one desire to maintain.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): The speech which we have just heard—a memorable speech in every sense of the word—will strike the House as having some special peculiarities in it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was himself Chancellor of the Exchequer during eight of those years to which he has so wisely, so accurately, and so well, called attention in referring to the financial position of the country at the present time. My right hon. friend the Member for Haddingtonshire made a very apt address to the House, showing the financial position of the country, both on its favourable side and on its depressing side. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has, without referring to the unfavourable side, very much deepened the colour of the picture which my right hon. friend drew of the unfavourable side. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, although in his closing remarks he warned the House, in language by no means too strong, as to what the possible result—I think I may say the certain result—would be, if this policy which has been pursued during the last eight or ten years is persisted in, did not touch the real point, where the difficulty arises, and where we have a right to complain against those who have held office during that period. No one, of course, complains of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has discharged his duties in a manner which has commanded the admiration of the whole House. A more lucid, clearer, and, I think,

Sir M. Hicks Beach.

a fairer speech has seldom been made by any man occupying the position. What I want to bring home to the Committee and to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol and his colleagues before he left office, is that the responsibility for our present position does not rest with the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Beaconsfield said that finance was a question of policy. Though it be the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be the careful and strict guardian of the public purse, it is not in his Department to settle the general policy of the Government. During the last few years we have had too much isolation of Departmental as distinguished from Cabinet control. If finance be a question of policy, who is responsible for the general policy of the country? The Minister who is responsible for the expenditure of the country is the Prime Minister. I am not referring to the right hon. Gentleman personally; but I say it is the bounden duty of the Prime Minister, who is the only man who can control, and ought to control, and has the means of controlling, all the Departments of State—he is the man specially responsible to the Crown, to the country, and this House, not only for the finance of the country, not only for its commercial policy, but also for its foreign relations—for those international relations which tend to war or peace. He is responsible for the expenditure of every Department in the State. Now, I cannot say what is behind the veil of the present Cabinet, but I think there is an impression—and I do not think it is an unfounded one—that there has been, of late years, a laxity of financial control, that the Departments have been independent, that they have spent what they liked. I am only saying what everybody in official life knows to be true. Let me recall to the attention of the House and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol the speech that he made a little more than twelve months ago. He was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. In that speech he stated that for years before the war, during the war, and after peace was declared, he protested against the growth of expenditure to his colleagues, and that these protests were received with indifference; and he called attention—and I am

now quoting his actual words—"to the absence of active, firm, and continuous support of the Prime Minister." I followed the right hon. Gentleman in that debate, and I said that no more serious charge had ever been brought by a Minister against his colleagues. I recognised that the Cabinet was one and indivisible, and of course it was personified in the person of the Prime Minister. That charge has never been refuted; the Prime Minister has never noticed it. He has never said that it was a mistaken view, nor that it was an incorrect view.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I was not Prime Minister then.

***SIR HENRY FOWLER:** In June, 1903?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have never been Prime Minister when the right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

***SIR HENRY FOWLER:** I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I was assuming that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was longer in office than he was. I do not wish to make this a matter personal at all; but I want to point out that the Prime Minister, as such, is responsible to the House and the country. We desire to reduce our expenditure and so to reduce taxation; and we do not want to realise all the calamities pointed out by previous speakers to-night. We have got to reduce expenditure. This is a purely peace Budget. We are presumed to have got rid of, to have wiped off, everything of the past war, and yet we are told—a new Chancellor of the Exchequer comes down and tells us—that in peace, as essential to a peace Budget, we are bound to provide this enormous sum of money—including nearly £70,000,000—for the military and naval expenditure of this country—a sum which has never been equalled before in a time of peace. Therefore we must raise this heavy taxation. From what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol has affirmed, the 1s. income-tax is likely to

be permanent, with additional taxation on the poorer classes; and we have no prospect held out of a reduction as years go on. And this will go on until the House and the country determines that there shall be a reduction in expenditure. Do not let us be met with the usual sneer, viz., that the Opposition are indifferent to the position, and power, and honour of the country. My right hon. friend behind me spoke very strongly as to what he felt about the Navy. I do not think there is a man on this side of the House who would not uphold the doctrine that we must have all the protection which the strongest Navy in the world can give us. Nobody has charged the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol with being a Little Englander, or that he is indifferent to the naval supremacy of the country. But he has been behind the scenes, and he says he believes there is no ground for the increase of naval expenditure which we are incurring this year. Whatever we may feel with reference to the Navy, there is no difference as to Army expenditure. The right hon. Member for West Bristol expressed his own opinion, which I am afraid is true, that there is little prospect of a reduction in the Army. We are at liberty to say two things. We are opposed to a great territorial and expensive Army; we believe that we are spending a great deal more upon our Army than there is any necessity to spend, and that we are not getting our money's worth for it.

There are steady increases going on in other branches of our expenditure, and I am not sure that those increases should be regarded as necessary. We have been told to-night that the next seven years are by no means to be cheeseparing times. In fact, the right hon. Gentleman goes on an ascending scale: that we will have our taxation increased year after year. We must put our foot down and say, "Thus far, and no farther." Sir Robert Peel said that there were risks which must be undertaken. We are in danger of a growing expenditure in all Departments of the State. The regularly increasing expenditure has become epidemic. It is not confined to the military or naval Departments, there is a general tendency to extravagance all round.

Sir Henry Fowler.

That is the great lesson we learn from this Budget to-night—the first peace Budget we have had propounded to us since the war. The details cannot be discussed to-night. It is not fair to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or to our constituents. Nor is it necessary. But I will say that I, for one, dissent from the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and from those of the right hon. Member for West Bristol, with reference to the tea duty. I agree with him that this is a tax which everybody pays; that we are dealing with a tax on a commodity of universal consumption; and that, possibly, there is as little wastage in the result of that tax as in any other; but it is a tax that presses upon the poor. For a large section of our working classes tea is essentially an article of food. That tax was 4d. before the war; and now the proposal to-night is that in a peace Budget it should be 8d. What other tax has been increased at the same rate? The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to the tobacco duty. I wish the Chancellor of the Exchequer had restored the position as it was before the Member of Bristol's proposals which the right hon. Gentleman made some years ago. He took 6d. in the lb. off the duty on tobacco, and at the time of the war he only put 4d. on. I said at the time that I thought he should have replaced the whole of the 6d.; and even then it would not have been novel or unfair, because it was a tax which had been paid ever since the time of Sir Robert Peel, except when Sir Stafford Northcote increased it, and that rate had produced no general dissatisfaction. But whether it be a tea duty or a tobacco duty, I agree that we have not yet got to the bottom of the incidence of these indirect taxes. You may say that this man pays so much in the £1 and that man pays so much in the £1; but you must have regard to the purse from which he has to pay.

I cannot sit down without congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon his courage about the Sinking Fund. I think that it is, perhaps, the most favourable feature of his Budget. He has had the courage to resist, the temptation, in order to avoid the increase of taxation, to tamper with the Sinking Fund. We have heard a great

deal about the price of Consols and the depreciation of securities. I believe that one of the causes, and by no means the least of the causes, of the depression in the money market has been the impression that even the fear of a suspension of the Sinking Fund creates in the mind of the capitalist class, and I strongly commend the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the courage he has displayed in declining to tamper with the Sinking Fund. I will ask the Prime Minister to make perfectly clear his intentions regarding the discussion on the Budget, because it is evident that some of the Resolutions, as they involve new taxation, will have to be passed to-night. Vote A has been passed again and again on the understanding that upon a subsequent occasion there would be a full debate on the Budget proposals on a subsequent Vote. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give the pledges which he gave last year before the House is asked to consent to the Resolution.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I should not have risen at this stage of the debate had it not been for the appeal made to me by the right hon. Gentleman. I think I can give him a perfectly satisfactory reply, so far as that appeal is concerned. My right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will ask the House to pass, before it separates to-night, the tea duty and the new tobacco duty. That is absolutely necessary for renewal purposes. But the fact that it has to be passed to-night might, unless special arrangements are made, unduly hamper the debate on the finances of the country. The only way to reconcile the liberties of the House with the interests of the Exchequer is to pass by consent the Resolutions required for new taxation, and then to take a general debate on one of the other Resolutions. I think the convenient course will be to put down the income-tax Resolution first on Thursday, and on that Resolution it will be understood that the main debate on this stage of our proceedings upon the proposals of my right hon. friend shall be taken by the House. The right hon. Gentleman made an elaborate attack upon me as Prime Minister. Perhaps I had better reserve anything I have to say on that question until Thursday or some later stage of this

Bill. He must not take me as agreeing with any of the strictures he has passed upon the Government and its relation to expenditure.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) : I would have liked to reserve until the general debate on the Budget the few remarks I have to make on the subject, but I will not do so because it is impossible for me or my colleagues to be at the House on Thursday. Ireland is the poorest portion of the United Kingdom, and it is proper that Ireland's voice should be raised in the clearest manner and at the earliest opportunity possible on the question of the imposition of additional taxation. One of the commonplaces of these debates on Budgets in past years has been the complaint which was once made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol that it was unfashionable to preach economy in connection with Budgets. That is not the case with hon. Members from Ireland, because they are forced upon all occasions such as this to make the gravest complaint against the rapid and extraordinary increase in taxation. It was not possible for any Member of this House to hear the concluding remarks of the hon. Member for West Bristol without serious misgivings as to the future. The right hon. Gentleman quoted figures which, if properly appreciated, would create a sensation in the public mind. He showed that in the year 1881-2 the expenditure of the country was a little over £85,000,000, but it now amounted to £150,000,000. These figures are appalling. How can this Budget, in the face of such a fact, be regarded as a peace Budget which the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton has described it to be? Moreover, no hope is held out of any serious diminution of expenditure in the future. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, whose opinion in this matter I prefer to that of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, took that view, and even believed that next year it would be impossible to reduce income-tax. So far as Irish Members are concerned, they are absolutely helpless in the matter and hopeless. They cannot look to the future with any hope or confidence. They have had

the same story, year after year, of ever-increasing burden upon Ireland. Obviously, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol considered they were reaching the limits of taxation. So far as Ireland is concerned, this limit has been reached long ago. The power of the Irish people to bear taxation has been practically exhausted. I would emphasise the extraordinary fact that the linking of Ireland with the richest nation in the world has proved her ruin. No matter how poor Ireland might be, if she were on her own resources and not linked with England, this extraordinary burden would not be placed upon her. England might be able to afford wars in Somaliland, South Africa, and Tibet, but Ireland could not. Would the right hon. Member for West Bristol apply the principle of differential treatment to Ireland as he wished to apply it to the income-tax payer? The taxation proposed to be placed upon Ireland by this Budget would amount to about £400,000 a year, or, in other words, Ireland would be called upon to pay one-tenth of the whole of this new taxation. In the year 1895, the Royal Commission reported that Ireland ought not to pay more than one-twentieth. That was a unanimous decision, but it was not accepted by everyone as correct. A good many of those who signed the Report thought it was altogether an excessive estimate of what Ireland ought to pay. Since then Parliament has imposed millions of additional taxation upon Ireland, and now this year the Government come forward and propose new taxation.

Now, as to the new taxation, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton has told us that it will hit the poor. But it will not hit the poor in this country half so much as the poor in Ireland. There are poor and poor, and I say there is no kind of poverty in this country so deep and so wretched as the poverty which is to be found in the congested districts in Ireland. In these districts tea is an absolute necessity of life. I remember a couple of years ago quoting in this House from the Report of the Congested Districts Board specimens of the budgets of the average families in these poor districts. Some of them went down as low as £8 a

year, but as a specimen of the best class of those budgets I remember representing those of a well-to-do family whose income was a little over £20 a year. Well, of that £5 17s. 0d. went in tea. On this point let me read a couple of passages in the evidence given by the Bishop of Raphoe the most rev. Dr. O'Donnell, who lives in the midst of these people, and who is intimately acquainted with their circumstances. He is asked this question—

“Passing from that point to the question of the food of the people in the congested districts has your Lordship any remark to make?—Yes. The food of the people in the congested districts has greatly changed, as the fashion of people's clothes has changed, or the material out of which the clothes are made. It has changed and become more expensive and, in my opinion, not better. More white bread is eaten and more tea consumed, but no more meat, less meat. I would say that the Irish farmer with a valuation of under £10 a year is a vegetarian. On Sunday he may have bacon, but those who are valued under £4 a year, and they are the overwhelming majority, have no kind of meat except two or three times a year. In the congested districts the food is vegetable food.”

Then he is asked with reference to the increase of the consumption of tea and he answers—

“A change has come about in the food of the people of congested districts. Much of the substantial portion is composed of potatoes when they have a supply. When the potatoes fail the main food is Indian meal.”

—that is the yellow meal used in kennels, not entirely because it is not sufficiently good food for the dogs.

“Has the prejudice to the Indian meal disappeared? To a large extent.”

Now will the House listen to this—

“Sometimes the poor people have milk but often they have not, even with their stirabout, and the nature of this food is such that the want of milk has a great deal to do with the large use of tea in the poorer parts of Ireland. When a man has hard work and has for dinner only stirabout, a little tea with some bread is really a necessity of life to enable him to go back to his task.”

Now there is an article of food, an absolute necessity of life of these people, that you are going to tax. You are going to put on Ireland an additional tax of about £300,000 a year upon tea, and the budget of every one of these poor families will be so much the worse by the fact that what they are compelled to pay extra upon tea will leave them so much less to spend upon bread. It is a

Mr. John Redmond.

cruel tax. Its pressure upon the poor is terrible, and it is much more, as I have said, upon those in Ireland than in England. Let me say one word about this matter. This indirect taxation is a more serious grievance in Ireland than in England. I have been for years preaching in this House the doctrine that the direct and indirect taxation ought to be brought down somewhere near a level. You have done it in this country. You are never tired of boasting in this country that you have brought down your direct taxation to about the same as your indirect taxation. But in Ireland you have never made an effort in that direction. The indirect taxation of Ireland is 75 per cent. of the whole—I think 75 per cent. at least. And therefore when you put taxation of this kind upon the Irish people you are refusing to remedy the incidence of taxation upon the poor.

Now I hope when we come to the Second Reading of the Budget Bill it will be possible for my colleagues and myself to raise the broad question of the over-taxation of Ireland, and to do so with the necessary detail. I do not propose to do it now, I have only risen at this moment to make my protest—I know it will not be an effectual one—my immediate protest, against this additional burthen upon Ireland and especially against the cruelty of seizing upon this article of tea, above all others, which will strike a deadly blow at the homes of the poorest people of our country. It is the story year after year. I really think that English Members, if they would dispassionately consider the matter, ought to be impressed by the extreme patience of the Irish people under the burthens that have been laid upon them, and of the extreme patience of their representatives. You sometimes are impatient with our ebullitions of temper, when, perhaps goaded out of that placid temper which you affect in this country, we give rein for the moment to our passion or our ill-temper. You are amused and you reprove us, but if you remember how, generation after generation, we and our grandfathers and fathers have come to this House almost begging of you to save our poor people from unjust burthens, that we have come here and gone away empty-handed

and have had to go back to our people and tell them that you might as well be addressing the nether millstone as the average Member of this House, who knows nothing of Ireland, who has never been there, and cares nothing about Ireland, who will not take the trouble to listen to Irish wrongs, who will not take the trouble to make himself informed upon them—I say if you remember these things I think you ought in fairness to be astonished at the continued patience, at the persistence, in the face of defeat and disappointment, with which we pursue these efforts to get justice from this House. For these reasons I protest in the name of Ireland against this Budget; I protest against increasing taxation at all, and I especially protest against imposing a further burthen upon the poorest of our people.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said the hon. Gentleman to whom the House had just listened was, he thought, rather forgetting the liberality of England in the matter of the Irish Land Act of last year, and he thought the accusation of the absence of generosity did not lie very well at present.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said they denied altogether the generosity. On the statement of the Chief Secretary, every penny of the money was being provided out of Irish funds.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT said the very means by which the money under that Act was raised were very largely, if not entirely, the result of the contribution of England. The present financial situation was one of grave difficulty, almost unprecedented in the finance of this country. His right hon. friend had faced the situation with courage; his only complaint was that he had not, perhaps, gone far enough. The Sinking Fund which he had so wisely maintained he should have been glad to see increased, because the present Sinking Fund was largely illusive. He should be the last to minimise the responsibility of the Prime Minister, but it was not fair to attribute our financial duties either to one Party or to one man. The financial position of the country—responsibility for which must

be shared by both sides of the House and by the country at large—was worse than it had been at any time during the last fifty years. The gravity of the position had not been adequately realised. There had been at the head of the Administration for the last few years two distinguished statesmen, both of whom came from that part of the country from which we expected the severest economy, namely, Scotland, and he could not attribute extravagance to them. An extravagant Scotchman was a great rarity and the succession of two rather prodigal Scotchmen in power was a combination against which the gods would fight in vain. What mortal Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, could hope to be successful against such a combination? What was the result to which this conjunction had brought the country? He believed the financial position was worse than at any time during the last fifty years. Expenditure was admittedly out of hand. Annual increase succeeded annual increase with the regularity of the seasons, and no one appeared to have either the will or the power to arrest the dangerous progress. Taxation was at an unprecedented level for time of peace—a level admittedly dangerous in that it trenched upon our reserve against emergency. National credit was lower than at any period during the last twenty years, and, relatively to the credit of foreign nations, it was lower than at any period during the last fifty years. A certain laxity and confusion in the control over Estimates exercised by this House was perhaps a partial cause, and he regretted that the old simplicity of financial statements of which we had been proud appeared to be gradually disappearing. The inclusion of expenditure under the Works Bills in the Budget Statement was a step in the right direction.

Taking expenditure first he would briefly state the facts on which he based his opinions on the points he had mentioned. Since 1893 our total expenditure had grown from £90,000,000 to £140,000,000, an increase of about 55 per cent. or more than £4,500,000 a year. Such a rate of increase of expenditure was out of all proportion to the increase of population, the increase of trade, or the increase of national production. According to the best statistical authorities,

Sir Edgar Vincent.

the natural increase in the produce of a tax, assuming no change were made in the system of taxation, amounted to about £2,500,000 a year; therefore an increased expenditure of £4,500,000 or £5,000,000, meant that an annual increase of £2,000,000 in taxation had become necessary. In the course of ten years, extravagant expenditure had been equivalent to an increase in the income-tax of 7½d. in the £, and if the present rate were continued, a further increase of 7½d., or some equivalent increase of taxation, would become absolutely necessary. The only alternative was an increase of borrowing—a course that was viewed with abhorrence by every sound financial authority. We had already made too large an appeal to credit. Where had the £50,000,000 increase of expenditure gone? £40,000,000 had gone to the Army and the Navy. That increase of expenditure was defended, not so much on the ground of national necessity as on the plea that, compared with foreign nations, we were bound to maintain our relative position. It was therefore germane to the question to consider what had been the increase in the military expenditure of foreign nations. Our military expenditure (including Works Bills) in the course of ten years had increased by no less than 120 per cent., whereas the increase in the case of Germany was only 30 per cent., of France 25 per cent., of Austria even less, and of Russia only 6 per cent. Last year the military expenditure of the Empire, including India, was £90,000,000, whereas in Germany it was £43,000,000, in France £45,000,000, and in Russia £47,000,000. Our military expenditure had more than doubled in ten years, and in the case of no other country had it increased in greater ratio than 30 per cent. It might be said that the large cost of our military establishment was due to the system of voluntary enlistment, but he had shown on previous occasions that the cost of the pay in the Army and the Navy represented only a fraction of the total, and that the great bulk of the expenditure was attributable to material, equipment, nourishment, and other essentials; so that the excess of our military expenditure over that of foreign nations could be attributed only in very small

degree to the system of voluntary enlistment as opposed to conscription.

As to taxation, of the £33,000,000 of new taxation imposed for the war, £27,000,000 were now necessary for peace expenditure. He contended, however, that even with this large increase in the burdens of the country, we were not properly meeting our obligations. From all the estimates of expenditure as against revenue, the expenditure on borrowed capital, on Works Bills, was excluded. On the one side was the Sinking Fund of £6,000,000 or £6,500,000, and on the other side was he would not say secret borrowing, but "footnote" borrowing to the extent of more than £6,500,000. Last year it amounted to £7,000,000, and this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer feared it would amount to £10,000,000. Instead of paying off the borrowings made on account of the South African War, we were adding £3,000,000 to them. This constant recourse to the money market necessarily had a decided effect on our credit. He submitted that the financial position of the country required the most careful consideration. After allowing for the reduction of interest on the Debt from 3 per cent. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it would be found that the course of our credit during the last five years had been distinctly less favourable than that of the credit of the great Empires of the Continent. Everyone must recognise that this comparative decline of our borrowing power would be a distinct disadvantage in any grave emergency. In the fourth place there was a tendency not to revise the estimates of expenditure presented to the House as fully or with as complete knowledge as was desirable. A Select Committee which sat last year made certain proposals under which hon. Members would have been able to call witnesses before them to go into the details of all items of expenditure. He believed that some measure of that kind was urgently necessary, and he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had not seen fit to accept the proposals which were made by that Select Committee. He trusted, however, that he would be able to carry out that which they all desired, namely, to give the House an opportunity to discuss the

present system of Estimates at as early a date as possible.

There was a further point to which it appeared to him necessary to draw the attention of the Committee. This country was becoming more and more dependent upon foreign funds for the maintenance of its financial position, and it was within the knowledge of everybody acquainted with financial affairs in the City that at the present moment foreign investments in British stocks were larger than they had ever been before. Although he would be the last person to quarrel with those foreign bankers who provided them with the money which they stood so much in need of, there could be no question that the position was somewhat less satisfactory than when this country was self-contained and self-supporting. They had heard a good deal about the desirability of this Empire being self-supporting as regarded food. He ventured to say that the argument in favour of this country being self-supporting in regard to money and credit was still more worthy of consideration.

The conclusion he had arrived at regarding all these points was that it was the bounden duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to assert the paramount claims of the financial situation to the earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government. Their finances were out of order and they must be put right. That appeared to him to be the most vital business before the Government and the country. In the second place he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would discard all those dodges of account which seemed to obscure the true situation, and which prevented the House and the country from understanding the real necessity and reality of the case. In the third place he ventured to express the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would realise that no system of taxation, however scientific, could put £100,000 or £1,000,000 into the coffers of the Treasury without taking it from the reproductive forces of the country. The more the Government spent on the Army and Navy the less the country had to spend on other things, and he trusted the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be misled by the

idea that scientific taxation could produce money from the clouds. This kind of taxation might obscure the incidence but it could not diminish the burden. In his opinion the only remedy for this position of things was to reduce the expenditure which rendered such heavy taxation necessary. He trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would understand that what was urgently required was to reduce the expenditure in order to diminish the burden which now rested upon the trade of the country, and which in his judgment gravely prejudiced their position in case of war. If the right hon. Gentleman would grapple with the problem bravely and courageously, as he had no doubt he would, he was convinced that he would obtain from private Members on both sides of the House a support far in excess of anything which he might anticipate.

***Mr. ASHTON** (Bedfordshire, Luton) said that hon. Members on both sides of the House appeared to recognise that the finances of the country were really in a critical condition at the present moment, but, nevertheless, he could not accept everything that had fallen from the lips of the hon. Member who had just sat down. He had spoken of the largely increased expenditure during the last twenty years, and he said that both sides of the House were equally to blame in that respect. Speaking for the Opposition side of the House he could not accept that position, at any rate for the last twenty years. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had told them that, during those twenty years, in the first seven years of that period the expenditure had only grown by £500,000 a year, but for the next seven years it grew at the rate of about £2,500,000 a year; and for the last nine years it grew by £4,250,000 a year. He could not forget that during the greater part of that time right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen opposite had been responsible for the finances of the country, and for the first seven years during which the expenditure of the country was only raised by £500,000 a year they had at the head of the finances of this country a right hon. Gentleman who sat on the opposite side of the House, to whom was due more than to any other man the fact that during the last

half century the expenditure of this country had been kept down—he alluded to Mr. Gladstone. It was owing to the fact that Mr. Gladstone was in office that the expenditure only rose by £500,000 a year, and it was because he was absent from the Government after that time that the expenditure had risen. He thought they were now in want of another man like Mr. Gladstone who would put his foot down and check expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol did his best, but after a time he was overpowered by his extravagant colleagues, and he had to resign his position.

He wished to say a few words about the deficit of the past year, but before doing so he wished to congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon one point in his speech, and that was the way in which he accounted to them for what they all deplored, namely, the decrease in the general trade of the country which had so much affected the revenue. He was glad to notice that he did not account for that falling off in the trade by what he would call Birmingham reasons. He told them straight that the falling off in their trade was in the first place mainly due to the war; and, secondly, to the usual rise and fall in the prosperity of the country which took place time after time. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon the fact that throughout his speech there was no sign whatever of the doctrines of tariff reformers. There was one point, however, in which he approached very near to those doctrines, and that was in regard to the tobacco tax. He did not pretend to understand much about the complicated details of that tax, but it appeared to him that he proposed to put 1s. extra on foreign cigarettes without putting an excise duty on home cigarettes. With regard to the question of the deficit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave them some very encouraging figures as to the way in which the Sinking Fund had worked in spite of the deficit with which he had to deal. That deficit amounted to £5,500,000. The right hon. Gentleman said he was able to show them that by means of the Sinking Fund the Debt had been reduced by £8,000,000. Even then, with the £3,000,000 that came out of the Transvaal

Sir Edgar Vincent.

Loan there was still to go towards the Sinking Fund £5,000,000. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon that fact. But it was all very well to talk of having reduced the Debt, but what had been done to meet the deficit? He had met it only so far as £1,000,000 was concerned by making use of the unclaimed dividends on the National Debt. So far as the other £4,500,000 was concerned it was being met by the creation of fresh debt. The right hon. Gentleman had taken £3,000,000 which had already been raised and which ought to have gone to reduce the Debt, to reduce his deficit, and he had also taken £1,500,000 out of the balances. They heard a great deal last year about the wonderful Sinking Fund that was going to be established, and a beautiful picture was drawn of how it was going to reduce the National Debt by £9,000,000 a year, and they were told that at the end of fifty years they would entirely extinguish the debt. It was rather a come-down to be told now that really about £500,000 was going this year to the Sinking Fund. That was a lamentable result during a year of peace. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had made some very serious miscalculations in his Budget estimates last year.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— EVENING SITTING. —

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CUSTOMS—TEA.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on Tea, there shall be charged on and after the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five, the following duty (that is to say):—

"Tea, the pound . . . Eightpence."—
(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

**MR. ASHTON* said the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sanguine in budgeting only for a surplus of £750,000. They had had during the past few years much experience of Supplementary Estimates, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought now not only to budget for a few hundred thousand pounds above his estimates for the year, but ought to make some allowance for Supplementary Estimates which were sure to come during the course of the year. He might have made good the deficit by reducing the expenditure or adding to the taxation of the country. He (*Mr. Ashton*) believed that the time was coming when in the interests of national finance they would have to make a reduction in the expenditure of the country. He was glad to find there were right hon. Gentlemen opposite who were of the same opinion. The taxation of the country was rapidly approaching the point where elasticity would disappear and they would be face to face with an absolute necessity of reducing the expenditure or as an alternative of laying on taxation which would press very severely on the springs of the industry of the country. He did not suppose that during the course of the present Government they would see any material reduction in expenditure if they were to judge from the enormous increase during the time they had been in power. Figures had been given for the past twenty years, but those for the past nine years were sufficient for his case. During the time the Party opposite had been in power the expenditure of the country had been raised by fully 30 per cent. That was a very serious increase, and he saw no signs from the present estimates of its being checked.

On the other hand, he believed there was large scope for reduction in at any rate two directions, viz, in the expenditure of the Army and the Navy. That could be done without effecting the efficiency of the forces. From the answers given to Questions in the House lately, it appeared that our expenditure on the Navy was £39,000,000, whereas that of France, Russia, and Germany combined was only £36,000,000. During the last nine years the tonnage of English ships had increased by 9,331,000 tons, while those of France,

Russia, and Germany combined had only been 8,475,000 tons. Roughly speaking, the tonnage of the three Powers he had named was 10 per cent. less than our own. In spite of that, they were told by the Admiralty authorities that they only estimated their strength against that of two other Powers. They all desired to have a strong Navy which was capable of dealing with any two other Powers, but he suggested that they were relying too much on the opinions of naval experts. Experts opinions were excellent in their way, but they ought to be kept in check by those who were in control of affairs—the Government and especially the Prime Minister. Of late years the Government had been giving their head too much to experts without exercising a reasonable control over expenditure. If the experts were told that we required a fleet superior to others it was natural that they, having no responsibility for the Estimates, should take care that their calculations were on the right side. It was for the Government, and especially the Prime Minister, who was the head of the Defence Committee, to see that the Estimates were reasonable and sufficient for the exigencies of the country without permitting extravagant expenditure. If that was the case with the Navy, what of the Army? The figures for the past ten years showed that the Army expenditure had increased from £18,000,000 to £34,500,000, while the increase on the Navy had been about the same. In the case of the Army they were all agreed that they had not enough to show for that enormous increase. Certainly, so far as the Boer War was concerned, it did not show that the largely increased expenditure was met by a proportionate increase in efficiency. This was not a time when we need pursue a course of extravagance. At this moment we were on better terms with the great sister nation of America, and we were thankful to find ourselves on the threshold of a better understanding with France. He congratulated the Government most heartily on the French Treaty, although he was inclined to think that the French might have got a little the best of it, at any rate in respect to Morocco. Personally he did not mind that, because he believed that the increase of friendly relations with that

Mr. Ashton.

country would pay us over and over again for any concession which might be rather extravagant. He admitted that the extravagant Estimates for the Army and Navy might be necessary if certain hon. and right hon. Gentlemen in that House had their way, for if those promoting so-called tariff reform got their way the country would find itself waging financial wars with various countries. But so long as they remained a free-trade country—and he was happy to say he did not see any prospect of change—and so long as they remained on good terms with the trading nations of the world he did not think they needed to pursue the extravagant course of expenditure on the Army and Navy they were now following.

Coming to the new taxation proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to impose an additional tax on tea. He sincerely regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not seen his way to finance the country without an addition to that tax. It was already 6d. per pound, and a serious tax on what was becoming more and more a necessity of consumption for the working classes. When they got a duty of 8d. per pound they practically made the duty equal to the value of the tea itself. Such a large increase on an article of consumption was a serious thing indeed for the poorer inhabitants of the country. They had heard that afternoon the very eloquent and touching speech of the Leader of the Irish Party as to the effect it would have on the poorer classes in Ireland who were large consumers of tea. So were the poorer classes in England. The tax would not conduce to temperance. Further, it was hard upon the poor Indian. It was the fashion to take very little notice of India in discussing tariff reform. India was a part of the Empire, and it was a little hard that a tax of this sort, which would press hardly on the people of that country, should be proposed. He objected to the tax most strongly because it was not the time to put further indirect taxation on the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was only fair that, as 1d. had been added to the income-tax, the indirect taxpayer should bear part of the

burden on the ground that the income-tax had been put up during the war. But a large amount of indirect taxation was also imposed during the war. For the purposes of the war £17,500,000 of direct taxation was imposed, representing 7d. in the £ on the income-tax, and £15,000,000 of indirect taxation was imposed. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought he could remit some of the taxation, and he took £10,000,000 off direct taxation, but only £2,500,000 off indirect taxation, so that, instead of the indirect taxpayer owing anything to the Exchequer at this moment, it was the direct taxpayer who was in its debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed to put £2,000,000 for this year on direct taxation and £2,500,000 on indirect taxation. If the incidence was unequal before its inequality was now to be increased, and therefore he protested against the consumers, who were largely poor people, being made to bear taxation whilst those who benefited thereby were the income-tax payers. They had been told for many years past that the income-tax ought to be held in reserve for emergencies. Unfortunately the elasticity in the taxation in this country had practically come to an end, and if we were to maintain our direct and indirect taxation at something like half and half he was afraid there was very little prospect indeed that the income-tax could be largely reduced in the future. We had come to the end of our resources, at any rate in direct taxation, and, if we were to broaden the burden of taxation, it ought to be broadened equally on direct and indirect taxation.

He was very glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not propose to broaden the basis of taxation, because he had observed when hon. Gentlemen opposite talked of broadening the basis of taxation they always meant the putting of further burdens upon the poor by indirect taxation. We were, as he had said, coming to the end of the elasticity of taxation, and the only way we could raise our direct taxation was by the income-tax. We had got to get accustomed to a shilling income-tax as a regular source of revenue, and we should have to find other resources for

cases of emergencies. In the great French wars at the beginning of last century the income-tax was as much as 2s. in the £, and, if we had emergencies again, this was the sort of thing we should have to accustom ourselves to. If we had emergencies, we should have to levy taxes not only on poor people, but in the form of taxation which would bear hardly on the springs of industry, and the only recompense for that was that possibly people would realise what it meant for Governments to get into trouble! and that these emergencies would perhaps be less likely to occur. So far, the Government in its extravagant course of five years had been saved by the death duties; these had been the salvation of the Government, but, unfortunately, we had come to the end of that, and he ventured to suggest that in place of the tea tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have found other sources of income which would have fallen upon the direct taxpayer. He ventured to suggest that he might have dealt with the question of the licence duties on public-houses. It was possible the Prime Minister might apply that on the morrow, but it was a means by which, in the opinion of experts, by altering those duties, from £1,000,000 to £1,500,000 might very easily be raised without doing any injustice or putting any undue burden upon anybody. At present those duties were levied in a most unfair manner, bearing very heavily indeed on the owner of small public-houses and very lightly indeed upon the owners of large public-houses. This was quite a different question from the beer duty? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them, as the Member for West Bristol told them before, that we had taxed beer to its utmost capacity and that if we taxed it any more it would be taken out in watering the beer. He dared say this was the case, but the tax on beer was levied on the customer, and, to a certain limited extent, on the brewer also. This tax upon licences of public-houses was a tax paid not by the brewer or the consumer, unless the brewer happened to be an owner, but by the owner. He did not think it would be any great hardship to extract from the owner of the public-house

some considerable sum for the privilege of having a licence. He suggested that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might in this way, instead of putting 2d. further on tea, have got almost as much money, if not quite, without bearing hardly on the consumer. He might also have dealt with the house duty. The house duty was levied only on houses of £20 and upwards. The hon. Member thought there was a great deal to be said for lowering the value of the house subject to duty to £10, by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have got a good deal of money. It was extremely desirable, if possible, to bring home to the working man as well as to the wealthier classes the amount of taxes placed upon the country, and he thought in this way they might do so as they could not do by taxing food.

He would impress upon the Government the very serious character of the burden which was now laid upon the community by the vast expenditure and taxation. The position had become acute, largely in consequence, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them, of the trade of the country at present being in a somewhat depressed condition. The trade within the bounds of the kingdom was undoubtedly poor; the people were pressed by heavy taxation and rates, and also by the very considerable taxation on food that had had to be imposed. These were things that were bound to tell upon the prosperity of the people; it was a very serious question, and called for earnest consideration, and it was largely on this ground that he suggested that the only method by which we could put matters on a better footing was by reducing taxation.

*SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE (Bethnal Green, N. E.): wished to associate himself with the compliments deservedly paid to the right hon. Gentlemen who had presented his first Budget to the House upon the very lucid financial statement he had made. But he could not conceal from himself or the House the great disappointment he felt at the increased duty he proposed to put upon tea. It was, he thought, about two years ago that his hon. friend the Member for Central Hull and himself

protested against the maintenance of the duty upon tea at 6d. per pound. In 1901, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who was then Chancellor for the Exchequer, said that tea was already taxed up to 75 per cent. of its value, that it was produced now mainly by our fellow-subjects in India and Ceylon, that it was, owing largely to over-production, in a by no means satisfactory condition, and that, therefore, he did not think they ought to increase the duty on tea. Hon. Members on this side of the House who shared his opinion that 6d. was too high, did not go into the lobby then against the Government on the distinct assumption that the very first opportunity possible would be taken to reduce that duty. They were told that the increase of the tea duty from 4d. to 6d. was mainly due to the exigencies of the war, and, believing as they did in the necessity of the war, and the necessity of raising a larger revenue that year, they denied themselves the opportunity of protesting as strongly as they might have done against the maintenance of the increased duty on tea on that occasion. And now in this year of peace and in an essentially peace Budget they were told that the duty on tea would have to be increased by a further twopence per pound.

He considered this question from two points of view—one, that of the consumer here, and the other that of the producer in India and the Colonies. In regard to the consumer, he spoke on behalf of a very large working-class population whom he had the honour to represent. He believed it was a very unjustifiable tax. It struck mainly at a staple article of food of the working classes, and he was perfectly sure that the effect of this increased duty on tea would be, to a very large extent, to increase the burden on those classes. Another point of view was that there were £30,000,000 of British capital embarked in the tea industry, and 70 per cent. of the companies paid no dividend. From that point of view also the determination of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose a further duty on tea was, to his mind, an unwise one. He trusted that the time was far distant when the interests of India would prove a negligible quantity in the deliberations

Mr. Ashton.

of this House. India, as he had stated over and over again, had very few productive industries left. She was really suffering from the want of industries. He believed that the great cause of almost all the evils which India was afflicted with, and all the apprehensions which were felt consequently from time to time as to the loyalty of her people, were due to her poverty, and anything that struck a further blow at her productive industries ought to be regarded with great concern by this House. Besides the planter, who was generally a British settler, there were engaged in the production of tea a large number of the labouring population of India. He was afraid that the imposition of a larger duty upon tea would have a very distressing effect upon their future. He was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should have come to the conclusion that tea this year could bear an additional duty better than any other article of food. Considering the present fiscal situation and programme for the future which had been so much talked of recently throughout the country, he thought one of the first things that would be borne in mind by British statesmen was that no blow should be struck at any large industry in our dependencies and colonies which might greatly modify its future prospects.

He was prepared to admit that it might fairly be asked how the necessary revenue was to be raised to meet the deficit if this increase upon the tea duty was not adopted. He had always believed that those who complained of an evil would do well to suggest a cure, and he was prepared with an answer to this query. He thought that one way of raising the necessary revenue either in this or in future years would be to adopt the economic policy which had been successful in India, and that was, after every source of legitimate and tolerable taxation had been exhausted, to have recourse to the imposition of a revenue duty upon all imports. Of course such a duty might run the risk of being regarded as a protective duty, but in India, which had followed the fiscal policy of Great Britain always, and which was dependent for her economic arrangements on the sanction and control of the Imperial Government,

this policy had been pursued with success. There a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty had been imposed for the last seven or eight years upon all imports, and he did not see why that policy could not be adopted in this country. It was done in India with our sanction and there was no vestige of protection about it. The additional duty of twopence on tea was, after all, a burden on the consumer here, and a very serious addition to the domestic expenses of certain classes of society which made it extremely unfair in its incidence. Take for instance a rich man who buys a house in Park Lane or builds a palace. He furnishes it with marble from Italy and furniture from France, and he does not pay a penny of duty on these articles, whereas a poor man, who must, as a necessary article of food, buy tea, has to pay the additional duty of twopence in every pound. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thought out some other means of obtaining the necessary revenue he would have done better, and he himself should not have been driven to the necessity of disagreeing with the proposal of the Budget on this particular point.

There was another consideration to which he wished to direct attention of the Committee. He was informed that a large amount of Chinese inferior tea went to America and was not allowed to be landed there or passed into the market, because it was regarded as an article which would injuriously affect the health of the people. He was told that that tea mostly came to this country, and was allowed to go freely and without any prohibition into consumption by the people. Under this increased taxation that would be still more the case, so that regarded from the point of view of the health of the population even, the tax was a very objectionable one. He was sorry that he could not vote for this increase of duty on tea. The right hon. Gentleman would have been carrying out the promises of the former Chancellors of the Exchequer if he had done something this year to reduce the duty on tea. It was now, on the contrary, going to pay more than 100 per cent. of its value. From whatever point of view he looked at this proposal to enhance the duty on tea he could

only regard it with grave disapproval. He trusted it was not too late for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reconsider his decision. If it was too late to do so this year he trusted that the protests of himself and others now would have their effect in future years. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see that no further increase took place and would effect a steady reduction in the near future he would do an act of justice to the people both here and in our Indian Empire. A great deal had been said in the course of the debate as to the increased expenditure of the country and the necessity for retrenchment. He for one thought the time had arrived when a strict inquiry should be held into the causes of this large increasing expenditure, and for devising means whereby extensive reductions in several large Departments of the State could be effected. If that were done he was perfectly sure that such staple articles of food as tea would not have to bear additional burdens year after year.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he joined his congratulations to those already given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in presenting the Budget, certainly made a most lucid statement. The right hon. Gentleman had also been congratulated on refraining from dealing with the Sinking Fund. He had, however, departed to a certain extent from the principles of sound finance by doing what he thought had been rather cunningly undisclosed in his statement. The right hon. Gentleman had really met the deficit of last year entirely from borrowed money. If the Committee would keep in view the £3,000,000 Transvaal contribution and also the borrowed money remaining in Exchequer balances, he thought he would be able to show that the whole of the deficit of last year had been met from that source, and therefore the right hon. Gentleman had only to budget for increased taxation for the deficit of the present year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he felt himself in a difficult position. Mr. Lowe, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, said he felt he was in a difficult position because millions were pouring into the Exchequer which he did

not know what to do with. The difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-day had been of a different kind. He had not only had to face increasing expenditure and stationary revenue, but he had had to suffer from the too sanguine expectations of his predecessor in office. But, after all, the matter went deeper than that. He was the victim of the system of plunging in expenditure which had characterised the present Government from the time that it assumed office. That was no new feature of a Conservative Government. The only new feature was that on this occasion they had remained long enough in office to reap the harvest of their own sowing. Hitherto it had been the experience that a Liberal Government had come in and reaped the harvest of tares, had cleaned the ground for a new crop, and after things were set on a sound footing a Conservative Government had again come into power. That was a matter of history which the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew very well although he assumed otherwise. For the first time a Conservative Government was faced with the problem of discharging its own liabilities. He had had to contend with the aftermath of the war expenditure.

But the ordinary expenditure had assumed a progressive proportion hitherto unparalleled in the history of this country. It reached a culminating point in the period 1900 to 1903. Mr. Gladstone in 1879, referring to the extravagant Conservative Government from 1874 to 1900, stated that in five years that Government had increased the expenditure of the country, by £8,000,000. What had the present Government done under the cover of war expenditure in one year? The ordinary expenditure in 1900-01 was increased by £9,000,000. During three years it was increased by £20,000,000. During the years 1901, 1902, and 1903, there were deficits which were covered up by war expenditure amounting to £3,000,000, £11,800,000, and £11,000,000 respectively. Chancellors of the Exchequer had made attempts to stem the tide of this extravagance. The right hon. Gentlemen the Member for West Bristol had called attention to it again and again. The previous Chancellor of the Exchequer

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree.

the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon went so far in his Budget speech of last year as to complain of the recklessness in regard to the ordinary expenditure, and he added that it was only by being a little less reckless that they would be able to keep money out of the hands of the tax collector. In 1894-5 the actual expenditure was £94,000,000 and last year it was £147,000,000—an increase of £53,000,000. To this had to be added £2,000,000 for the reduction of the Sinking Fund and £2,700,000 for the increase in local taxation grants. That was exclusive of capital charges for Naval and Military Works, etc. He was only dealing at present with revenue expenditure. In round figures there was an increase for 1904-5 of £50,000,000, without taking into account the £4,500,000 Interest on War Debt. Truly this was a great achievement. The natural increase in the produce of the revenue, a large proportion of the war taxation, and the great increase of taxation resulting from the death duties had all disappeared into this awful gulf of profligate expenditure.

It had always been contended on that side of the House that too little had been paid out of taxation for war expenditure. The policy which had been pursued in that matter was an uneconomic and short-sighted one. What had been the result? It had enormously increased the National Debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had to-day stated that the aggregate liabilities of the nation amounted to £794,498,000, being a decrease of only £3,850,000 since last year. In 1894-5 the National Debt was reduced by nearly £8,000,000, and no sum of £10,000,000 fell to be added, as would be the case this year, in respect of capital charges not included in the revenue expenditure of the country. The Funded Debt in 1898-9, the year before the war, was £627,000,000 as compared with £762,000,000, being an increase of £135,000,000. If hon. Members would analyse these figures they would see that really no Sinking Fund whatever had been provided to meet the war expenditure. In the year before the war the charge for the National Debt was £23,000,000, but the sum now laid aside for that purpose was £27,000,000. In that sum £4,500,000 was included, the interest for the war

indebtedness, so that really the Sinking Fund was rather reduced than increased, the difference being met by the reduction in interest which took place last year. In 1898-9 there was a Sinking Fund amounting to £5,800,000 and the charge for interest and management was £17,200,000, while for the year just concluded the amount was £6,600,000 Sinking Fund and the charge for interest and management was £20,400,000. According to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-day that estimated sum of £6,600,000 had not been applied because he stated that the Sinking Fund last year was £5,149,000. And they still went on borrowing for Naval and Military Works. These capital charges amounted this year to £10,000,000. He wondered what was now thought of the glowing picture which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer drew last year of the National Debt disappearing in the next fifty years. That right hon. Gentleman started with the calculation that it was to be reduced by £40,000,000—£30,000,000 from the Transvaal contribution, £4,000,000 repayment for advances; and £6,000,000 from the China Indemnity. Of these £40,000,000 we had received last year the sum of £3,000,000, and for this year out of £17,000,000 to be received we only received £6,000,000! Then the Floating Debt had not been mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, it was.

*MR. McCRAE: It was only mentioned, but the right hon. Gentleman did not endeavour to make the House realise the serious danger of having such a large amount of Treasury Bills floating. He must compliment the Chancellor of the Exchequer in refraining from dealing with the Terminable Annuities falling out in 1906. There was a great temptation for him to deal with them in the same unsound way as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had done with similar annuities in his 1899 Budget.

He would now come to the question of the Exchequer balances. He had said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had really paid for the deficit of last year out of money borrowed. In 1899 the Exchequer balances, exclusive

of the capital issues which were in the hands of the Exchequer, reaching £1,861,000, amounted to £7,058,000. In the last completed year these balances were stated at £4,263,842; but in this latter sum there was no less than £2,880,000 of borrowed money. He thought the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would admit that; so that the real Exchequer balances only amounted to £1,383,842; and the whole of the deficit of 1903-4 had been met by borrowed money. The same objection might be taken to the proposal of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to strengthen the balances by taking £1,000,000 this year from the unclaimed dividends. He had always observed since he came into the House that if any Chancellor of the Exchequer had an unsound argument to lay before the House, he always quoted Mr. Gladstone, and then proceeded not to do what Mr. Gladstone did, but to do something very different. Now, the Chancellor of the Exchequer that day had stated that he was going to strengthen his balances by doing what Mr. Gladstone did in 1866 by taking similar unclaimed dividends; but what did Mr. Gladstone do then? He reduced the National Debt by the amount of the unclaimed dividends appropriated; but what the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was proposing to do was to relieve taxation to the amount, by applying the proceeds to revenue purposes. However, with the exception of these two points, he congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the way he had faced the financial situation, with one other exception as to his proposals to meet the deficit of the present year. The right hon. Gentleman was going to impose £4,500,000 of new taxation, and he had very distinguished precedents to refer to, so far as the increase in the income-tax was concerned. An increase of expenditure in 1859 was met by an increase of the income-tax, and again in 1893 the same course was followed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth. So far he approved. But in 1859 Mr. Gladstone, in making his Budget speech, said—

“It would be an act of gross injustice towards the consumer to make an imposition on tea or sugar.”

Mr. McCrae.

***MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN:**
What was the duty then?

*Mr. McCRAE said it was a very large duty compared with what it now was, but the principle was the same, although they were dealing with a different situation at present. He maintained that a proposal by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose an additional sum of £2,000,000 on an article of domestic consumption like tea, in a peace Budget, was a course which, if not condemned by the House, would be condemned by the country. What was the position in regard to taxation? £33,000,000 were put on as war taxes. Last year there was a reduction of £13,000,000, leaving an increase of taxation of £20,000,000, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that day proposing to add £4,500,000. How was that enormous sum to be raised? By Customs and Inland Revenue to the extent of £14,500,000; by income-tax £9,500,000; and therefore he maintained that the indirect taxpayer had good reason to complain. There was a remission last year of the corn tax, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that that tax did not fall on the consumer. Why then was it taken off professedly for his relief? It had been suggested that there was a source of revenue lying ready to the hand of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the licence duty, from which it was estimated that an additional sum of £2,000,000 could be raised without putting any great hardship on anyone. He had another suggestion to make to the right hon. Gentleman, and it was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should take a lesson from Japan. The Japanese Finance Minister—and he was sure the right hon. Gentleman the Solicitor-General who smiled would agree with this—said last year that—

“In order to provide for the work of carrying to completion the programme of national armament, it was of the utmost importance that the necessary funds should be obtained from the most reliable and unfailing source, and there was none better suited for this purpose than the land tax.”

He recommended that to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They on that side of the House were twitted some time ago for proposing a tax on land values; but he believed that recent circumstances

brought that source of revenue appreciably nearer. He rather disagreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reference which the right hon. Gentleman had made to municipal indebtedness. That had amounted to such a sum, said the right hon. Gentleman, as to cause serious reflection; but the right hon. Gentleman ought in fairness to have given the proportion between remunerative and unremunerative municipal indebtedness. It ill became the pot to call the kettle black. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would show an example in economy, he was sure it would be followed by the municipalities.

He would conclude by saying that he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had really missed a great opportunity. They had been promised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, that after the war was over they should have a full consideration of the financial position of the nation. That they had not yet got. He had hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have taken this opportunity to deal more fully with the financial situation, and to put the finances of the country on a broader basis. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman's voice had not been raised that day more effectively in favour of economy. What was wanted was courage to grapple with the demon of extravagance, and to initiate a policy of retrenchment all along the line. Greater control over expenditure was required. It was a maxim in military strategy that the enemy should be beaten in detail. The Estimates were taken separately for the different departments and expenditure increased by detail. There was no occasion when the House could have a full review of the whole expenditure of the year before taxation was imposed. This colossal expenditure was attaining such proportions that it was exceeding their capacity to bear taxation. That responsibility, they, on that side of the House contended, lay with the present Government. The hon. Member for Exeter said that that responsibility rested also with the Opposition. He repudiated that argument. The responsibility rested with the present Government alone. He would quote an excerpt from a speech delivered by Mr.

Gladstone in 1879, which showed how history repeated itself. Mr. Gladstone, in speaking of the Beaconsfield Administration, then said—

“They began the great development of that new method of Government policy and finance under which we were told our country is at length to assume its true position in the world, a position founded on a new creed with a variety of articles, the first of which is uniform financial deficiency.”

That was very much the position to-day. They had a deficit last year, deficits in the previous years, and now they had another deficit this year. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had boldly faced the position, and availed himself of new sources of revenue, he might have relieved the poorer classes of the community from an undue share of the burden of taxation.

Mr. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he wished to congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his Budget, if for nothing else than that from beginning to end it represented the pure orthodox doctrine of free trade. The right hon. Gentleman had found that the tobacco duties were in accordance with Cobdenite doctrine, and therefore he had increased them. There was a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was regarded as the drum of the Protectionist Party opposite; but now they must look upon the Prime Minister as a hostage for the good behaviour of the Party behind him, and so long as he was in his present position it was a pledge that the country would be perfectly free from protectionist tariffs. In spite of the mystery in which the Prime Minister wrapped up his views, it was evident that the Government did not intend, and apparently had not the slightest wish, to introduce protectionist legislation now. Under these circumstances it was a wise thing to retain as Chancellor of the Exchequer a Minister who publicly advocated doctrines entirely different from those taught in that House by the Prime Minister, although it seemed rather like appointing a practitioner who dispensed quack medicines to be President of the College of Physicians. There was a reason why he thought it was a doubtful advantage to have a protectionist Chancellor of the Exchequer at this moment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he really believed that by taxing the foreigner he

could get all the revenue he required, could have no inducement for that economy which this Committee ought to insist upon. It was bound to affect the right hon. Gentleman's mind in the long run, that if they were a little extravagant, that would help him in the policy which he wished to carry out. That was a real danger which the Committee ought to face. On the other hand, the Committee ought to find satisfaction in the fact that the Budget now introduced was a sure indication to the country that the whole tariff reform agitation was a mere sham. It was hardly conceivable that, if hon. Gentlemen opposite really believed that millions could be brought into the Exchequer, that our trade could be revived and brought to a state of great prosperity, that the Empire would be no longer in danger, but would be linked to us by firmer bonds than ever by a mere stroke of the pen, they would be prepared to postpone that change indefinitely—not for this year only, but indefinitely—for the convenience of the present occupants of the Front Bench.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken of the alarming increase in local indebtedness, which for England and Wales alone, he said, amounted to £197,000,000. He would like the right hon. Gentleman to tell the Committee how much of that was due to the good example of the municipality of Birmingham. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman of the admirable work done by the Birmingham Corporation by means of money raised from the public, and the right hon. Gentleman must confront the late Colonial Secretary and convince him that the admirable work which he did when Mayor of Birmingham was a mistake from beginning to end. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that municipal indebtedness had increased to £197,000,000, he did not remind the Committee that the greater part of that was raised for remunerative undertakings, which provided not only for interest, but sinking fund. He ought to have told them how much had been paid off by the local authorities during these twenty years. They were every year paying off fully as much as was necessary to keep up their credit at the highest point, and

Mr. McKenna.

the credit of the London County Council stood at this moment actually at a higher point than the credit of the State. His hon. friend was, he thought, a little unfair on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the Sinking Fund in referring to the debts which were incurred on account of public works. The sinking fund of these Public Works Loans was, he thought, met each year out of the Estimates, and, consequently, when his hon. friend spoke of the Sinking Fund as if he were going to include the amount of the Public Works Loans in it, he should also have included the amount of Sinking Fund raised on the Estimates for the purposes of meeting those loans; and, if he did include them, he would find the provision made in the Sinking Fund for the Public Works Loans and public debt would be sufficient if it were allowed to remain intact. He agreed entirely, however, that, as a matter of fact, the deficit of this year was, with the possible exception of £800,000, being paid exclusively in the shape of a £1,000,000 from the unpaid dividends. He did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer had quite come up to the level of his other work in the Budget when he only made a possible provision of £800,000 to cover any Supplementary Estimates, which from past experience would be far in excess of that amount, and would therefore have to be met out of loan. He deplored the tea duty upon every ground, upon British and upon Indian ground; and he was bound to say that, although he agreed with the rest of the Budget, he should feel constrained on that account to vote against it.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said the way in which the Budget had been received was the best compliment the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have. Everything seemed peaceable and quiet, despite the idea that the Budget was to be a serious matter for the Government. He agreed that the financial condition of the country and the growing expenditure were matters of enormous importance; but he thought, instead of talking about increases in millions, they should look and see in what the money was spent. There were really four items in which

large increases had occurred during the past ten years, viz., the Army, the Navy, education, and the wages paid to State employees; the other items were very much as they were ten or twenty years ago. Would anyone get up and say the Navy was to be reduced largely and substantially? ["Hear, hear!" and "Yes."] He could not conceive any responsible section in the House really saying the Navy must be so reduced as to bring the Estimates back to their state of a few years ago. They would all like it, and be glad if the expenditure could be cut down; and, having regard to the Treaty initiated in high quarters between England and France, they hoped it would, before many years were over, be possible to substantially decrease the standard of all this enormous expenditure upon armaments. He knew nothing of the Army, but, looking at the state of Europe, and of the world, and at what was going on both in the Far and Near East, they could not say that this was a time when an enormous reduction could be made in the Army expenditure. During the last ten or fifteen years the Vote for education had increased by nearly £10,000,000 or £12,000,000; but he was satisfied there was not one single Member, who, on the platform would say that the expenditure on education should be reduced, and he did not think there were many who would say so in the House; and he did not think any Member would dare to reduce the fourth item, the wages paid to the employees of the State. Indeed, he did not think there was any hon. Gentleman opposite, who would go all over the country talking about the extravagance of the Government, who would dare to say there was one of these items he would reduce. He was as anxious to see as much economy as he could, and he rejoiced extremely that the right hon. Gentleman had maintained the Sinking Fund, because to his mind it was the only substantial means they had of pressing some sort of economy upon the attention of the House. He always regarded the great cause of increased expenditure as being not the Government but the desires of the House, which continually pressed the Government, whether Conservative or otherwise, for increased expenditure; and he said emphatically that why he always

objected to the reduction of the Sinking Fund, and still thought it not sufficient, was because he looked upon it as a sort of indirect or private way really tending to economy. The great subject of local taxation had also been brought up. He looked with the greatest apprehension at the enormous increase of the local taxation, a comparatively small part only of which was remunerative; and he said they were building up an enormous debt and risk in this large expenditure. Of course, they had representative government in each locality, and each locality was allowed to borrow; but he thought some such rule as was in force in America, where there was a limit to the borrowing power of each locality, would be beneficial here. He again emphasised the necessity of looking into the items before talking about increases of millions to see which they could honestly say they intended to decrease. He thought the Army and Navy might be ultimately decreased, but at present there was no section of the House which, if in office, would dare largely to decrease those great spending Departments in any way.

SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) said he wished to associate himself with the stand hon. Members and right hon. Members on the opposite side of the House had made for economy. He thought, if those Members, who were pretty numerous, were to band themselves together and decide on some joint action they would be able to speak with authority and in time enforce their views. The features of the Budget were the colossal scale of our national expenditure and the magnitude of our deficit. It appeared to him that deficits were becoming chronic in the Budgets. In the period from 1888 to 1898 every Budget with one exception, when there was a slight deficit, showed a surplus, but since then we had witnessed appalling deficits. He hoped they were getting to the end of such a sad record. He congratulated the Chancellor on his admission that there were signs that the extreme depression in our trade of the past few years was passing away. This was good news. He thought it was absolutely true, and he called the attention of the House to the fact that it was taking place without the assistance

of their friends from Birmingham who were advocating new and drastic remedies.

He should also like to acknowledge the accuracy of the Chancellor's diagnosis as to the ailments which just now attended the cotton trade. These troubles were to be assigned to the scarcity of raw material and the speculation which had taken place in the raw material. He hoped the Chancellor would stick to these views, because he considered it likely there might be an attempt to attribute them to other causes, and to advocate a fiscal remedy instead of the true and accurate remedy, viz., to increase the supply of raw material. He did not claim to be an expert in the tobacco trade, but it did strike an outsider that if import duties were to be levied on any manufactures imported into this country which at the same time were made on an extensive scale in this country *pro tanto* those duties, unless coupled with a corresponding Excise duty, must afford protection to those engaged in the trade. He considered the increased tea duty would come as a surprise to everybody. It would hit a class already hard hit by taxation and particularly by the sugar tax imposed within the last few years. He supported the appeal to the Chancellor to remove the duty from alcohol required for manufacturing purposes. The effect of the removal would be infinitesimal on the Budget, because the industries were non-existent; but, by removing this barrier, we should, he thought, soon have a rush from foreign countries and new industries would be established, improving employment. Chambers of commerce throughout the country had passed resolutions in favour of some such action, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would therefore take the matter into his careful consideration. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way to remove the coal tax, which had led to the loss of contracts and had diminished employment, lessening the ability of those concerned to pay other taxes. Contrasting England's growing indebtedness with the financial condition of the United States, Germany, and Italy, he quoted from a report with respect to the latter country,

Sir William Holland.

which stated that there had been five surplus Budgets, that the Debt was being steadily reduced, and that the high quotation of Italian stock testified to the estimate formed of the soundness of Italian credit. He was afraid the converse must be true with regard to the estimate formed of the credit of this country. All these facts, he said, confirmed his view that we had lost ground in comparison with other nations; but he hoped we had now turned the corner and that the days of deficits were past.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) said he would direct the attention of the House to one specific subject, viz., the effect the increased tea duty would have upon the constituency he represented, or rather the county of Donegal. Of all portions of the United Kingdom the county of Donegal would be the most detrimentally affected; it was largely poverty-stricken, the people having the greatest difficulty to sustain existence at the best of times. They rarely took any meat; and they did not eat bread as they, in England, knew it; they ate Indian meal. In one family of five, where the income amounted to £10 a year, £3 was expended on tea, and in another family, where the income was £25 a year, £7 was expended on tea. Tea with them was an article of food, and these family budgets showed the enormous effect the increased duty would have on the life of the inhabitants of his constituency. He could not imagine anything more atrocious than this increase. The incidence of taxation as regarded tea between England and Ireland was not fairly proportioned, for in Ireland more tea was drunk than in England. Ireland, moreover, stood in a very different position to England, and if the whole hundred Irish Members voted against this duty, including the Loyalists and the Members for Dublin University, it would not affect the tax. Ireland was unconstitutionally placed, and if the tax could be resisted by force it would be proper to do it. He had no wish to draw a contrast between the present free-trade Chancellor of the Exchequer and the free lance who appeared on a platform at

Birmingham approving the transgressions of an erring father, but he did assert that there was reason to doubt the spirit of the Budget, and to look on it as a clear indication of the principles advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham of putting a tax on the food of the people, and, as such, he hoped it would be strenuously opposed.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I feel that I must make one or two observations in answer to what has fallen from hon. Members in the course of the debate. First, I desire to acknowledge the great kindness with which I have been received by Members of the Committee on both sides of the House. I am very sensible of the personal kindness they have shown me. It is, I suppose, more than I can hope that any Chancellor of the Exchequer should carry a Budget without coming into active controversy with some section of opinion in the House, but at any rate, I desire to postpone that stage until a later date in our discussions. I think it has been generally admitted that, under difficult circumstances, the Government have faced the position with courage, and have made proposals which are worthy of the nation and worthy of the acceptance of this Committee. My right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol has cautioned me as to the estimates I have prepared, and has expressed the hope that I have taken a warning by the results of the last two years and been moderate in the expectations I have formed. He alluded in particular to the fact that last year contained an extra day, and asked whether I had remembered that fact in forecasting the revenue of the current year. Yes, Sir, I have taken that into account, and, I believe, after taking the best opinion that I could, that the estimates of revenue which I have presented are moderate and are more likely to be exceeded than to result in a deficiency.

My right hon. friend asked me for some further explanations of exactly how I propose to deal with the realised deficit of the past year. I have made very full and ample provision for the estimated expenditure for the current year—that deficit, at any rate, I have filled. The ques-

tion is, what exactly have I done with the realised deficit which we inherited from the year which has just closed. I think my right hon. friend was somewhat confused by mixing up the repayment which we have received from the Transvaal with the amount by which the balances were swollen owing to excess borrowings beyond the actual expenditure during the course of the war. The balances were actually swollen out of money borrowed for war charges, but not at the time expended in war charges, to the extent of nearly £3,000,000. I had a realised deficit on the past year of, roughly, £5,500,000 to deal with. To the extent to which the balances were abnormally swollen in the years of war by borrowings intended to be devoted to the purposes of war, but not at the time required for war, I now allow the war charges of last year to fall finally and definitely upon balance—that is to say, that the money which was borrowed for the war charges but not at the time required for war charges I now apply to meet to that extent the war charges which have since accrued. The war charges which have since accrued have indeed exceeded the excess of our borrowings, but it is only to the extent to which our borrowings exceeded the immediate demands for war charges that I propose that those war charges shall now be thrown upon the excess borrowings of past years. That gives me a sum of a little less than £3,000,000. Then I propose to obtain, by the utilisation of a part of the sum standing unused in the unpaid dividend account, a further sum of £1,000,000, which will go to make good that deficit, and to replace the draft which has been made upon the balance. My right hon. friend very naturally said that he presumed these sums were remaining invested, and invested in Consols, and hoped I should be cautious how I became a seller of Consols at the present moment. Yes, Sir, that is a matter which has had my most careful attention, and I shall be most careful as to the time and the manner in which I realise this asset. I think the services of the National Debt Commissioners will be most useful in this connection. All that I will say at present is that the difficulty adumbrated by my right hon. friend has not escaped my attention, and

I shall have careful regard to the interests of Consols. I thus obtain from the excess borrowings the sum of £2,800,000, and from the realisation of the asset of the unclaimed dividends £1,000,000, or a total of a little short of £4,000,000. The deficit being in round figures, £5,500,000, or a little under, I have still a little more than £1,500,000 to make good. My right hon. friend I think, wished me to explain exactly what I propose to do in regard to that £1,500,000. As I have already stated, I believe the estimates of revenue which I have laid before the Committee are framed with great moderation. I am hopeful that they will be exceeded and that the actual surplus revenue will be larger than the sum I have named to the Committee. From that surplus revenue, after allowing for the unforeseen contingencies of the year, I shall make good a considerable portion, not improbably the major portion of the £1,500,000 which will still remain after my other proposals have been adopted. It is to the surplus I look to make further provision towards the restoration of balances, and if I cannot restore the whole of the £1,500,000 by which the balances are depleted, then the remainder must wait for restoration in the subsequent year. That is a course in accordance with precedent, and a course that is dictated by the circumstances of the moment to any one in my position. Taxation is very high, and I am obliged to raise it still higher. An emergency has to be met, and to the temporary nature of the emergency I must have regard in making provision, not disturbing any trade or industry or burdening the present year out of all proportion to the permanent needs of the country. I ask the Committee to support me in what I feel is no popular task in imposing fresh taxation to the extent that is necessary fully to cover the anticipated deficit of the current year and to leave a large margin towards wiping out the remaining deficit of last year. But a Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be justified in asking the Committee at a moment like the present to impose a very much larger addition to taxation in the current year with the knowledge that it would not be required for the ordinary expenditure of the subsequent year.

My right hon. friend went on to express a hope that I should secure

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

from the tea duty the revenue anticipated. He said very truly that there is no article which more lends itself to anticipatory clearances from bond in expectation of increased duty than tea. My right hon. friend will be glad to learn that tea this year has been less sensitive than in some previous years, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that clearances in the last week or two have not been such as to show there has been anticipation. On the other hand, there might, in expectation of relief from taxation when the next Budget statement is made, be a disposition on the part of dealers to hold back clearances, but by moving the Resolution in a form that will continue the duty up to August, 1905, I hope to secure the revenue I anticipate. My right hon. friend indulged in some good-natured chaff upon the choice of tea as a subject for increased duty. He referred to the difficulty he had when raising the duty, and pictured to himself with some satisfaction the present Chancellor of the Exchequer replying to the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield and others who are in favour of preference being given to Indian and Colonial products when they attack him for increasing a duty on what is mainly an Indian product. I do not think the Indian Government will complain, for from an interesting despatch I gather that they are satisfied with the assurance that whatever duties are put on are paid by the British consumer. I assure my hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green that I personally regret to have to choose this subject for taxation. I do not think the increase in the tea duty which I propose will check to any material extent the consumption of tea. Duty or no duty, it is impossible that the increase in the consumption of tea per head of the population can continue at the same rate at which it has progressed for the past half-century, because, to employ a picturesque phrase which has been supplied to me by an authority on the subject, the British people have very nearly reached saturation point in the matter of tea drinking. But I hope I can count upon the able and influential support of my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol in proving to my hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green that his Indian constituents—if I

may use the phrase—will not have to suffer the whole of the burden of the increased duty on tea, but that it will be borne by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. I do not pretend that to raise the tax on tea is a popular course. No one is more alive than I am to the objections that can be raised against it. But, after all, I have to provide a sufficient sum of money to balance the national accounts and to leave a margin on the right side; and if the use of tea for this purpose is condemned, hon. Members must find for me some other source of revenue less objectionable.

The hon. Member for Bethnal Green suggested that I should have recourse to a general duty on imported goods, and the hon. and learned Member for Waterford urged that if I must raise money by indirect taxation some article of luxury rather than an article of universal consumption should be employed. I will not enter to-night into any elaborate examination of the subject, but I venture to defy any hon. Gentleman who holds that view to frame a satisfactory method of realising their aspirations without a revolution in our fiscal system, and the Government are precluded by the pledges they have given from attempting any fundamental change in our fiscal system at the present time. There is, of course, another suggestion which is equally certain to be advanced in the debate on the Budget, and that is economy. It is not for me to defend the expenditure of a Cabinet of which I was not a member against the criticisms of my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol. But I confess I think there is some inconsistency in my right hon. friend, of all men in the world, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years of greatest expenditure, admonishing me, of course in the kindest spirit—

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, no! I have not said a word, and certainly never intended to say a word, which would hold my right hon. friend responsible for the expenditure of which I complained. Of course, my right hon. friend was not then in office, and consequently was not responsible for the expenditure.

***MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN:** I am most anxious to avoid entering into

a personal controversy with my right hon. friend, but I do submit that it is a little hard that my right hon. friend, now he is free from the responsibility of office, should criticise so freely the expenditure of the days when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the most influential members of the Cabinet which incurred that expenditure. Every Chancellor of the Exchequer in turn has the strongest interest in reducing expenditure, and every Chancellor of the Exchequer will use every effort to secure economy, subject only to his sense of what is necessary for the safety of the country. The test which must be applied is not whether the expenditure is large or small, but whether it is more than is needed for the wants of the country. Would any hon. or right hon. Gentleman on the Government side have been prepared, at any time during the nine years that our Party have been in power, to save a million or two millions of increase of taxation by a corresponding reduction in the building programme of the Fleet? What are they willing to give up? Our financial reserves are as important as our military or naval reserves; the three must be considered together, and in any particular year we must weigh the demands of the one against the demands of the other and strike a balance between them. I do not think it right, having assented to certain programmes of military and naval expenditure, having felt it impossible to refuse assent to those programmes, now to complain of that expenditure. I venture to say that the expenditure on the Navy in the years for which we have been responsible has been a great insurance for the nation, and that if we had not year by year assented to the sacrifices, heavy as they were, which the country has been asked to make, at moments such as those we passed through last autumn and winter, there is no limit to the panic expenditure into which we might have been forced. I will say no more on that subject at present, as I understand it is to be raised again in the course of subsequent discussions.

The right hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire expressed his desire that we should arrive at some more accurate and scientific determination of the actual incidence of taxation upon

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different classes or individuals in the community. That was the very first thought that occurred to me when I entered upon office. I have taken a good deal of pains to obtain information on the subject, but I will tell the Committee frankly that every calculation I have made or seen I am advised by those most competent to advise me is a matter of pure speculation on which I should be unwise to base any arguments or conclusions. I do not say I have finished my inquiries, and I can promise that the subject shall not escape my attention. The burden of the debate has been, after all, not a criticism upon the particular proposals of the Budget, but an attack on the alleged extravagance of the Government, and a demand that there should be greater economy in the future. I deny the extravagance. The Government have spent largely, but we have spent on purposes of the first importance to the country. We have got value for the money and as long as that is the case we cannot be fairly accused of extravagance. I do not profess to hope that there can be any great reductions in the Navy Estimates, but I do hope that the great exertions we have made in recent years in meeting not only current liabilities, but the deficit we inherited, have placed the country in such a position of naval strength, that the Navy Estimates will not grow in the next few years as they have done in the past. And I also hope that by modifying and improving the Army system, which has been the accepted Army system for thirty years past of both Parties in the country, the Secretary for War, in particular, may obtain a more efficient Army and yet make some reduction in our great military expenditure. But if there is to be a real economy there must be some change in the House itself, and that change must be as marked on the Benches opposite as on the Benches on this side of the House. Hon. Members come forward with a cheap and easy cry against large expenditure when the bill has to be paid, but how much support can I count upon from any hon. Members opposite in resisting any popular demand for increased expenditure?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

MR. McCRAE: Give us the opportunity.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Hon. Members have enjoyed the opportunity often enough, and what did they do? Some of them stayed at home; some of them walked out; and the rest went into the lobby in favour of increased expenditure and justified it to their consciences and constituents by the statement that they were voting against a Government in which they had no confidence. That is an easy way of treating the difficulty; but it is idle to talk of economy as long as that irresponsible feeling exists among many hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite who ought to have some responsibility because they profess to have a real knowledge and appreciation of the difficulties which confront the Government. I am afraid that I have adopted a more controversial tone than I had intended. But amid interruptions I find a little difficulty in restraining myself within those limits of moderation and calmness which I laid down for my guidance when meditating my remarks. I conclude as I began, by expressing my genuine thanks to the Committee for the kindness they have shown to me, and with an appeal to hon. Members to come to a decision upon this Resolution, which it is absolutely necessary to take this evening. I must also take the Resolution as to the changes in the tobacco duties. The only result of not passing the Resolutions would be that certain Gentlemen would be enabled to procure goods to a considerable extent to-morrow, and that is in the interest neither of the public nor of the trade generally. I hope, therefore, those Resolutions will be passed to-night, and I shall not then ask the Committee to proceed further.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said that what was wanted was not so much a change in the Committee or in the House as a change in the spirit which had animated the Government towards foreign and colonial affairs during the last four or five years. Throughout the debate, with the exception of a remark by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, hardly a reference had been made to the main cause of the present financial

difficulties. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, the military expenditure had been practically dictated by the late war. Whether that war was right or wrong, it was at the bottom of the present difficulties, and it was only reasonable that the House of Commons should recognise the fact. Without a complete change in the spirit which brought about that calamity, and similar calamities on a smaller scale, there was little prospect of economy in the future, on the part either of the present or of any Government.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said the answer to the inquiry of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol with regard to the deficit of £1,500,000 left over from last year was extremely unsatisfactory, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would even now give the matter further consideration. The question he desired to mention had reference to the tea duty. If they merely voted against the Resolution which had been put from the Chair, it would seem as if they were obstructing the general Budget; whereas what they wanted to do was something quite different. They wanted to take a clean issue with regard to the proposed increase in that duty. He would therefore move an Amendment to substitute "sixpence" for "eightpence" in the Resolution. The effect of this Amendment would be that the tea duty would continue to be levied at sixpence. He was amused at the light way in which this matter had been treated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol. With regard to this duty he might say that they had had a good deal of experience of the kicking downstairs treatment when the right hon. Gentleman himself was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he was sorry that he had not adopted milder ways in dealing with people. He wished the Committee to consider how the tea growers were being treated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol said that tea was not a raw material, but to India and Ceylon tea was practically a raw material for it was the most important product of those countries. Probably the Committee did not realise the difference to those countries

between a sixpenny and an eightpenny tea duty. The sixpenny duty on tea was carried in the year 1863 and it continued to 1899 when it was reduced to fourpence. In the year 1863 all the tea used in the country was sent from a foreign nation, but since then tea had become a great British product and they were not only supplying the English-speaking people with tea at the present time, but their tea growers produced 80,000,000lbs. a year for export to other countries. This duty would strike a deadly blow at an important British industry which was now suffering under very great disabilities. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to consider these tea growers, who had already pointed out to him that the consumption of tea was kept under a heavy disability by the 6d. duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not find it a pleasant thing to tell the tea growers that the country was saturated with tea, and that it did not matter what it did to them. It was practically admitted that this was suggested with the idea of punishing India. The right hon. Gentleman did not like the attitude of India with regard to tariff reform because they were too much free-trade for him, and consequently he was going to put a tax upon their tea. The tea growers ought to be considered in this matter and so ought the wants of their own people. The people of this country might be saturated with tea, but what was the reason? They could not afford more expensive drinks. It was the poor who took tea, and yet this article of consumption was to be treated worse than any other article. The duty on tea had been doubled, for it used to be 4d. and now it was 8d. The Government did not propose to double the duty on beer, and why did they not increase the beer and spirit duty in something like the same proportion as they had done the tea duty? Why not double the beer duty before they doubled the tea duty? The Government had punished India, and now were going to punish the temperance people too. To-morrow the process would be carried a step further when they were considering their friends the publicans and the brewers. Tea was not the first article but the very last upon which a heavy burden of this kind should be laid. The Chancellor of the Exchequer

had received many compliments that evening, but he assured the right hon. Gentleman that his path would not be easier as this Budget went on, and he warned him not to take those compliments too seriously. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to him to be like a man who had sat down on a wasps' nest. He would have a great deal of trouble with tea and tobacco before the Budget was finished with. He begged to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 5, to leave out the words 'Eight pence,' and insert the words 'Sixpence.'"—
(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Eight pence' stand part of the proposed Resolution."

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): The hon Member has chosen rather unexpectedly to take a division upon an Amendment to this Resolution, and I should like to say one or two words upon that Amendment, although I will detain the Committee for only a short time. I listen with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to everything which falls from the hon. Member for West Islington on a financial subject, especially if that financial subject has anything to do with tea. But to-night, Sir, I have listened with greater pleasure even than ordinarily, because what he has said affects not merely the question before the Committee, but also certain other controversies in which I have taken great personal interest. I am led to believe that the hon. Gentleman has made a mistake and that he has moved unwittingly a different Amendment from that which he ought to have moved in order to carry out the objects he has in view. The hon. Gentleman on this occasion, as on all other occasions, is disinterested. He does not speak for himself; he does not speak for his constituency; he does not speak even for his country. He speaks for what he calls two great Colonies. Sir, he and I are in the same boat. I have been speaking for the Colonies for a good number of years, and I rejoice to find that I am to have the co-operation of the hon. Gentleman. He speaks for these two great dependencies, and he asserts

Mr. Lough.

that in his opinion the increased duty on tea will most materially injure them. It is not the consumer here in the first instance who is concerned, but the producer there. It is the external producer who is injured by a duty placed upon the importation of an article into this country. I accept the theory of my hon. friend, my coadjutor in the future, and I assure him that I share the anxiety which he feels. I am most anxious that no injustice should be done to the Colonies or the dependencies of the Empire. But surely in these circumstances the minimum which the hon. Gentleman should have moved should have been a preference Amendment.

MR. LOUGH: I leave that to you.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That shows a lack of courage on the part of my hon. friend. My hon. friend is perfectly well aware that so far as I am concerned I have put forward certain views, which have been contemptuously rejected on the other side—[Several HON. MEMBERS: And on your own side]—for discussion and consideration, and not altogether without some success. But I have distinctly declared from the very beginning that I have no intention whatever of bringing them forward as practical subjects for the consideration of the present Parliament. But, although I should be guilty of almost a breach of faith if I were to introduce a subject of that kind into the House at the present time, no such limitation applies to my hon. friend, and I say, according to the theory which he has so admirably developed to the House, he, as the saviour of the two Colonies of India and Ceylon, ought to have proposed an Amendment not to reduce the taxation of tea, but to give a preference to those Colonies upon the tea which they supplied. In that case the growers for whom he is so deeply moved, and whose condition he has represented in such affecting terms, would have been infinitely indebted to him. No doubt they, on their part, would have been willing to make some reciprocal concession.

That is the first thing for which I am indebted to my hon. friend the Member for West Islington and in which I find myself in entire agreement with him. But there is another point. There is almost always, I observe, a slight inconsistency in the argument of those who call themselves free-traders. They always want to eat their loaf and have it. They always want to represent that their scheme benefits inconsistently all classes of people, and that our scheme injures inconsistently all classes of people. But what does the hon. Gentleman say to-night? He says the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to ruin the producers in India and Ceylon, because the whole effect of the duty is to fall upon them. He said it would be a deadly blow. That is the first thing; that is the speech for the big meeting. Then comes the speech to the overflow, which, as we know, is always entirely inconsistent, and the speech to the overflow is that this increase in the duty which is to ruin the producer in India and Ceylon, which it can only do by reducing the price which he obtains for his production is also a deadly blow at the poorest of the poor, who consume tea as an article of food, to whom it is of more importance than anything else. Again I am interested, amused, delighted at the support which is being afforded to certain theories of mine upon the subject by the hon. Member for West Islington. I am in the recollection of the House when I say that in pursuing the discussion to which I have referred I suggested that it would be some compensation to the poorest of the poor if a reduction was made in the cost of tea for any increase they might have to pay on some other article. In making that statement I was scornfully entreated by the friends of the hon. Gentleman. But no longer can that be the case. The next time it is said:—"Oh, you are insulting the poor when you propose to reduce the price of tea. Babies are not fed upon tea." [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh," and cheers.] "The loaf, and the loaf alone, is the staff of life." When that is said in the future I shall be able to say, "No," for I find a person of great authority [some OPPOSITION

cries of "Divide," and MINISTERIAL cries of "Order"], a person of great financial authority in the Liberal Party, the Member for West Islington, in accord with me in thinking that the cost of tea is of as much importance as the cost of any other article. We have gained something incidentally from the discussion of this matter, and, although I shall vote against the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, I can assure him I shall give the greatest consideration to the arguments by which he supported it.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken did not often suffer from want of imagination, but on the present occasion he had quite excelled himself in throwing at the advocates of free trade the very charge they so often made against him. The hon. Member for West Islington had told them that the consumer of tea in this country and its producer in India were both to be injured by one operation, whereupon the right hon. Gentleman sought to make it appear that because the producer would lose, the consumer would be saved that loss. He thought the theory that had been put forward in such a bold and broad manner should be answered at once. The consumer by the extra charge he had to pay for his article would reduce his consumption of it, not only to his own disadvantage, but to that of the producer also. It did not follow at all that the producer in India and Ceylon could reduce his price, but if he did it would only be temporarily, until the checking of tea production made it remunerative again. The mere fact of the annual consumption being restricted by this tax was a permanent injury to the producer, without any corresponding gain to the consumer. As a result of this addition to the tea duty not only would consumers have to pay the whole of it, but our Eastern tea producing dependencies would suffer from diminished trade. Let the House remember too the extent of this duty. On a large part of our tea consumption it was already an *ad valorem* tax of 75 per cent. and this

extra 2d. would make it 100 per cent.
Was it right to impose a tax of this
magnitude proportionately injurious to
both consumer and producer?

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 265;
Noes, 193. (Division List No. 84.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H.F. (Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M. (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J.A. (Worc
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. I. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield.

Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manch
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J.E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hn. G.R.C. Ormsby (Salop
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby (Linc.
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Camba.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimbale
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W
Hermion-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse

Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N.R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lytelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maddon, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H.E. (Wigt'n
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellealey
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick

Mr. Theodore Taylor.

Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretymann, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)

Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford East)
Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyne-side)
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. (Taggart)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles

Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quinn, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Alexander Acland - Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. (Monm't)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah

Joyce Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Logan, John William
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North) [M]
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John

Parrott, William
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robson, William Snowden
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.

Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants)
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George

Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whitley, George (York, W. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Herbert Gladstone and Mr.
 William M'Arthur.

Main Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 259;
 Noes, 188. (Division List No. 85.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christoh.)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Mich. Hicks
 Beckitt, Ernest William
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Bousfield, William Robert
 Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
 Brodriock, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc.)
 Chapman, Edward

Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
 Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
 Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Croesley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Mane'r)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzgerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon

Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. CORMSBY (Salop.)
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, W. Raymond (Camba.)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Gretton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Groves, James Grimble
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (Midd'x)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'n'derry)
 Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hoults, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hutton, John (Yorks., N. R.)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.

Jeisel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Haywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Keewick, William
Kimber, Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Luther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdonald, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh)
M'Killip, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Huddulph
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Percy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer

Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretymann, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry

Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
Smith, James Parker (Lanark)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxford Univ.)
Taylor, Austin (East Torfeth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tuff, Charles
Tutnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
Welby, Sir Charles G. F. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Alexander Acland Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhonda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomkinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)

Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William

Edwards, Frank
Elbank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)

Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys, Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Johnson, John (Gateshead)
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kiteon, Sir James
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Logan, John William
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Murphy, John

Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 O'Shee, James John
 Parrott, William
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David

Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C.R. (Northants)
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Thomas Esmonde and Cap-
 tain Donelan.

CUSTOMS—TOBACCO.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That the duties of Customs payable
 under section one of The Finance Act,
 1898, on manufactured tobacco shall, on
 and after the twentieth day of April,
 nineteen hundred and four, be increased,
 in the case of cigars, by six pence per
 pound, and in the case of cigarettes by
 one shilling per pound, and the duties
 payable under the same section on un-
 manufactured tobacco shall, on and after
 the same date, be increased, in the case
 of stripped tobacco, by three pence per
 per pound":—(Mr. Chancellor of the
 Exchequer.)

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) asked
 whether he would be in order to move
 the omission of that part of the Resolu-
 tion which referred only to the increased
 tax on unmanufactured tobacco, not
 touching that part referring to cigars and
 cigarettes.

THE CHAIRMAN said it was quite
 open to the hon. Member to do so.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 5, to leave out from the word
 'pound' to the end of the proposed Resolution."
 —(Mr Broadhurst.)

Question put, "That the words pro-
 posed to be left out stand part of the
 proposed Resolution."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 228 ; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 86.)

AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manchester)
 Balfour Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birmingham)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worcester)
 Chapman, Edward
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Cremer, William Randal
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield.
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Ferguson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manchester)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.

Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzgerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Grettton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (Middlesex)
 Hamilton, Marquess of (London & Derbyshire)
 Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemouth)
 Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
 Harwood, George
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffordshire), N. W.
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Staffordshire, W.)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Houlst, Joseph
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hutton, John (Yorkshire, N. R.)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
 Keewick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawson, J. Grant (Yorkshire, N. R.)
 Lee, A. H. (Hants, Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (Cumbria, Eskdale)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming

Maclver, David (Liverpool)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh & W.)
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Moon, Edward Robert Percy
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde Bethnal Green
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eiffon)
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (Northampton, Tyneside)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarkshire)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancashire)

Stewart, Sir Mark J. M^{rs} Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stook, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxford Univ.)
 Taylor, Austin (East Torreteth)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tuff, Charles

Valentia, Viscount
 Walker, Col. William Hall
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart

Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
 Yerburch, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
 Abraham, William (Rhondda)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Black, Alexander William
 Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Brown, George M. (Eidnburgh)
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Fenwick, Charles
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Hammond, John
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson

Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Johnson, John (Gateshead)
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M^{rs} Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M^{rs} Crae, George
 M^{rs} Hugh, Patrick A.
 K^{rs} Kenna, Reginald
 M^{rs} Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 M^{rs} Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norman, Henry
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 O'Shee, James John
 Parrott, William

Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants)
 Sullivan, Donald
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Broadhurst and Mr. Flavin

Main Question again proposed.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said that this tax was one in which he had always taken considerable interest, and in regard to which he had year after year made representations to the right

hon. Gentleman's predecessors in office. The present proposal was, to a considerable extent, identical with a suggestion which he made on 26th March, 1900, as recorded in *Hansard*. Possibly that was the source from which the right hon. Gentleman derived his inspiration, but at

that time the suggestion was received with derision. So far as the present proposal went it was a good one, but it ought to have been accompanied by a remission of duty on the ordinary common tobacco used by the masses of the people. He would have been in favour of imposing all the taxation necessary on the expensive forms of tobacco used by the wealthy people who were able to bear the additional impost without feeling the burden. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider whether he could not make some reduction in the tax upon the tobacco of the masses of the people and increase the tax upon the expensive forms of tobacco used by the wealthy people. By doing that he would meet the views of many hon. Members upon the Opposition side of the House. If he did not do so, he did not see how the right hon. Gentleman could expect his proposals to be acquiesced in by hon. Members from Ireland. The tobacco tax fell heavily upon the people of Ireland, where they had a good many tobacco manufacturers, and they would be severely hit by this proposal to tax the common kind of tobacco. He suggested that they should be relieved at the expense of foreign imported cigars and cigarettes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had already gone some distance in that direction, but not far enough, and he ought to give some further remission of the duty on the common kind of tobacco which was used so largely by the working people of this country and also of Ireland. He had only intervened in this debate to show that occasionally he was right in the House of Commons. He looked forward to the day when there would be sufficient tobacco pro-

duced in Ireland not only to meet the demands of Ireland, but also to a very large extent the requirements of the people of this country. When that day arrived, he would be in favour of taxing even to a greater degree foreign imported tobacco. The Government had promised to encourage tobacco growing by offering a remission of the tax on tobacco grown in Ireland for the next five years, and that was very good so far as it went. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give further consideration to the suggestions and speeches he had made from time to time on this subject. He had no doubt that as the right hon. Gentleman became more familiar with the tax on tobacco he would see more clearly the justice of the position he had taken up, and insist upon following up in a more liberal manner the suggestions which he had made from time to time.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) asked if the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to put a corresponding Excise duty upon home-made cigarettes, because they were those nasty things which little boys smoked, and this was a practice which he was sure all Members of the House would like to see stopped.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he proposed to treat the additional duty on imported cigarettes exactly as the additional duty on imported cigars was treated by his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol. He did not propose to put any further duty on cigarettes manufactured in this country. The tobacco from which they were manufactured had already paid import duty. The hon. Member for East Clare had pointed out that four years ago he endeavoured to secure the adoption of

the suggestions now made. Perhaps if the hon. Member would give him his continuous and loyal support for a further period of four years he might be able to follow him further on the path of reform.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields) said the House ought to make a careful note of the admission just made by the right hon. Gentleman. It had been said again

and again that the right hon. Gentleman's proposals were on the old fiscal lines and that there was nothing about them in the nature of protection. They had now a distinct admission that in this Budget they had for the first time introduced a distinctively protective tariff.

Qu stion put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 200; Noes, 106. (Division List No. 87.)

AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, St. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
 Biggins, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Brodick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc.
 Chapman, Edward
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Cremer, William Randal
 Cress, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.

Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fielden, Edward Brooklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (Salop
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
 Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
 Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
 Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
 Harwood, George
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
 Hoult, Joseph
 Hutton, John (Yorks., N. R.)

Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N. R.
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Rute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Pretynan, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ritohie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)

Scott, Sir S. (Macybone, W.)
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyne-side)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)

Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Tuff, Charles
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walker, Col. William Hall
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
 Abraham, William (Rhondda)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Doogan, P. C.
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Fenwick, Charles
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Grant, Corrie
 Hammond, John
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)

Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Crae, George
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Mara, James
 O'Shee, James John
 Parrott, William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph

Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Slack, John Bamford
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Toulmin, George
 Ure, Alexander
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir
 Thomas Esmond and Mr.
 Patrick O'Brien

Resolutions to be reported upon
 Thursday.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

As amended, considered.

An Amendment made.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

DISTURBANCES AT LISBURN.

On the Motion for the adjournment of
 the House,

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny,
 N.) desired to bring to the notice of the
 Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant
 a matter of urgent moment. It was re-
 ported that last night an organised

Orange mob assembled in the town of Lisburn, county Antrim, attacked the Catholic presbytery, smashed the windows of Catholic traders, and behaved in a most scandalous fashion towards the inhabitants of the town. He desired to know what was the nature of the police arrangements on that occasion, and whether the Chief Secretary would give some promise that the police would be instructed to prevent the recurrence of such disorder, and that adequate protection would be given to peaceful and law-abiding citizens from organised mobs of Orange roughs.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) replied that he had seen a newspaper report stating the facts mentioned by the hon. Member, but he had no other information and it was necessary for him to make inquiries. No doubt there had been very regrettable incidents connected with the playing of the game of hurley on Sundays. Some people thought it right to take recreation on Sundays, and others thought it was wrong. Both were entitled to their views, but it was certain that nobody was entitled to interfere with the liberty of other subjects of His Majesty, and whoever did so broke the law. He should not care to enter into the matter to-night, but he would press investigation further.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN desired to know whether the Chief Secretary had received any official report on the matter and, if so, what it contained.

Mr. Joseph Devlin.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he had only seen a report of last night's disturbances in the *Westminster Gazette*, but in reference to Questions asked by the Member for South Tyrone he had collected information respecting the disturbances on Sunday. He had no official information on last night's disturbance. If the facts were as reported there had been an unwarrantable attempt to interfere with the liberty of some of His Majesty's subjects to spend Sunday as they pleased. He would see that adequate police protection was afforded.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said these disturbances were a serious matter. People on both sides were entitled to a quiet life, and unless there was adequate police protection these riots would go on with serious results.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) asked what steps had been taken to send an adequate police force to Lisburn. In his opinion nothing had been done to secure the preservation of the peace, and he would like to remind the right hon. Gentleman that had similar disturbances been created by Catholics in the South of Ireland, thousands of police would have been sent down to break their heads. Yet in the North no protection was given to Catholics when they desired to indulge in a game of hurley.

Mr. SHEEHY (Meath, S.) regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not given the House more information.

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 20th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords];
Thurles Urban District Council Water
Bill. As amended, considered; to be
read the third time.

Milwr and District Mines Drainage
Bill [Lords] (by Order). Second Reading
deferred till Thursday, 5th May (Evening
Sitting).

Local Government Provisional Order
(Poor Law) Bill. Read a second time,
and committed.

Great Central Railway Bill; Humber
Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.
Reported, with Amendments; Reports
to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Storn-
away; and Dornoch; to lie upon the
Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law;
from Islington; Sowerby Bridge; Hearts-
ease; Cadeleigh; Grangemouth; Kings-
bridge; Truro; Sunbury-on-Thames;
Holbeach; Bolton; Prestatyn; Hornsey;
Abingdon; Ipswich; Fulham; Cress-
well; Uxbridge; Kenley; Bramhall;
Falkirk; Aberavon; Groeslon; Lewes;
Batheaston; Garn Dolbenmaen; Gos-
port; Upton Lane; Nottingham (two);
Staplehurst; Newton Stewart; Nether-
field; Border District; Mostyn; Bingley;
Aylestone; Atherton; Ellistown; West
London; and Salcombe; to lie upon the
Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT (1888)
AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Bristol, in favour; to
lie upon the Table.

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Bath, in favour; to lie
upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition in favour; from Birkenhead;
and Newcastle-on-Tyne; to lie upon the
Table.

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES
REMOVAL BILL.

Petition of the Scottish Women's
Protestant Union, against; to lie upon
the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Harringay;
Sheffield; Boston; and Rotherham; to
lie upon the Table.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

Petition from Bath, for alteration; to
lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES, 1904-5 (SUPERANNUA-
TION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES).

Copy presented, of Appendix to the
Estimate for Civil Services, Class 6, Vote
1, containing a List of Superannuation
and Retired Allowances payable on 30th
November, 1903 [by Command]; to lie
upon the Table, and to be printed. [No.
134.]

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND
WALES).

Copy presented, of Judicial Statistics
for England and Wales, 1902, Part II.
(Civil Judicial Statistics), edited by Sir
John Macdonnell, C.B., LL.D., Master of
the Supreme Court [by Command]; to lie
upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and
Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos.
3136 to 3138 [by Command]; to lie upon
the Table.

CHARITY COMMISSION (ENGLAND AND
WALES).

Copy presented, of Fifty-first Report
of the Charity Commissioners for England
and Wales [by Command]; to lie upon
the Table.

2 A

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS).

Address for "Return showing the estimated position as regards capital expenditure, of the several Railways and Irrigation Works under construction in India on the 31st day of March, 1904, and the proposed expenditure thereon during 1904-5 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 137, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Price.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Appointment of Pupil Teachers.

Mr. BROOKE ROBINSON (Dudley): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, in view of the fact that candidates who are examined in April or May by the Board of Education for appointments as pupil teachers in elementary schools, often do not learn the result of the examination until the autumn, when the date of the appointment of a successful candidate is often made to run from 1st January previously, with the result that the pupil teacher is put on almost immediately to second year's work, with only two years instead of three to prepare for the final scholarship examination, the Board of Education can see their way to arrange the date of appointment so that the pupil teacher shall have three full years preparation before sitting for the scholarship examination.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The hon. Member is under a misapprehension in supposing that candidates for appointments as pupil teachers, who are examined in May, often do not learn the result of the examination until the autumn. Last year the results were published, with a few exceptions, by the end of July. It is hoped that the results will be out by the end of June this year. In the past the Board have never made it compulsory for pupil teachers to have their date of appointment made to run from the previous 1st January. As regards this year, the Board have already done what the hon. Member desires. In a circular, dated 5th February, they stated that candidates, if they are not old enough for an appoint-

ment (for two years) from 1st August, 1904, "may, if they are old enough and have been actually instructed as pupil teachers and employed in public elementary schools since 1st January, 1904, be appointed for a period of three years from that date." In the same circular they further stated that they "do not propose in future to admit any pupil teachers who have not passed a qualifying examination previous to the date from which their admission is desired; but, in view of the necessarily transitional nature of the arrangements for the current year, they will, for it alone, continue their former practice in this respect."

Accident and Sickness Insurance Laws on the Continent.

Mr. TENNANT (Berwickshire): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will grant a Return of the accident and sickness insurance laws in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, setting forth the amounts contributed by the workpeople, the number of days sickness before which compensation becomes payable, and the scale of such compensation in the case of death, total disablement, partial disablement through total loss of a limb, and for temporary disablement through accident and sickness respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I understand that the Departmental Committee on the Workmen's Compensation Acts has collected material with regard to foreign laws of a kindred nature and will print in an Appendix to their Report a Memorandum which will deal, amongst other matters, with the points indicated by the hon. Member. I think that such a Memorandum is likely to serve the hon. Member's purpose better than any Return which I could compile. There would be very great difficulty in dealing with this subject usefully in the form of a Return; and I suggest that it would be best to await the issue of the Memorandum referred to.

Employment of Children Act — By-Laws.

Mr. TENNANT: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can say from which councils he has received by-laws under the

Employment of Children Act, and which of these have received his approval.

(*Answered by Mr Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) By-laws have been submitted in draft by the London County Council, the city of London, and the authorities of about twenty-four other places, and are now under consideration. In one instance, Warrington, the terms of the by-laws have been provisionally settled, and are now awaiting formal adoption and confirmation under the procedure prescribed in Section 4 of the Act.

Clerks to Petty Sessions in Political Contests.

MR. BRAND (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether clerks to petty sessions are allowed to take an active part in political or Parliamentary contests, or to become members of a political council within their own petty sessional district.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I am not aware of any general rule on the subject. The clerks are appointed by the magistrates, and hold office subject to such conditions as the magistrates think right to attach to their appointments.

Admiralty Contributions to Berehaven Harbour Fund.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Admiralty have taken over control and appointed their own harbour master at Berehaven; and, if so, having regard to the fact that the Admiralty ships do not contribute to the general lighthouse fund, he will suggest to the Admiralty the desirability of their assuming control of and maintaining the lights, buoys, and beacons in that harbour at present maintained by that fund.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The Admiralty have taken over control of the harbour at Berehaven to the extent of exercising the powers conferred upon them by the Order in Council of the 26th September, 1901, within the limits of the dockyard port as therein defined. The chief officer of Coastguard at Castletown is acting King's Harbour Master. In all

dockyard ports the Admiralty, like other local authorities, maintain the buoys, etc., that they consider necessary, and they are doing so at Berehaven. The only light in the neighbourhood is outside the limits of the dockyard port.

Ballot Act—Suggested Amendment.

MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that at an election for the Orsett Rural District Council, on 28th March last, at South Ockendon in Essex, a large employer of labour in the district appointed his son as his personation agent, and that the son sat at the same table as the polling clerk and was present in the room throughout the election; and, if so, whether steps will be taken by the Government either to introduce a clause in the Ballot Act to provide that no candidate employing labour shall be allowed to appoint any relative or workman in his employ or act himself as personation agent, or whether the Government will give their support to a Private Bill introduced to secure this object.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have received a communication as to the case referred to. I am afraid I could not undertake to promote or support a Bill with the object suggested.

Members of Boards of Guardians as Public Vaccinators.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that the Board of Guardians of Greenwich on 7th April last, appointed two of their own number as public vaccinators; and, if so, whether such appointments will receive the sanction of the Local Government Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Greenwich Board of Guardians appear to have resolved at their meeting on the 7th instant to enter into contracts with two members of their own body as public vaccinators. I have the question of the approval of these contracts under consideration. I may, however, remind the hon. Member that any person who is concerned in any contract entered into with

a board of guardians is disqualified for being a member of such board.

Repairs to H.M.S. "Melampus."

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can say why the repairs required by H.M.S. "Melampus" are not to be carried out at Haulbowline Dockyard in view of the fact that she is at present at Queenstown.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) No decision has yet been reached as to the extent of the repairs required. If they are found to be of the usual character provided for in her annual refit they will be carried out at Haulbowline.

Annual Leave of Adult Night Messengers in Provincial Post Offices.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the adult messengers in Belfast, Dundee, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and Manchester, who perform a full night's duty only receive twelve working days annual leave, and the unestablished officers on full day duty in the offices named receive fourteen working days; and whether, considering the effect of constant night duty on health, he would consider the advisability of granting to the adult night messengers the same annual leave as those on day duty.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am not aware of the circumstances to which the hon. Member refers, but I will make inquiry on the subject, and will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Russian Treatment of War Correspondents using Wireless Telegraphy.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has received any communication from the Russian Government as to the possible treatment of neutral vessels having on board correspondents who may, by means of improved apparatus, communicate news to the Japanese fleet or army now operating against Russia, and of its intention to treat such correspondents as spies; and, if so, will he lay the com-

munication upon the Table or state its purport.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The Russian circular to the Powers to which reference is made was communicated to His Majesty's Government on the 15th instant, and is now under consideration. It is to the following effect: The Russian Viceroy in the Far East has declared that if neutral steamships are seized off the coast of the Kwantung Peninsula or within the zone of military operations of the Russian naval forces having on board correspondents who are communicating information to the enemy by means of improved apparatus not contemplated in the Conventions dealing with such matters, the cases of such correspondents will be treated as cases of spying, and the vessels fitted with wireless telegraphy will be considered as lawful prizes.

Cost of Rifle Manufacture in Government Factories.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether in calculating the cost of rifles made in the Government factories interest on cost of land and buildings, cost of making and alteration of machinery and plant, rates, taxes, heating, lighting, and other fixed charges are taken into account.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The cost prices of rifles and other productions of the Ordnance Factories, as shown in the published accounts, include cost of making and alteration of machinery and plant, buildings, rates and taxes, heating, lighting, and all other expenditure of every kind actually incurred by the War Department in connection with manufacture, as provided in the Annual Estimate for the Ordnance Factories. They do not include rent of land, interest on capital, or other trade charges and risks, because such charges are not incurred. An independent Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Webb, then head of Crewe Works, recently considered this point and recommended that such charges should not be included, but that a note to that effect should be printed with the annual accounts of the

Ordinance Factories. This note will be found at page 1 of these accounts for 1902-3 recently published. The subject was also brought to the notice of the Public Accounts Committee of 1902.

Anglo-French Agreement — Establishments to be given up in Newfoundland by the French.

Mr. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can indicate approximately the nature and number or extent of the establishments erected on the Treaty Shore of Newfoundland which are to be given up by French subjects.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) During the season of 1903 the following establishments were worked by French citizens on the Treaty Shore of Newfoundland:—One for the cod fishery exclusively, catch 360,000 fish. Three for the cod fishery and lobster industry combined, total catch 185,000 cod and 2,530 cases of lobster. Nine for the lobster industry exclusively, total catch 1,842 cases. Four in connection with the operations of the *petits pecheurs*, total catch 140,000 fish.

Discharges from South African Constabulary.

Mr. MOON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will take steps to expedite the forwarding to this country of the discharges of men who, having completed their term of service with the South African Constabulary so far back as the month of February, are, in the absence of such discharge, precluded from obtaining certain appointments; and whether he can expedite the refunding to such men of sums of £10 deposited by them in reference to leave which expired simultaneously with their period of service.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I am calling the attention of Lord Milner to the matter. I understand that directions have been given for the refund of the £10 deposited and that lists of those who are entitled to the return of the money are on the way.

Chinese Labour Ordinance and Regulations.

Mr. MOON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can

indicate the date when he expects to be able to lay upon the Table of the House, in its final form, the Ordinance relating to Chinese labour in the Transvaal, and when he expects to be able to do the same with regard to the regulations thereunder, as settled in consultation with the representatives of the Chinese Government.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) The text of the Ordinance in its final form is in C.J. 1941. The Ordinance, as published in the *Gazette* with Lord Milner's assent appended, will be laid with the regulations shortly, but I cannot fix a date, as the negotiations with the Chinese Government are not yet wholly concluded.

Mr. Danyasz's Virus for Destruction of Rats.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will state the results of the use of Dr. Danyasz's virus for the destruction of rats as applied in Cape Town in the year 1901; and, if the results were satisfactory, whether he will order the same means to be used to destroy rats at the other South African ports affected by plague, and in the Transvaal.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I understand that the results of the use at Cape Town of Danyasz's virus did not afford grounds for supposing that it was efficacious in the extermination of rats on a large scale. The means to be used to destroy rats at British South African ports are a matter for the Governments of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal. In the case of the Transvaal, I see no reason to interfere with the discretion of the local government and its medical advisers, in whose competence to deal with the plague epidemic Lord Milner has full confidence.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

New Army Journal.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is intended that the projected Army Journal of the British Empire

shall contain advertisements; and whether he is aware of the objection of the publishers of existing journals to the farming out of Government publications to contractors for advertisements in competition with journals which have not the advantage of such official connection.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): It has been decided that the Army Journal shall contain advertisements which will be duly approved and limited in number. This is done in the case of other similar Government publications, such as the Journals of the Board of Trade and Board of Agriculture.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake that no action shall be taken until the House has had an opportunity of discussing the matter?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir, the paper will go forward.

Colonial Legislatures and Preference.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the resolution lately passed by the New Brunswick Legislature in favour of preferential relations has been communicated to this Government; and whether he will have laid upon the Table the text of all resolutions in favour of preferential relations passed by Colonial Legislatures since 1890.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): No such resolution has reached me. I shall be prepared to lay the Papers for which the hon. Member asks, but it will take some time to collect them.

***MAJOR SEELY** (Isle of Wight): And will the right hon. Gentleman also lay on the Table the resolutions passed by the Governments of the Colonies in opposition to some other proposals?

MR. LYTTTELTON: There are none such.

British Indian Tradesmen in East London.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that the Town Council of East London has notified to the British Indian tradespeople and storekeepers to vacate the town in fourteen days, and if he will state for what reasons this arbitrary order has been issued; and whether, in view of the loss which the execution of this order will inflict upon a large number of British Indian subjects engaged in trade in East London, he intends to send out instructions to the local authorities to prevent it being put into force.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I have telegraphed to the Governor of the Cape Colony for information on the subject.

Indian Excise Legislation.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any recent instructions have been issued to the provincial administrations by the Government of India with reference to Excise legislation; and whether he will state what is the present attitude of the Government of India with regard to the consideration of amendments in the Bengal Excise Bill directed to secure some practicable measure of local control in respect to the opening of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The Bengal Legislative Council have re-committed the Excise Bill to the Select Committee with instructions to consider the expediency of inserting provisions for securing the due ascertainment of local public opinion before new liquor or drug shops are opened, to the extent indicated in paragraph 103 of the Government of India's despatch of 4th February, 1890. I have no reason to suppose that the Government of India's attitude towards any specific proposals which may result from this reference will be other than that which may be inferred from the

contents of the above-mentioned despatch.

Indian Police Commission's Report.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can now state when he will be able to lay the Report of the Indian Police Commission before Parliament, in view of the fact that a summary of this Report was published in the Press on the 5th instant.

MR. BRODRICK: I am not aware how the substance of the article referred to reached the journal in which it appears, but, as I stated on 16th February, I regret I cannot lay the Report till I receive the opinion of the Government of India.

Exchequer Balances.

* **MR. McCRAE** (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state the amount of the Exchequer Balances as at 1st April, 1899, and as at 1st April, 1904, respectively, the amounts raised by loan and received from the Transvaal and Orange River Colony included in the balances for each financial year from 1900 to 1904, also the amounts taken from Exchequer Balances in each year during the same period on account of war expenditure.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Balance on 31st March, 1899, was £8,919,000. In the next five years: 1. It was strengthened by (a) Borrowings, £154,371,000. (b) Repayments in respect of Sardinian Loan, £285,000. (c) Temporary advance repaid by Transvaal, £3,000,000. Total, £157,656,000. 2. It was depleted by (a) Issue of part of old Sinking Funds of 1895-6 and 1896-7, represented by Surplus Revenue £1,862,000. (b) Net advance on account of bullion, £450,000. (c) Expenditure in excess of revenue, £157,961,000. (d) Advances on capital account unreplaced, £2,000,000. (e) Discount on issue of Exchequer Bonds, £38,000. Total, £162,311,000. Decrease £4,655,000. Balance on 31st March, 1904, £4,264,000. If the hon. Gentleman requires any further information I shall be glad if he will put it down in the form

of a Return as this is a matter hardly suited for treatment by way of Question and answer. I doubt, indeed, if anyone can follow the answer I have just given.

* **MR. McCRAE:** Arising out of the answer which is quite clear, I should like to ask whether it is not the case that the balance of borrowed money in the Exchequer Balances and the £3,000,000 on the Transvaal loan were applied to meet the realised deficit of last year; and whether the £1,000,000 which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take from unclaimed dividends will not really be applied to the prospective strengthening of the balances.

* **MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN:** The £1,000,000 which I propose to take will be applied to the strengthening of the balances. That is the whole object with which I take it. With regard to the first part of the Question, I do not quite understand the right hon. Gentleman's meaning. Perhaps he will put the Question on the Paper.

National Borrowings.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state the total amount borrowed by this country during the period of five years ending 5th April, 1904, the amount of this borrowing incurred on accounts other than the South African War, and the total amount of debt repaid or redeemed during the same period.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The figures for which the hon. Member asks were given in the Budget Statement.

Boy Copyists in the Post Office.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether it is his intention to increase to a great extent the employment of boy copyists in the clerical departments of the Post Office, both in London and the provinces; and whether it is intended to exclude telegraphists from the engineering department in order to utilise the services of copyists.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): No abnormal increase in the number of

boy clerks employed in the Post Office is intended. In regard to the second part of the Question I have nothing to add to the answer which was given to a Question on the same subject by the hon. Member for West Nottingham on the 25th February last† except that there is no intention of excluding telegraphists.

Refusals to Renew Licences.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is now in a position to give the number of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, the renewal of which has been refused at the general annual licensing meetings, in England and Wales, upon the ground that they were not required, for 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901, and 1902.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT** (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): Returns have been published for all except three of the years named, and also for 1900 and 1903. For the three years omitted, viz., 1899, 1901, and 1902, I cannot give the figures without calling for Returns and I adhere to the opinion I have expressed already more than once that there is no sufficient reason for going back and making this Return absolutely annual. I think the general purport of the figures can be gathered sufficiently from the Returns which have been given.

Training of Pupil Teachers.

MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the charge for the training of pupil teachers by a local authority should fall upon the elementary or the secondary school account, and if upon the latter, then can he state who will be responsible for the number of pupil teachers engaged, and for the training of such teachers in urban districts and non-county boroughs having powers with regard to elementary education alone.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board of Education are advised that

expenditure incurred in educating pupil teachers should fall within expenditure under Part II. of the Education Act, 1902. I am not aware of any urban district or non-county borough in England or Wales which has powers under the Act with regard to elementary education alone.

MR. ERNEST GRAY: Does the hon. Gentleman mean that in urban districts and non-county boroughs this charge for the training of pupil teachers must be met out of the 1d. rate for secondary education—a rate not originating under the Education Act, 1902, and, if so, will he state how these charges are to be met when the produce of this rate is exhausted.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: All I can say in answer to this Question is that these charges must be met out of money provided for the purposes of secondary education.

Pupil Teachers.

MR. ERNEST GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that certain local education authorities are proposing to require that pupil teachers shall continue to serve as assistant teachers within the same district for a number of years after the expiration of their engagement as pupil teacher, or if the pupil teacher enters a training college then to serve within the district for a period of years after leaving college, or in default of such service to refund the cost of training; and, if so, whether, having regard to the interests of education, the Board will refuse to recognise the employment of pupil teachers in schools where such conditions are imposed.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The proposals referred to in the Question have not come before the Board of Education. They represent apparently an attempt on the part of a local education authority to secure a return for the money which they expend on the training of pupil teachers and teachers by securing a local supply. I am not prepared to state what the action of the Board will be in a matter which has not yet come up for

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxx., 966.

decision, and which may present itself under varying conditions in different local areas.

Companies' Act and the Franchise.

MR. ERNEST GRAY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether owing to the increasing number of ratepayers deprived of the franchise by reason of the limitations imposed by the Companies' Act, he will consider the desirability of introducing an amending Act, so that the owners of heavily-taxed property may obtain representation in the management of local affairs.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): I could not promise that the Government will introduce legislation on this subject. I observe, however, that my hon. friend the Member for South Islington has a Bill to deal with it, and I will give consideration to the proposed alteration in the law in connection with that measure.

Technical Education at Tulliallan and Culross.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the parishes of Tulliallan and Culross (landward), which were disjoined from the county of Perth and added to the county of Fife in the year 1888, have never participated in the grant for technical education given to either the county of Perth or the county of Fife; and, if so, will he state what steps he proposes to take to enable the young people and teachers of these parishes to attend the county councils' classes for technical education.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): The valuation of the two parishes in question has been taken into account in determining the amount of grant under the Act of 1890 paid to the county of Perth. The application of the grant to the purposes of technical education in those two parishes is a matter for arrangement between the two county councils.

Cahirciveen River Estuary Buoys.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Congested Districts Board has offered a grant towards the erection of buoys on the Carraig a Vallaig rock and on the Ballycarberry bar in the estuary of the Cahirciveen river; whether he is aware that the Kerry County Council has not the necessary powers to carry out this improvement, and that the Irish Lights Board and the Congested Districts Board state that they have not the power; and can he state what is the authority which can carry out the work.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): This matter has been referred to the Congested Districts Board for further consideration. When a decision has been come to I will communicate with the hon. Member.

Monaghan Technical Committee and the British Flag.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Agricultural and Technical Committee for the county of Monaghan have passed a resolution that the Government grant available, or any public funds, shall not be used for an agricultural show where the British flag is hoisted; and, if so, will he state what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The resolution passed on the occasion provides that "no flag or emblem be exhibited at any show aided by the county funds that is likely to have any political significance attached to it," and further, that strict compliance with the resolution shall be a condition precedent to the renewal of a grant. The resolution does not declare that the Royal Standard, the Union Jack, or other non-Party flags shall not be exhibited. The question whether action is called for on the part of the new Department which contributes to the funds of the County Committee does not therefore arise at the present stage.

Charges against the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the acts of violence inflicted upon several persons on the 3rd and 10th instant by members of the Royal Irish Constabulary between Lisburn and Hillsborough, and to the fact that District Inspector Knox struck a person named Coburn with his stick inflicting a scalp wound, and that a young man named Hall, who had just left his father's house and is suffering from an injury to the spine, was beaten by a constable under the charge of Sergeant O'Sullivan; and, if so, will he cause investigation to be made with a view of putting a stop to such practices.

MR. WYNDHAM: The dates at which the occurrences in question took place were the 27th March and the 10th inst. Reports of these occurrences are before me and I am in consultation with the law officers on the matter.

Blaris Hurling Match.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that eighty extra police were drafted into Lisburn, county Antrim, on Sunday, 17th instant, for the purpose of preserving order at a Roman Catholic hurling match at Blaris, two miles from Lisburn; and whether, seeing that Blaris is the centre of a Protestant district in which the playing of hurling matches on Sunday offends the religious feelings of the inhabitants, he will take steps to prevent the holding of these meetings at such places in future, and state on what district, if any, the cost of the extra police above mentioned will be levied.

MR. WYNDHAM: Sixty additional police were on duty at Lisburn on the date mentioned. The second Question raises an important consideration of law upon which I am consulting my right hon. friend the Attorney-General. Whether a claim will or should be made in respect of the cost of the additional police will be considered at a later stage.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): As this is a Presbyterian district, the inhabitants of which have no sympathy with the promoters of these matches, may we take it that they will not have to pay the extra police tax.

MR. WYNDHAM: That point is one I am going to consider.

Police Testimonials.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Constable Dolan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, has been soliciting subscriptions from traders and others in Fermoy for a testimonial to Sergeant Dalton recently transferred to Cork; whether this proceeding is in conformity with the police regulations; and if he would consider the desirability of forbidding police constables making public collections on behalf of testimonials for members of the force.

MR. WYNDHAM: The testimonial is the spontaneous act of the townspeople of Fermoy. Neither Constable Dolan nor any other member of the force has solicited subscriptions or otherwise assisted in the matter.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM: This is a growing practice in Ireland. Will the right hon. Gentleman make further inquiries? It is really nothing less than levying blackmail?

Income Tax—Limerick Appeal.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer is he aware that, in reply to an application for an appeal form for a refunding of income-tax, consequent on the basis of assessment on the part of the secretary of the creamery in Ballinvana, county Limerick, the surveyor of taxes of Fermoy, county Cork, on the 4th March, 1903, informed the secretary that if he forwarded a copy of his trading account for the year 1902, no form of appeal would be necessary, and that he would have an opportunity of coming before the Commissioners and stating his case; that on the account having been furnished to him, the surveyor wrote on 6th March,

1903, saying the special Commissioners would hear appeals in September, and that the case had now been listed for hearing, and that the appellant would have due notice of the time and place at which the appeal will be heard; that afterwards the secretary of the creamery got no notification of either time or place, but on further inquiry received from the surveyor a communication, dated 19th October, 1903, saying that no appeal for repayment is possible; and, if so, can he say whether he can afford any redress in this case, or will he give any instructions as to how the surveyor and his superiors are to act on it.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Some doubt appears to have arisen as to the legality of an appeal in this case, but in all the circumstances I am informed that the special Commissioners of Income-Tax will be prepared to hear an appeal during their autumn circuit in Ireland.

Bank of Ireland—Collection of Land Act Annuities.

MAJOR COATES (Lewisham): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been called to the alleged unfair preference given to the Bank of Ireland as against the other joint stock banks of Ireland, in connection with the collection of annuities payable under the Irish Land Act; and whether he will take steps to remedy this inequality of treatment.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There is no intention of giving preference to the Bank of Ireland; and in order to make this clear an amended form of receivable order, as stated by the Chief Secretary on Monday in answer to the hon. Baronet the Member for North Wexford, † is under consideration.

Roscrea Post Office.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the present post office in Roscrea has existed since 1877 without complaint; that the people of the town are opposed to the transfer of the office to a house which they consider inconvenient, on the ground that the new

office is situated between two public houses; and whether, under these circumstances, he will reconsider the proposal to remove the office to another house.

LORD STANLEY: The present post office at Roscrea is not well adapted for post office requirements and could not be made suitable except at disproportionate expense. The only evidence which has reached me of any local dissatisfaction with the proposed removal is a memorial which I have just received from the Roscrea Board of Guardians. I am not aware whether the ground of their opposition is that stated by the hon. Member, as no reason is given for the opinions expressed in memorial. On the information before me, I see no reason for reconsidering the decision; but I have asked for a further report.

Irish Telegraphists and the Royal Visit to Ireland.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether it is the intention of the Post Office authorities in London to send over to Ireland during the King's visit to that country a staff of telegraphists from England; and, if so, whether, seeing that the telegraph work in connection with that visit could be as efficiently and more economically performed by a staff drawn from the men engaged on such work in Ireland, he can see his way to take such steps as will prevent such a reflection being cast on a competent body of Irish public civil servants.

LORD STANLEY: It will be necessary on the occasion of His Majesty's visit to Ireland to supplement the telegraph staff in Ireland by staff from England. The amount of Press work in connection with the Royal visit will, as on the former occasion, be more than the Irish staff can cope with unaided. It is the invariable custom to supplement the local staff during race meetings, such as those which will take place during the King's visit, by a special staff accustomed to deal with such work.

MR. NANNETTI: What was the experience in the case of the international

† See Page 362.

motor race. Did not the Irish telegraphists do the work then without the aid of imported English telegraphists?

LORD STANLEY: I only know there were many complaints of the absolute failure to deal with the Press work, and I am taking care that that shall not occur again.

Ecclesiastical Disorders—Appointment of a Royal Commission.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is now able to make any statement to the House as to the composition of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders and as to the terms of reference thereto.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): In answer to my hon. friend I have to say that His Majesty has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission, and the reference to it is in these terms—

“To inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine service in the Church of England, and the ornaments and fittings of churches, and to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters.”

My right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol has, I am glad to say, consented to be Chairman of the Commission. The other members of the Commission are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Marquess of Northampton, the Bishop of Oxford, Sir Francis Jeune, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. J. G. Talbot, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Edward Clarke, Sir Lewis Dibdin, Dean of the Court of Arches; Dr. Gibson, vicar of Leeds; the Rev. Thomas Wortley Drury, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge; Professor Prothero, of Cambridge University, and Mr. George Harwood.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: May I ask whether an opportunity will be given to the House to discuss either the terms of reference or the composition of the Commission.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. I think such a course would be unusual,

and certainly form a most inconvenient precedent. But I think that, when my hon. friend has had time to consider the terms, he will feel that no discussion is necessary.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: I am sorry I shall be obliged to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House on the subject.

Shop Hours and Workmen's Compensation Bills.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he hopes to be able to introduce the Bill with regard to the hours of shop assistants and that dealing with the amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act which form the proposals for labour legislation based on unanimous Resolutions of the House of Commons, and prominently mentioned in the Most Gracious Speech from the Throne.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Shops Bill is ready for introduction. The Workmen's Compensation Bill awaits the conclusion of the labours of the Committee which is considering the subject.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** Is there any prospect of the Shops Bill being introduced soon.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. I hope there will be no long delay, but, as the right hon. Baronet knows, the present position of business is rather congested.

Morocco.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury are His Majesty's Government aware of any agreements respecting Morocco, made in recent years, either between France and Germany, Spain and Germany, France and Russia, or Spain and Russia; and has any understanding been come to between His Majesty's Government and Russia respecting the shores or waters of the Mediterranean, the Bosphorus, or the Dardanelles. I beg also to ask the First Lord of the Treasury are His Majesty's Government aware of the existence of an agreement between France and Spain

come to in November, 1902, whereby those two Powers agree in certain eventualities to combine their military forces; engage themselves to assure and defend the neutrality of the Moroccan provinces of Tangier and Tetuan, and of the whole Cape Spartel promontory north of a line drawn nearly along 35th parallel of latitude, from El Penon de Velez, on the Mediterranean, to Larache, on the Atlantic; establish south of that line, in Morocco, spheres of expansion and influence for France and Spain respectively; and bind the Spanish Government, on the demand of Germany, to lease to Germany a port in Morocco, on the Atlantic, which may be either Casablanca or Rabat; and were His Majesty's Government aware of the existence of an agreement to this effect before they agreed to the Anglo-French declaration relating to Morocco, of 8th April, 1904, whereby the two Governments declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Morocco.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR. We have no information leading us to believe that the agreements which my hon. friend refers to have any existence.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES : Am I to assume that no question has been addressed to Spain or to France referring to the existence of this Protocol or whether there is merely an absence of information; and whether, in the absence of information, any inquiry has been or will be addressed to those Powers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : No inquiry has been addressed by us to the Powers with regard to an instrument the existence of which we disbelieve, or, at any rate, which we have no reason to believe is in existence.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) : I have to ask the Prime Minister if he can inform the House as to the business for next week.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : Either Monday or Tuesday will be devoted to the conclusion of the debate on the Budget

Resolutions if we are not able to finish it to-morrow. I hope we shall finish it to-morrow, and I shall ask the House to allow us to suspend the Twelve O'clock Rule, not in the least with a view to having a lengthened debate, but simply with a view to putting us in the position which every Government has been in with regard to the debates on the Budget for a long series of years. The Second Reading of the Aliens Bill will be taken on one of those days.

MR. I. LOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) : Can the right hon. Gentleman say when he proposes to introduce the Bill dealing with the educational situation in Wales which Lord Onslow referred to last week.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I hope that that Bill will be introduced soon.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : What is the necessity for suspending the Twelve O'clock Rule to-morrow.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : The privilege has always been granted to every Government on the Budget, and I do not know why we should be worse off than our predecessors.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : But is it not a fact that that privilege is granted only in respect of those Resolutions which, if they are not agreed to, might result in a loss to the revenue, and whether the Resolutions which are of that character have not already been disposed of.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : The Committee has disposed of those Resolutions, and from that point of view there is no excuse for the suspension of the Twelve O'clock Rule. But if the right hon. Gentleman will inquire of my right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouth, who has spent the greatest amount of time ever spent in one session over one Budget, I think he will find that, under the Sessional Orders, the suspension is usually given to the Government for this purpose.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.) said, after an interval

of ten years, he should not like to pledge himself on the subject. But, as far as his recollection went, the suspension of the Twelve O'clock Rule was only moved in respect of the Resolutions, failure to pass which might imperil the revenue and which it was desired to pass in a hurry.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am glad of the right hon. Gentleman's interposition, as it has enabled me to consult with my colleagues and to find that I was in error. The Sessional Order enables the Government on the Report stage of the Resolutions to move to suspend the Twelve O'clock Rule, and not on the Committee stage. That being so, I shall not press the matter further.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Yerburgh and Mr. Herbert Lewis; and had appointed in substitution, Mr. Arthur Elliot and Mr. Lloyd Morgan.

Report to lie upon the Table.

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Law, etc.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 135.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 135.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 157.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. AUSTIN TAYLOR, Member for the East Toxteth Division of Liverpool, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "the composition of, and the scope of the

reference to, the Royal Commission appointed to investigate Ecclesiastical Disorders in the Church of England," but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen—

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.): As a point of order, asked whether it was possible for the hon. Member to make his Motion, inasmuch as this was an appointment by the Crown.

*MR. SPEAKER: In this as in other cases the Crown acts upon the advice of Ministers.

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, until this Evening's Sitting.

NEW BILL.

LIQUOR SELLERS' LIABILITY BILL.

"To provide for the payment of compensation by Sellers of Liquor in certain cases," presented by Sir Wilfrid Lawson; supported by Mr. T. W. Russell; to be read a second time upon Friday, 6th May, and to be printed. [Bill 158.]

LICENSING BILL.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): In asking leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Licensing Acts, 1828 to 1902, in respect to the extinction of licences and the grant of new licences, I do not desire to enter at this stage into any controversy on the general question of the licensing law. Nor do I think that I shall consult the wishes of the House if, in making an explanatory statement, I were to cumber it with controversial questions more than is necessary to bear out the arguments which I may adduce. Hon. Members on both sides of the House, I maintain, are greatly interested, and I think, equally interested, in reducing the number of licences in this country. We may have different views as to the methods under which those licences are to be reduced,

Sir William Harcourt.

but I do not think any of us think a reduction is not necessary. The total number of retail on-licences at the present moment in this country is about 100,700; that was so in 1903, according to my latest information. I should like to point out to the House that there has been a gradual reduction of licences during recent years. I see by looking at the Returns that in 1881 there were more than 106,000 licences; in 1891, 103,000; in 1901, 101,000; and during that period the population according to the census has increased in England and Wales from nearly 26,000,000 in 1891 to 32,500,000 in 1901. The ratio of licensed houses to population has also assumed a far more satisfactory figure during the same period. In 1881 there was one on-licensed house to 242 of the population, in 1891 one to 279, in 1901 one licensed house to 322 of the population, and last year on the figures that I have been able to obtain it is estimated that the proportion was reduced to one to 331. I do not know that it is necessary, beyond entering a caveat, to go into the question as to whether a large reduction in licences would lead to a corresponding reduction in intemperance, or even a large diminution in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. For my own part I am bound to confess that I have great doubts whether it would; certainly the theory that it would has not been proved by Returns. Comparing a statement made to the Royal Commission as to the ratio of licensed premises to population with a map prepared by Mr. Troup, an excellent official of my Department, showing the numbers of offences of drunkenness, it would appear that in many counties where the licences were most thickly distributed the amount of drunkenness is least, whereas in some of those where licences are most thinly distributed, such as Northumberland, Durham, and Lancashire, I am sorry to say drunkenness is most prevalent. But I do not want to labour that point, because, as I have said, we all want to see a reduction in licences. [An Hon. Member: Why?] It is obviously desirable that such a reduction should take place. I have stated it as the policy which I thought both sides of the House agreed in, and I think the chief difference between the two sides of the House is

as to the method in which that reduction should be brought about.

Last year this question assumed a very controversial aspect, principally owing to the action of certain of the brewster sessions. I have no doubt that the magistrates in those brewster sessions were actuated only by the best possible motives, but I cannot help thinking that in many of those brewster sessions they acted with great precipitancy, and without due regard to the hardships which they inflicted upon a legal and a respectable trade. The results of that action were discussed last year in a debate in this House, and a Bill was introduced by my hon. friend the Member for York. I will only allude to the figures to show that in that year a very much larger number of licences than usual was taken away by brewster sessions solely on the ground that the houses were not required in the districts in which they existed. The action of brewster sessions this year has been somewhat different. At a large number of those sessions it has been stated by the chairman that in view of legislation promised by the Government in this House they would hold their hands. But at the same time there has been a number of instances in which licensing benches have pursued the other course, and have considerably reduced the number of licences in the district for causes other than those of misconduct. I could give the House, not all the statistics, but many instances, where this policy is still pursued, but I only mention it to emphasise the fact that this question is one that it is as desirable now to settle as it was last year when my right hon. friend the Leader of the House gave a pledge that if these proceedings continued it would be desirable that some action should be taken by this House. The action of brewster sessions has in these cases been to inflict a great loss and hardship upon men who, relying at all events upon what they thought was the law, and upon a practice and a policy carried out by magistrates for generations, had invested large sums in their business. The result has been to drive out of the trade many men of good antecedents and of character, who were endowed with capital invested in their houses, and in very many cases to put in their place men of no substance and with little to

lose. I understand that that is especially so in London, where many men of substance who used to take these houses have been supplanted by foreigners with no stake in the business. My point is this, that in carrying on a trade of this character you surely ought to have men of substance and character and men who have something to lose.

What is the position of those who have invested capital in this occupation which, I maintain, is legal? They have sunk a large amount of capital, and their credit, of course, is very much impaired. It may be said that they can secure immunity by insurance. I do not think that statement can be borne out by facts. We know that it was held not only by right hon. Gentlemen on the other side, but by my friend the Member for Oxford University, who, in charging the quarter sessions in my own county last year, referred to the fact that the justices had so far declined to refuse licences because they felt they would be confiscating valuable property; but he went on to say that now, owing to the possibility of insurance, that fear might be dismissed. Unfortunately that is not the case. Licences of the character which I think it is desirable to guard—that is, licences held by persons against whom no complaint can be brought—are, I understand, now in many instances uninsurable. In proof of that I may mention that a circular was issued last year by the Law Guarantee and Trust Company in which it is stated that the action of the magistrates at the last brewster sessions had rendered a careful consideration of their future policy in regard to licence insurance necessary, and that the directors had reluctantly come to the conclusion that, owing to the risk of the compulsory extinction of licences without cause assigned, a licence should no longer be a subject of insurance. That course has been followed by other companies, and a certain class of property is therefore no longer insurable. I do not think that this question can really be in any doubt, because the hon. Member for Spen Valley last year distinctly stated that insurance as a protection against compulsory reduction was impossible. I think we shall all agree that not only in the interest of temperance reform, but quite as much in the

interest of justice and fairness to a lawful trade, it is time some solution of this difficulty should be found.

The Government have carefully considered the various methods by which this evil can be met. They are as anxious as hon. Members opposite to see a reasonable reduction of licensed houses, and they have come to the conclusion that the best method, if not the only method, for facilitating such a reduction is that in cases where licensed houses are reduced solely on the ground of excessive numbers—that is to say, licensed houses against which no complaint is made—compensation should be afforded to the holders of the licences for the loss of their property. According to the strict letter of the law no one now doubts that the licences are held for a year only; but by long custom, and by a practice of long standing, licences have been yearly renewed by the justices, and they have been renewed almost as a matter of course in all those cases where there was no misconduct on the part of the holders. On the strength of that custom large sums of money have been invested, and the security has been recognised, because death duties have been paid on the full value of those licensed houses based on an expectation reasonably held that such licences would be renewed. In framing our Bill we have based it upon two principles—first, on the principle of compensation to those whose licences have been taken away on grounds of public policy and not on the ground of misconduct, and, secondly, on the principle that the compensation should be paid by the trade. In both of these proposals we have followed the recommendations of the Royal Commission. We have further sought in the proposals we put forward to make as little change as possible in the administration of the Licensing Acts. We propose that the jurisdiction to refuse a renewal or transfer of a licence, where it is on the ground of public policy only, should be exercised solely by quarter sessions, and for this reason, that under our scheme quarter sessions will be the authority to impose contributions on the trade for the purpose of compensation, and to distribute the compensation money when it is raised. In all other respects the jurisdiction of brewster sessions will remain intact. Their power to deal with all cases of

Mr. Akers-Douglas.

misconduct and of unsuitability of premises will remain untouched. On the other hand, should a licensed house be thought to be redundant—that is, that it is not required for the needs of the district—they will hear and decide the case, and when they think the house unnecessary they will send the case to quarter sessions, together with their own report. As a special safeguard to the trade, we have provided that when licensing magistrates have refused the renewal or transfer of a licence they must specify in writing to the applicant the grounds of their refusal. Quarter sessions, in determining the case, besides having the report of the licensing justices, will give persons interested an opportunity of being heard. If quarter sessions then decide to extinguish the licence on the ground of public policy they shall do so only on the grant of compensation.

The next point we have to consider is the amount of compensation to be awarded to the licensee, and we have decided that the fair measure of compensation which ought to be afforded is the difference between the value of the licensed premises and the value of the premises without a licence. Of course that will be calculated as if the Act had not been passed. This, again, is one of the recommendations made by the majority of the Royal Commission. Should the sum awarded by quarter sessions be incapable of being settled by agreement upon that basis, the amount will be fixed by the Inland Revenue Commissioners in the same manner as they would fix the value for estate duty, and subject to a like appeal. The money will be divided among the persons interested in the licensed premises in such shares as may be settled by agreement, or, in default, determined by quarter sessions. Having settled that the licensee is to receive compensation, the next point is the amount of compensation which can be raised in one year. It is obvious that the whole of the redundant licences cannot be reduced at once, at all events without throwing an absolutely impossible burden upon the trade, who will have to pay the compensation for them. On the assumption that every quarter sessions will decide to raise in its district the

maximum amount under its powers, the amount raised in the country would be over a million a year. As to the fund itself, which I will call the insurance fund, it will be raised as regards full licences on the basis of the annual value of the licensed premises for the purpose of the publican's licence duty, and the same basis will also be applied to the beerhouses. We propose a graduated scale, under which a higher duty will be imposed upon the larger houses. At the present moment, I understand, the incidence of the duty falls with peculiar severity upon some of the smaller houses, whereas there are many larger houses and hotels which practically escape very cheaply. Under this fund, accordingly, where premises are assessed at less than £15 the contribution will be £1 a year, at less than £20 it will be £2, and so on up the scale to the limit of some £150 a year. The scale will appear in the schedule of the Bill. All those who receive will contribute. We have inserted a provision to enable quarter sessions to borrow on the security of the annual contributions. The amounts and the rules will of course be settled by a central body. I would like to point out the difficulties of administering a central fund. They are, I think, insuperable, having regard to the very different circumstances which prevail in different localities and the entirely different circumstances of many towns and cities. Quarter sessions must be the judge within their own districts. Under the Bill quarter sessions are empowered to raise contributions based on the annual value of the houses within their district. The maximum, therefore, is automatically fixed in each district. These are the main provisions of the Bill.

There are one or two other points, however, which the House might like me to state. Quarter sessions will, of course, have the power of acting through a committee. We are in some difficulty in regard to county boroughs. The appeal at present lies to the county quarter sessions, but looking at the size, the geographical area, and the importance of some of these large boroughs, such as Liverpool and Birmingham and many others, we propose that the duty of setting the compensation cases under the Bill should go to the

whole of the magistrates sitting in Committee with the Recorder.

Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham): In all the county boroughs?

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: All county boroughs. In regard to the confirmation of new licences we propose to vest the jurisdiction in quarter sessions and to confer upon them the express duty of procuring the surrender of other licences, i.e., if they should grant a new licence—although we do not want to see licences extended—it should only be done on the condition of the cession of an old licence or several old licences (a discretion which the magistrates now have and exercise), or of the payment of a lump sum or an annual payment made as a condition of the grant. In moving the introduction of the Bill I may say that I believe it is one which will go far to put an end to the controversy which now exists, and will also go very far to a fair reduction of licences, without taking away a man's property without compensation, and generally tend to promote the cause of temperance.

Mr. RITCHIE (Croydon): Will my right hon. friend say what he proposes to do in regard to the ante-1869 beer-houses?

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: They will come under the scheme. I am fully aware that it is desirable that many of these houses should be closed, more so than other houses, but, of course, it would be unfair that they should come into the scheme without some of the safeguards with which they are now invested—in other words, the property in these licences being practically a freehold, they should secure a larger measure of compensation *pro rata* than other licences which have not the same statutory rights.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Licensing Acts, 1828 to 1902, in respect to the extinction of Licences and the grant of new Licences."
—(Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne) said that there was one thing on which they were all agreed, and that

Mr. Akers-Douglas.

was in admitting the great importance of the question which the House was called upon to discuss that afternoon. Not very long ago the Prime Minister appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the drinking system of this country. It was a Commission of very diverse views. There were on it gentlemen connected with the trade; gentlemen who were strongly opposed to the trade; and gentlemen who had no opinion at all on the matter. The result was that that Commission, composed of these diverse elements, were unanimously of opinion that the drinking in this country was a gigantic evil, to alleviate which no labour should be spared. That had been the opinion for many long years before of all the great temperance reformers, who spent their money, time, and lives in trying to cure that gigantic evil. Nobody could blame them for doing so, or challenge the sincerity of their motives, though, of course, they sometimes advocated their views in a style that incurred the censure of many people. They sometimes heard that in such and such a place there had been a diminution of the cases of drunkenness brought before the Police Court. But why was that? It depended upon nothing more or less than the way in which the police acted in those districts. He remembered that the late Colonial Secretary in giving evidence before the Royal Commission said that one turn of the screw by the police would bring in ten times more cases to the Police Court. The Government had brought in this Bill, but one and all the societies in the country which were striving, night and day, to benefit their fellow men were opposed to it. The great Church of England Temperance Society and all the Bishops were dead against the policy of the Government, as developed in the Bill introduced that night. There were 2,300 petitions against it, and only ten in favour of it, and these came from the trade. That showed that there was no popular support for the policy of the Government. He knew, however, that the Government would be supported by their followers, because Party loyalty would come into play.

The object of this Bill appeared to be to check the reduction of the licences which had lately been going on. Why should the reduction be checked? It was the recommendation of the Commission, which

strongly said they were in favour of the reduction of licences. It was new to hear the right hon. Gentleman say he did not think it would do any good, but he was rather in favour of it. That seemed to him a most peculiar position to take up. The reduction of licences was a very practical suggestion, especially as there was already the machinery to carry it out. For centuries the law had recognised that this was a dangerous trade and had given power to the justices of the peace to do what they could to minimise the danger to the public. It was a most honourable commission to entrust to the justices. He did not wish to praise the justices too much, because, as Mr. Arthur Chamberlain had said recently, they were proving the friends of the wolf rather than the lamb. But they had seen what the Commission had said, and they had informed themselves as to public opinion on the matter, and they naturally felt that they must try to stop the horrors of this trade to the country, and although they commenced to act in a tentative manner they acted with force. What was the result? Directly they started the trade became alarmed. They came in a deputation to the Prime Minister. "They came, they saw, they conquered." The right hon. Gentleman received them with his usual courtesy and far more than his usual enthusiasm. Having heard the piteous cries of this distressed deputation, which said those engaged in the trade were going to lose their living and were going to the workhouse, and all the rest of it, the right hon. Gentleman said he would see them through, and do what he could to prevent them coming to harm, and his sympathy had culminated in this Bill. He would not repeat the words the right hon. Gentleman used, because he might venture to say there had not been a day pass since he uttered them when they had not been repeated either at temperance meetings, or meetings of the licensed victuallers. He had always understood that the meanest culprit in this country had a right to be heard in his own defence, but the right hon. Gentleman had condemned the magistrates without hearing them. If he might use the classic language of to-day he would venture to ask, "Did the magistrates intend to take it lying down?" Could not the right hon. Gentleman trust the magistrates? He was a magistrate

but not of the general kind. His fellow magistrates were the friends of the Government, Tories of the most pronounced description. So Tory were they that he was afraid of his life almost whenever they met together. If the right hon. Gentleman could not trust the magistrates of England to look after the licensing system and deal with the licences, whom could he trust?

This was a revolutionary measure. It was going to turn an annual leasehold into a freehold. That was its object. The effect of that was to double the value of the property. In other words the Government by this measure would take hundreds of millions out of the pockets of the people and put it into the pockets of the licensed victuallers. The *Advertiser*, the great organ of the trade, recently said that what was wanted was not compensation but protection—it was the same thing. One authority on political economy had said that all protection was robbery. What claim had these men to this money? What had they done for it? They had done their work only too well. They had filled our gaols, our workhouses, and our lunatic asylums, and they had filled their own pockets beyond the dreams of avarice. Why should they have any money? They had had the licences and had made money on them. There could only be three alternatives to the position of licence holders. First, they might have made money; second, they might have lost money; and third, they might be in the same position as when they started. If they had made money then on losing their licence they could put what they had made in their pockets and go away. If they had lost money, a benefit was conferred by taking away the licence, and as regarded the third class no harm could be done to them if the licences were cancelled. If the principle of this Bill were once accepted, and there was to be a claim for money compensation by the man who was not to get his licence renewed, then the country would immediately have the whole of the licensed victuallers, like "the old man of the sea," upon its shoulders, and the burden would never be removed. He had read of a Roman Emperor who said he found Rome stone, and left it marble. What would be said of a Government who could boast that they found England drunken, and

left it sober? This Government went wholly the other way, and instead of attempting to alleviate the position did what in it lay to stereotype the miseries and horrors of this trade upon the country.

MR. GRETTON (Derbyshire, S.) said it was not to be expected that the Bill would receive the support of the hon. Member opposite who had made one of those speeches they had so often heard with pleasure and amusement. The real question was not so much the extreme views of the temperance leaders, but whether an effort should be made to settle the question of compensation on reasonable lines which less violent and moderate men would support. The Bill had one valuable principle—it recognised the principle of compensation, and it provided a fund which was to be at the command of magistrates at quarter sessions to compensate those licence holders from whom licences were taken away on public grounds. But while he thanked the Government for the introduction of this principle it was well to notice that the money would be taken out of the licence holder's own pocket to provide compensation. He proposed to reserve his opinion on these details until he saw the Bill in print. One other point he desired to mention was that the Bill failed to deal with the flagrant and scandalous injustice of packing the benches with extreme partisans of the temperance party. With the vast majority of magistrates he suggested no cause of complaint, but it was impossible for any body of men to use a wise and reasonable discretion in the administration of the law if they were animated by extreme and partisan views on the question upon which they had to adjudicate, and he regretted the Bill contained no provision for modifying that position in any way. He admitted that the proposed reference of the cases to quarter sessions was in some degree a safeguard by which violent prejudices in certain localities might be restrained. If a division was taken, he should certainly vote for the introduction of the Bill on the ground that it affirmed the principle of compensation.

*MR. WHITTAKER (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) said it was understood that
Sir Wilfred Lawson.

the Government had had a great deal of difficulty and trouble in arriving at the Bill they were now asking leave to introduce, but he ventured to suggest that they were only at the beginning of their troubles. If the other Bills were not introduced because they were worse than the one now brought forward, they must have been bad indeed. The Home Secretary had admitted that there was no legal claim for compensation. That marked a great advance since 1888. The power of the justices and the legality of their action was admitted; there was no vested interest; if there were any right it could be enforced in a Court of law. It was said that there had been exceptional and unexpected action, that the liquor seller understood the law to be something different from what it was. That was not true. The trade had known the law for many years. The decision in "*Sharp v. Wakefield*" did not announce the state of the law to the world or to the liquor trade; it merely re-affirmed decisions going back 120 years. He had with him decisions affirming the absolute discretion of the justices given under the old law, consolidated in the Act of 1828, by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, and in 1828 by Lord Brougham, in 1870 by Mr. Justice Lush, and in 1878 by Lord Justice Cockburn. In giving his decision in the "*Sharp v. Wakefield*" case, Lord Hannen said the matter had been decided long ago; therefore it was not a new decision. To show that the trade knew the state of the law he would quote the evidence given by their own chosen representative, Mr. Joseph Stinton, Chairman of the United Towns Licensed Victuallers' Association, before a Committee of this House under the presidency of Mr. Villiers, in 1854—

"(Q.) As the law now stands the magistrates cannot declare the forfeiture of a licence unless a man has been convicted three times? (A.) Yes. (Q.) The magistrates may refuse to renew the licence? (A.) Yes, at the licensing at the end of the year. (Q.) Annually, at the licensing day, a magistrate of his own knowledge may or may not renew the licence? (A.) Exactly.

Then there was the letter written to the *Morning Advertiser* by Mr. Nash in 1883, regretting that what the trade knew had been made public—

"A still more unfortunate result of the 'Darwen' case was that it promulgated and

divulged what had been hitherto more or less a professional secret, viz., that subject to appeal the licensing magistrates could refuse to renew a licence to any and every holder of an on-licence."

Moreover, every edition of "Paterson," commencing with 1872, the recognised legal text-book on the subject, had affirmed the absolute discretion of the magistrates.

On the figures of the refusals of renewals last year the Home Secretary had absolutely no case. The number of refusals last year in the first instance was 639, of which no fewer than 331 dared not face an appeal to quarter sessions, and of the appeals lodged 139 were dismissed. So that of the cases in which appeals were lodged, only 140 or 150 lost their licences. Surely that was not an excessive number? According to the Returns, for twenty-six years since 1875 the average number of refusals in the first instance was 331 per year. Between 1875 and 1886 the average was 407. Therefore this was no new departure. The reason for the fewer refusals in recent years was that legislation had been expected. In 1896 the Government appointed a Royal Commission, and during the sittings of that Commission, and after the publication of its Report, in the expectation that legislation would be introduced, the magistrates somewhat held their hand. Then finding the Government had no serious intentions of legislating, the magistrates quite properly proceeded to take the matter into their own hands and to do their duty as they ought to have done it before. But even last year's refusals had not brought the number up to the average. For the twenty-one years before the appointment of the Royal Commission the average number of refusals in the first instance was 331; for the four years after the Royal Commission it fell to 187 per annum, or for the five years including the larger number last year the average was only 277, or sixty per annum below the average of the twenty-one years before the Royal Commission. What, then, was all this outcry about? Where was the serious injury? The Home Secretary had dwelt on the number of licences refused because they were not required. According to the Returns for thirteen years, 1,316 renewals were refused for no other reason than that they were not required, and 1,100 more

were refused for that in conjunction with some other reason. That was an average of about 200 a year.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): Is the hon. Member including those licences which lapsed because of the premises having been pulled down?

*MR. WHITTAKER said the total he had mentioned included only those that were refused renewal. If a house was pulled down or the licence lapsed no application was made for renewal. What he had given were absolute refusals of renewals.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is the total reduction.

*MR. WHITTAKER said it was not the total reduction. The figure he had given was the number refused by the magistrates each year. Compensation was thought to be necessary in 1888 and 1890, and they were complaining of what was called a grievance then. Most hon. Members had heard of *Burdett's Official Intelligencer*. In *Burdett* was given the particulars of most of the public companies in the country, and it contained information of 380 of the principal brewery and distillery companies. The "Over Darwen" case was in 1883, and "Sharp v. Wakefield" came before the Court of Queen's Bench in 1888. Of those 380 brewery and distillery companies to which he had alluded, only fourteen existed before 1883, and thirty were formed between 1883 and 1888. Therefore all the 380 except forty-four had been put on to the public since "Sharp v. Wakefield." That meant two things. In the first place that those who were in before *Sharpe v. Wakefield* got out and got their money. The second thing meant was that those who went into these companies went into them with their eyes open, knowing what the risk was. This trade had been put on to the public steadily year by year. The amount of money added to the flotations on the Stock Exchange for brewery and distillery companies in 1891 was £4,700,000; in 1892, £2,900,000; 1893, £1,800,000; 1894, £2,500,000; 1895, £7,100,000; 1896, £10,000,000; 1897, £16,000,000;

1898, £26,000,000; 1899, £11,900,000; 1900, £9,000,000; 1901, £4,900,000; 1902, £4,700,000; and 1903, £3,000,000. That was the way the public had been let in for these licences. The trade knew they had no vested interest in those licences and the public subscribed the capital. He had read in a morning paper that not a few Members of this House were interested in this business, and they every one went in knowing what the law was and knowing what the risk was, and they had gone in for a very profitable investment.

They had heard a great deal about the war tax and the troubles of the trade. He had with him a list of 100 brewery companies, and he had got out the dividends they had paid for the last ten years. He must say that they had paid bigger dividends in recent years than ever they had paid before. There was no other trade in the country that was paying such dividends, and yet they were told that this was the broken-down and decaying industry that had to be helped out of a hole. He was aware that there were others which had paid smaller dividends, but if 100 breweries could do well it was clear that it was not the licensing magistrates or the war duties which affected the others. They suffered from bad management, over-capitalisation, and paying excessive prices for their houses.

Nalder and Collyer paid 9 per cent. in 1891, 10 per cent. in 1892-3-4, and 22½ per cent. in 1901-2-3; Oakhill Brewery Co. paid 14 per cent. in 1893, 15 per cent. in 1894, and 19 per cent. for the five years ending 1902; R. Younger, Edinburgh, paid 10 per cent. in 1897, and 15 per cent. in 1900-1901-2-3; Stretton's Derby Brewery paid 6 per cent. in 1895, and 10 per cent. in 1901-2; Strong and Co. paid 12½ per cent. in 1895, and 18½ per cent. in 1903; Strout's, Sheffield, 10 per cent. in 1895, and 20 for the four years ending 1903; Trelfall's (Liverpool) 9 per cent. in 1889, then 10 per cent. for five years, and 20 per cent. for 1900-1901-2-3.

He had 100 cases shewing an enormous increase in dividends. Therefore, it was not an industry which was being driven down to the dogs and was decaying, but

Mr. Whittaker.

it was one which was piling up wealth, and everybody in it invested his money knowing what the position was. He was aware that some public-houses had been bought at ridiculous prices but they were not responsible for that. Last year was a bad year and they had heavy war taxation. What was the effect on the stock market? The *Bankers' Magazine* gave every year quotations and prices of many representative stocks of all kinds of securities, and showed how much they had risen and fallen during the year. The *Bankers' Magazine* selected eight brewery companies representing about £11,000,000. Last year they fell on the market 1·6 per cent., whilst British Government stock fell 3·5. Therefore the brewery companies that paid the war tax had a smaller fall in their securities than the Government. Therefore the taking away of licences had not brought down the Stock Exchange value. He had seen the prospectus of the Licences Insurance Corporation, and he noticed that they were insuring more than ever. The prospectus urged that insurance was necessary "owing to the licence in which the chief value lies being an annual grant and being liable to forfeiture and non-renewal." This prospectus was issued in 1902, before the disturbance of last year. There was another sentence to which he desired to draw attention, and which put the whole question into a nutshell. It said—

"Owners, leaseholders, mortgagees, and tenants themselves stake their money on the continuity of the licence."

He called particular attention to the word "stake," because it savoured of gambling and taking a chance. That was not an investment, and they did not "stake" their money when they invested in Consols. Those gentlemen had "staked" their money, and they had received the big dividends which had been paid by the brewery companies, and because a few houses had been taken from them they went whining to the Prime Minister and to the Lord Chancellor, and those statesmen were simple enough to listen to them. Why had these brewery and distillery companies not formed a depreciation fund and a reserve fund. Some of them had already done so, and had prepared themselves for the loss

of their licences. When they held a precarious security the proper course was to put aside funds to deal with such cases. If they had not done this they were not entitled to complain when they were called upon to find a little money for depreciation in the value of their property. Behind all this there was an appeal to quarter sessions. Who were quarter sessions? If there was any body in this country which represented the Conservative proprietary and reverence for property, surely it was the magistrates of quarter sessions. Not a single licence had been taken away except with the distinct approval of quarter sessions, or else it was a hopeless case upon which they dare not take the opinion of quarter sessions. The Majority Report of the Royal Commission stated that they regarded a large suppression of licences as essential. Nevertheless the Government did not move a peg until recently. If the number of "on" licences in England and Wales was reduced to the same number in proportion to the population as in Scotland they would have to abolish 53,000 licences in England and Wales. Every man who got a licence knew that he got it for a year, and when he sold the licence he could not sell any more than he got. It was merely a *locus standi* for a renewal, and every man who bought a licensed house bought it with that risk. They had had the profit and they wanted to evade the risk. One great objection to this Bill was that there was no reform in it. Almost every item in it was a retrograde step. It was a measure which would block the way to local popular control of every kind. Compensation was to come from the locality as a permanent and perpetual arrangement. They never could get rid of the lot by that means. Who was to buy out the last one? It was absolutely impossible. It was giving a freehold and enhancing the value of the business enormously. A compulsory mutual assurance scheme was possible, but the power and discretion of the justices and the people must not only be maintained but must be increased rather than diminished. Something had been said about the exchange of licences. He would not go into that, except to say that it would extend and aggravate the

monopoly that now existed. If licences were to be given on the principle of exchange the present brewers were to be the only people who would get into this trade. It was a gross injustice to the neighbourhood concerned. If a new neighbourhood was to have a licence it ought to have it irrespective of any other consideration. If a public-house was to be given up it ought to be shut up whether there was another to be opened or not. This proposal meant that valueless licences would be kept alive simply in order that they might be exchanged. It was proposed to give power to quarter sessions.

The evidence given before the Royal Commission showed all through that the powers of quarter sessions were like a mill-stone hanging round the neck of the licensing justices in this country. For seventy years the policy of this House had been to give greater power to the justices of the peace and to restrict the facilities for selling liquor. Every Committee and every Commission that had sat had recommended that more power should be given to the people and that the facilities for getting liquor should be diminished. Even the House of Lords, not the most revolutionary body, had recommended that the 1869 licenses should be put under the full control of the justices. In 1902 this Government passed a measure of reform which extended the powers of the licensing justices. It freed their hand by relieving them from the fear of having costs imposed upon them. What was the object of that legislation? It was to encourage them to act more freely. It gave them more power, and that itself was a testimony that they had properly exercised their powers in the past. Having given them more power and invited them to go forward the Prime Minister came forward this year at the bidding of this miserable trade to put restrictions upon the authority of the justices. The full discretion of the licensing authority was absolutely essential to the proper supervision of the liquor trade. It was this full discretion which was the keynote of their authority. There was much in connection with the management of a public-house, much in connection with the men in the house, which

could not be put in the form of a charge upon which a conviction could be got at quarter sessions. It was that authority of the justices to refuse to renew a licence on any ground they thought sufficient that gave them the most valuable control they had. Why was there this attack on the discretion of the justices? The Government had not been moved by the evils of the liquor trade; they had not been moved by the poverty, misery, and crime resulting from the drink system. The Government had played with this question long enough, and the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1896 was merely a device for staving off the evil day. When the Royal Commission reported they did not deal with it except to pass a meagre measure in 1902, which was good so far as it went, but was miserably inadequate for dealing with the question. It was the Woolwich and the Rye elections that stirred the righteous souls of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor. When they saw that their majority was in danger they were moved and it was now proposed to bring in a Bill. It was to have been the first Bill the House was to have this session, but the Government had found some difficulty in framing it. They were only moved by the reason he had stated to defend this gigantic monopoly and to entrench it more strongly in the position which it already held. It was the hangman's whip of the publican's vote that brought them to the brewers' heel. What a deplorable degradation of a great Party! He read to the House last session a quotation from the charge given by Lord Keeper Coventry to the Judges going out to the assizes. He would read it again to the Prime Minister who was not present when he read it formerly. Lord Keeper Coventry was a Prime Minister in the time of the Stuarts, and on that particular occasion he was addressing the Judges who were going out to the assizes that tried John Hampden. He said—

"The next thing that I shall mention unto you is alehouses. I account alehouses and tippling houses the greatest pests in the kingdom. I give it you in charge to take a course that none be permitted unless they are licensed. As for the licensed alehouses, let them be few and in fit places. If they be in private corners and ill places they become the den of thieves

Mr. Whittaker.

—they are the public stages of drunkenness and disorder. Let care be taken in the choice of alehouse keepers, that it be not appointed to be the livelihood of a large family. . . . In many places they (alehouses) swarm by default of the justices of the peace, that set up too many. . . . If the justices will not obey your words therein, certify their default and their names, and I assure you that they shall be discharged."

He ventured to say that was worthier language than that of the present Prime Minister when replying to the deputation that waited upon him from the liquor trade.

*MR. LLOYD WHARTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon) said that in listening to the speech of the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division he was anxious to hear some mention of the Bill, but from beginning to end, with the exception of half a sentence, he had not heard a word with regard to the measure. The Bill mainly provided for what was known as compensation. The hon. Member had said a good deal about the Royal Commission. He was a member of it and signed the Minority Report which was in favour of compensation. Of course the hon. Member was entitled to change his mind if he liked.

*MR. WHITTAKER: I have not changed my mind.

*MR. LLOYD WHARTON said that in that case they might reckon upon the hon. Member's vote when they went into the Lobby. The old charge against compensation was that they were going to tax the rate or taxpayers to provide compensation for the brewer. At any rate that could not be said of this Bill. They were asking the brewers to provide their own compensation. He called this a good Bill. It was good from two points of view. He believed it would provide for a more just consideration of the subject whether licences should be taken away or not than had hitherto been the case, and it would also enable justices to act who had felt the inequity of taking away a licence from a house which was well conducted in the past. They would be able under this Bill to do what no doubt they had been anxious to do, if they could have done it fairly, in the past—they

would be able to take away unnecessary licences and the compensation would come out of the pockets of the trade. That was the substance of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission. He did not propose to discuss the details, but wished to say a few words on the question of surrender. It had to be remembered that surrender and the substitution of another house need not necessarily be in the same locality. It was necessary to make that statement or hon. Members might have gone away with the idea that it must be so. He did not know what his right hon. friend might have provided with regard to that, but his idea was that under the surrender system they could get a better house for the inhabitants of the locality—they could get a better house for their entertainment, and probably they could get a larger and more airy house in which would be provided better refreshment. His hon. friend (Mr. Whittaker) would like to see the abolition of all licensed houses, but his own idea was that they ought to have an adequate number of well-conducted houses.

Then with regard to the jurisdiction of magistrates, they had had sent them for months past a variety of petitions against taking away the power of the magistrates. This Bill did not propose to take away the power of the magistrates, as a whole, but simply to substitute one body for another. He did not think that any bench of magistrates sitting in towns was the best tribunal. When he looked at the maps showing the various licensed houses, and inquired to whom this or that house belonged, and was told this house belonged to alderman so and so, and that house belonged to councillor so and so, he invariably found that those were not the houses suggested to be taken away. In his opinion, it would be better to have a tribunal some distance off. He had had the honour of sitting as chairman of a quarter sessions for twenty-three years, and hoped his services had been attended with good results. This, in his opinion, was a good Bill, and when its details came to be carefully examined they would find that it was a Bill which would have a good effect upon the whole of the country, and holding that opinion he should vote for it.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) said at the present stage of the Bill it was impossible to do more than discuss its general principles. As representing a Welsh constituency, and knowing something of the strong feeling that prevailed in Wales, than which no part of the country was keener in regard to temperance reform, he would ask under what circumstances had the Bill been introduced? Where was the mandate for it? It was evident that the mandate did not come from the supporters of the Government. There was a large and growing section of the Party opposite which would not regard these proposals with any favour. The genesis of this Bill was to be found in that remarkable deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister last year, and although the Prime Minister thought it well to give a political character to that deputation he could not regard it so in reality. Some Members of the Party opposite regarded it as an essential condition to the continuance of the Government in office. That fact made it clear what was the motive behind the Bill. But upon what ground was the measure introduced? He would not go over the striking figures that had been given to the House, showing that the grievances which this Bill was designed to remedy had not arisen unexpectedly; but taking a period of five years it appeared that the discretionary power exercised by the magistrates had been more fully exercised in the past than they were likely to be used in the immediate future. It had been pointed out that only 167 out of a total of over 100,000 licences were last year refused by the magistrates. That surely was no ground for bringing these proposals forward. For whose benefit were these proposals brought in? He would not reiterate what had been said on the point of the grievances or the machinery proposed by the Bill to remedy them, and the results that were directly or indirectly caused by this great evil, but he confidently appealed to all sections of the House to agree with him that the time had come when a very different proposal to that which had been that day submitted ought to be made with a view to doing something, not to strengthen the fortress behind the organisation, but to help forward the movement and progress of temperance reform.

It had always been acknowledged that they could not legislate against public opinion, but it had always been admitted that they could legislate behind public opinion. It would be impossible for these proposals to stand for any length of time under the existing condition of public opinion. This was not a measure of reform in any way, or one tending to promote the moral, social, or intellectual welfare of this country. Speaking as one mainly interested in Wales he could not but say that he had listened to the proposals of the Government with concern and with dismay. He was only expressing what he knew to be the opinion of his countrymen when he said they would have to resist those proposals to the very best of their ability in every possible way. If public opinion accepted such proposals as were contained in this Bill he would feel some concern with regard to the future of this country, and upon the grounds he had stated he should vote against the Bill.

*MR. TALBOT said that having listened to the speech of the hon. Baronet he had searched in vain for any contribution in settlement of this intricate question. He had also failed to derive any proposal for a settlement from the hon. Member for Spen Valley whose lines of argument ran on those of the extreme temperance party, who deserved credit for the energy they displayed in what they believed to be a righteous cause. He did not believe that when the hon. Gentleman's utterances were examined, they would be found to give any contribution to the settlement of a question which must be decided on lines of fair dealing between man and man, and which had reference not only to existing facts but to future possibilities. All hon. Gentlemen holding extreme views on this question—to which he had devoted many years of thought—should ask themselves whether it was possible, looking at the condition of things in England, to make, suddenly, a very large reduction in the number of licensed houses. The House must remember in dealing with this question that they were not only dealing with a great question of morals but with a great practical question. They had

not only to deliberate with a view to improving the morals of the people and to obtaining a better condition of things for all classes of society, but they also had to deal with the question of the supply of a considerable portion of the refreshment of the nation. When they visited other countries and crossed the Channel they did not expect to be met on the other side with vexatious restrictions upon the supply of necessary refreshment, and that expectation applied to English houses just as much as it did to foreign houses. They must remember that these licensed places were refreshment houses not only to the visitors to these shores, but to a considerable proportion of the working classes of this country. No one deplored more than himself the cases of intemperance with which they had to deal in the administration of the law. But where were the working classes to go for the refreshment they needed except to the licensed houses that existed in the towns and villages? Many unmarried working men had no homes at which they could obtain refreshment, and there was a large amount of the floating population travelling about seeking for work, for which it was necessary to have houses of refreshment where they could get ordinary provision for eating and drinking. Hon. Gentlemen opposite with strong views on the liberty of the subject should not force the doctrines of temperance down the throats of working men who could not see their way to adopt those views. These licensed houses must be recognised as part of the equipment of the country, and that being so it was the duty of Parliament not to consider how they could be suppressed, but how they could be regulated. The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Denbighshire had not pronounced any alternative scheme. He had denounced the Bill and told them that Wales as a body would be against it, but he had not said a word as to the provisions he would suggest to regulate the liquor traffic. He (Mr. Talbot) sometimes noticed a brass plate bearing the inscription, "The Society for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," and when he saw that plate the thought always crossed his mind that they might as well try to suppress eating and drinking. Any attempt to suppress

Mr. Herbert Roberts.

the liquor traffic was, in his opinion, both childish and impossible.

Turning from the impracticable view of the matter he asked the House to examine the proposals of the Home Secretary. He regarded them as an honest attempt to grapple with a very difficult question, and to settle it on reasonable and equitable lines. This was an attempt, for the first time, to reduce the number of licensed houses by Act of Parliament. It was a step in the direction of progress in this matter, and as such the hon. Baronet ought to give it beneficent recognition. Turning to the authority by which this reduction was to take place, he desired to thank hon. Gentlemen opposite for the recognition, although somewhat tardy, they had given to the merits and services of justices of the peace. He had sat in that House for many years, and had often heard hard things said about magistrates, but now he was told that these authorities must never be disturbed. The hon. Member for Northampton had often in a paper for which he was said to be responsible inserted paragraphs exposing magistrates, but if that hon. Gentleman now joined in the opinion generally expressed by hon. Members opposite, he (Mr. Talbot) was only too pleased to accept a repentant sinner when he came his way, and he was glad that the Party opposite had at last recognised the action of the magistrates in administering justice in licensing matters. The Bill of the right hon. Gentleman was admirable because it merely elevated to the quarter sessions the discretion hitherto given to the petty sessions, and it was admitted on all hands that quarter sessions represented the cream of the magistracy of the country. He claimed credit for the Bill as enacting that the power of the magistrates was not to be disturbed. He did not quite understand whether this discretion in the final dealing with the question of suppression of licences was to be entrusted to the quarter sessions sitting as such, or to the licensing committee.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): To the licensing committee.

* **MR. TALBOT** said he was glad to receive that explanation, because the Committee was the more workable body to deal with the subject. He would also ask who was to pay the compensation to the dispossessed licence-holders.

* **MR. AKERS - DOUGLAS:** Three-fourths is to come from the owners.

* **MR. TALBOT** said he thought that was a very fair suggestion. Nothing would induce the House to compensate licence-holders out of the public funds, and in this instance the dispossessed licence-holders would not be compensated out of public funds but out of funds belonging to the trade. This Bill had been unreasonably and even unintelligently denounced by certain hon. Members, but it incorporated many most important demands which had been made in the past, such as the demand for the reduction of licences, the demand for the discretion of the magistrates that should not be interfered with, and the demand for compensation should not be given out of public funds. Violent anti-liquor speeches made in that House would not settle this great question, which could only be settled on lines of common sense and fair dealing. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them on the previous day that there was a diminution in the receipts from this trade, and no one who looked around the country could doubt that all the moral and beneficent agencies which were being developed tended to the improvement of the habits of the people. This Bill was a step on the road of advancement; it was an honest attempt to grapple with the drink question, and as such he should give it his hearty support.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) asked what would be allotted to the occupier of a tied house for his displacement. In some cases the tied-house occupier was subject to leave at fourteen days notice. In others it was twenty-eight days or two or three months, but the large proportion were subject to not more than four weeks. Such an occupier had probably invested between £20 and £200 in the house. His capital depreciated every week he was connected with it, and the chances were that if he

stayed long enough he would lose every penny he had invested. How was he to be protected? He feared that the brewers—the owners of the house—would get nine-tenths of the compensation and the occupier scarcely any. If compensation was to be given there should be definite security provided by law for the occupier. The interests of the brewer would be guarded by very competent legal gentlemen, and therefore it behoved the House to make sure that the small man should have his proper share. According to present law the magistrate need give no reasons for refusing to renew a licence or grant a new one. Would they be enabled under this Bill to have the option of appearing before quarter sessions in person to give their reasons for refusing to grant or renew a licence, or would they be bound to give their reasons only in writing or do both. He would much prefer these reasons being considered by quarter sessions as a whole instead of by a committee, for it was well known a strong incentive would exist to make the *personnel* of the committee fit in with the special interests with which it had to deal. Speaking generally, it was a revolutionary measure. It would create a monopoly with much greater security and increase of power, and a great trust and a great wrong, against which the attacks of public interests would be perfectly futile and unavailing. The Bill did not commend itself to his judgment. Any interference with the discretionary power of the magistrates could not command his sympathy. He noticed that the Government dare not attack the county towns. They would have the same power as they had now. It was only the small urban and rural brewster sessions that would be humiliated in the eyes of their neighbours. The consequence was their *status* would be much lower.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby) said that a year ago he listened with great interest to, and agreed with a considerable portion of, the speech then delivered by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division, and he was much disappointed that, on the present occasion, the hon. Member should have made a speech very different in tone, and almost

Mr. Broadhurst.

in temper. It was now perfectly established that the holder of a licence had only one-year tenure, but inasmuch as the law was intended to be a terror only to evildoers he submitted that the provision as to a one-year tenancy was meant to apply only to those who did wrong. Parliament never had in contemplation the capricious withdrawal of licences from persons who had committed no offence against public order or morality. What was right 150 or 200 years ago might not be expedient or practicable to-day. The only way by which they could ensure the carrying on of this great trade—which could not be suppressed—in the manner most conducive to public morality was to get a good class of men to occupy the houses, but that was impossible unless licence holders had a *fir* tenure. Security of tenure was required in every walk of life, and respectable men could not be expected to take up this business on a one-year tenancy. As to compensation, inasmuch as the Minority Report of the Royal Commission was in favour of compensation provided by the trade, he failed to see why the Bill should be opposed by the other side. At first blush it might appear that the discretion of the magistrates would be limited by the amount of the compensation fund, but as the years came round and the number of licences decreased, values would go on increasing, and the accumulated fund for compensation would grow in a corresponding degree. If the Bill advanced the interests of true justice, and by so doing enabled magistrates to use their discretion entirely unhampered, little by little would be brought about that reduction in the number of public-houses which some people believed would do so much to promote sobriety. Personally, he did not believe the reduction in the number of public-houses would decrease drunkenness to anything like the extent some people supposed. He welcomed the Bill because it proceeded on safe and proper lines, and he hoped the Government would push it forward, being assured that it would receive the support of all level-headed people who, while anxious to promote the interests of temperance, were not desirous of inflicting injustice on the trade.

MR. OSMOND WILLIAMS (Merionethshire) said the action of the Farnham

magistrates in acting according to their local knowledge of what they considered to be the requirements of the neighbourhood had been completely upheld by the Master of the Rolls. In fact, the decision was so emphatic that the trade had accepted it as final and had not attempted to get it reversed in the House of Lords. It was in consequence of that decision the Government had started this campaign. What were the motives by which the Government had been animated? Had they been frightened by the action of the publicans at Woolwich and Rye in openly opposing Conservative candidates for the purpose of bringing the Government to heel? The course adopted by the Prime Minister in attacking magistrates for performing duties which the Master of the Rolls had pronounced to be their unquestionable function, and in effusively welcoming a deputation from the liquor trade and promising them redress for their alleged grievances, was very different from the attitude adopted by him towards the temperance people. However, it was gratifying to find that the magistrates had taken up the challenge. At a conference held last year at Derby the licensing justices determined to defend their office, and in the battle for the maintenance of the integrity of the bench Mr. Arthur Chamberlain had played an invaluable part. The speech of the Prime Minister to the brewers last year had had one good effect in that it aroused the alarm and awakened the fighting instincts of the community, and the right hon. Gentleman would probably find that his scheme for fastening the fetters of the drink trade upon the people had come too late. He hoped the Bill would be so strenuously opposed as to render impossible its passage into law.

*SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton) appealed for a calm consideration of the Bill on its merits by the public, publicans, and temperance reformers. All were asked to make concessions and to approach the Bill in a fair spirit. Was not a reduction of licensed houses effected in the way anticipated by the Home Secretary, without leaving behind it a rankling sense of injustice, to be preferred to a more searching and sweeping measure which would

tend to outrage the sense of fairness which Englishmen were very jealous to maintain, and lay temperance reformers open to the charge of being deaf or blind to the committal of injustice and wrong in pursuit of what was undoubtedly a very great aim? How had this been brought about? The justices to their surprise had suddenly found themselves invested with a power which they were ignorant of possessing before. They found themselves suddenly invested with this discretionary power and they were called upon to act without any very clear principle having been laid down to guide them, without any suggestion as to the number of licensed houses that was necessary, and as to what ought to be done. The result of this spasmodic and intermittent action of the magistrates, who had no clear and direct principles to act upon, had been consternation on the part of the trade and the expulsion of many respectable persons either by the action of the magistrates or from the sense of insecurity which the action of the magistrates entailed upon them. The House had now an opportunity of proceeding on a direct and clear principle. The opportunity was offered in 1888 but was wrecked by the determined action of temperance reformers. He pleaded with the House to carefully consider the present Bill and see whether they could not accept it and so advance the cause of temperance. The Bill introduced by Lord Goschen in 1888 adopted the principle of placing a tax upon whisky and allotting it to compensation, and that measure had the support of Archbishop Temple. He supported that Bill himself, but it was wrecked by the determined action of temperance reformers, who, as seemed to be the case with hon. Gentlemen opposite, were ready to wreck the Government Bill but were not prepared to suggest anything else in its place. The diversion of the money raised under a previous Bill to another purpose had left a strong sense of injustice, and the House ought to show those affected some consideration. Now they were being asked to pay a further sum. Naturally they would have preferred that the money should have been restored to its original purpose, but no Government and no House of Commons would go back upon what

had been done, and certainly no House of Commons would ever sanction the voting of money directly from the taxes for compensation. An opportunity was now offered to the House of accepting a guarantee against confiscation, and he hoped it would commend itself to the House. As regarded the constitution of the Licensing Court he would have liked to have seen the recommendations of the Royal Commission carried out. He thought it was a very great advantage in county boroughs that the appeal should be to their own quarter sessions. The bringing in of the beerhouses of 1869 would be a step which had been long advocated, and which he thought would be welcomed on both sides of the House. In the course of his Parliamentary career he had seen so many steps in advance checked by temperance reformers wanting more, that he hoped the present opportunity would not be lost through a similar cause.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, in introducing this Bill, in the most amiable and conciliatory manner said that he was not going to make a controversial speech. This is about the most controversial measure that could possibly have been brought in, and it is not very likely that we shall get very far before we discover how keenly Members are strung on either side of the question. I at once say that I cannot promise anything but the most strenuous opposition to this Bill at every stage. On that part of the temperance and licensing question which affects the power of magistrates to review licences, there are three things upon which we on this side of the House insist. We insist that there shall be no tampering with or modification of the discretion of the local magistrates; we insist that there shall be nothing done which shall assign anything in the nature of a vested interest or right to the licensee; and I think the third cardinal principle that we contend for is that, if anything by way of consideration—or compensation, if you call it so—is given to those licensees who are dispossessed as superfluous that shall not come directly or indirectly out of public funds.

Sir John Kennaway.

I test this Bill on these points. We say that the discretion of the local magistrates ought not to be interfered with or modified. But it is abolished by this Bill. The local magistrate, the man on the spot, the man who knows all about it, who lives in the locality, is acquainted with its requirements, and is conversant with the feeling of the inhabitants, is to be practically set aside, except that he may perhaps send a written memorial to the superior court, and the estimable gentleman from another part of the world, who has no knowledge whatever of the circumstances, will be entrusted with this essential part of the magisterial control of the publican. Is the power of granting licences to be dealt with in the same way? We are not told. Is it only to be the renewal of licences that is to be taken from the local magistrates and handed over to quarter sessions, or is he granting of the original licence also to be taken away? I can quote a very high authority—the one hangs upon the other. I am not going to enter upon a subject on which I am little qualified to enter—legal questions and judicial decisions on fine points of law. But I have made myself acquainted with them, and, in the course of that exploration, I have come upon a decision of an eminent Judge, which I think is worth reading to the House for more reasons than one. Firstly, I think it will interest the House, and, in the second place, it was the judgment of a most illustrious member of the present Government—I mean the Lord Chancellor. As we should expect from him it is full of shrewd common sense. In giving judgment in that celebrated case of "*Sharp v. Wakefield*" he said. —

"It is not denied that for the purpose of the original grant it is within the power and even the duty of magistrates to consider the wants of the neighbourhood with reference both to its population, means of inspection, and so forth. If this is the original jurisdiction what sense or reason could there be in making these topics irrelevant to any future grant? It surely must have been in the contemplation of the Legislature that the circumstances of a neighbourhood might change and population might diminish or increase. Would it be argued that, if the population had very much increased at some period where by reason of its previous want of population no such public accommodation had been hitherto granted, no licence should be granted, because this additional grant might to some extent interfere with the

practical monopoly enjoyed by the person already licensed? This, of course, could not be argued, since it is a well understood practice to do this very thing. But can anything be more unreasonable than the suggestion that the Legislature had given the discretion in one direction and withheld it in the other."

The Lord Chancellor, it seems, not only finds that it is the fact that the magistrates have this power of refusing renewal, but he says that it would be ridiculous to suppose that they should not. I invert the argument, and ask how can you separate the granting and the renewal of licences? Are you going to hand over the granting of licences to this distant and ignorant body, dispassionate because of their distance and their ignorance? [AN HON. MEMBER: They have it now.] They have now the power of superseding others, and a very great abuse it has been in many cases. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will make that clear. But this transfer of the power of refusing to renew licences to a distant body is enough of itself to condemn the Bill. This, as I have said, is not tampering with, it is not whittling away, the discretion of the magistrates. It is actually taking away from the local magistrate his power altogether. Now, how have these magistrates behaved? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister seems to have imagined last summer that they were a body full of predatory proclivities and fanatical impulses who were making victims of the poor publican, and in the greater activity they have shown in recent years in this matter, urged to it by public sentiment and the necessities of the case, we hear them spoken of as if they had been stung by some gadfly and ran amuck down the street marking out this house and that house for destruction according as the wind led them. Let any one read the account of what happened, for instance, in Liverpool. The scrupulous and ridiculous pains which the magistrates took, personally going in small committees to investigate every hole and corner of the premises in the locality for themselves, spending a great deal of time and money, and taking pains of all sorts in transacting this necessary part of their duty. What was the result? The figures show that when they took one area in one year,

and dealt with it in this laborious and scrupulous way, they took another area next year, and the vast majority of the refusals which they decided upon were confirmed by the quarter sessions when they came before them. Therefore, there was no reckless action on the part of these magistrates. Why, then, should they not be trusted? How are you going to deal under your new system with these congested drink areas, which are the greatest curse, the greatest sources of degradation and of loss to the community that we have? They exist in all the great towns, and in some small districts as well. This Bill seems to me to consign those districts to the powers of evil, because it takes away the authority of those who were most likely to be actuated by a desire to improve the immediate locality. That is my principal reason, quite enough in itself, for declining to support this Bill.

Now I come to the question of compensation. There is directly, certainly, no grant of public money; no suggestion has been made such as we have seen in the newspapers and elsewhere that some little tax should be laid on, or some special addition put on the licence duty, and that then that should be given on condition that it was used for this purpose, and that it was not public money. Why, it is as if you put a shilling on the sill of a window and told a man it was there, and that then you should say that you were not giving him a shilling. The Government, exercising a wise discretion, avoid doing that. It would have been as objectionable as if the money had been voted directly for the purpose by the House. I want to know, is there any time limit in the proposals. Is there any time limit here, and does it apply to existing licences only, or is every new licence that is to be given for all time to come into this arrangement as to the levy and as to compensation? Because, if so, it seems to create a sort of perennial property. We must remember that nine-tenths of these cases are public-houses belonging to brewing firms, and that is an impediment which has always seemed to me a forcible one in the way of any compensation with public money at all events. You might be compensating brewing firms for shutting

up public-houses by which they were making a loss every year. You would have to make inquiries into possibly not very reconcilable statistics and books, or you would lose yourself altogether.

The Government, I suppose, think they have got the means of dealing with these matters by this mechanical system that they have described. Still, I do not know that they have. They certainly have not been able to avoid introducing the State into the matter. In my opinion, there is no reason why this great wealthy trade should not provide proper consideration for any members of it that it chooses. It has plenty of funds and is splendidly organised. Politically, the whole trade acts as one man. It has almost become a new estate of the realm and its influence is shown in the effect it has had upon the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Why should the State meddle in this matter at all? Is this great conglomeration of wealthy businesses which we know by "the trade" so mean and so poor that it cannot provide for any poor man who has invested his money, stupidly perhaps, and finds the risk uninsurable? And is its capacity unequal to adjusting within itself the different interests that are involved in this question of compensation? Why should the State be brought in? The moment the State is brought in we become parties to the whole arrangement. I have always said that there was no objection whatever to compensation, if it was done by the trade, through the trade, for the trade, and administered by the trade; but here you go further, and we have an Act of Parliament, and we have the authority of Parliament, and we have a system of controlling it and governing it, and I say that it is a mistake to make the public and the State parties to the matter at all. Are we so sure that we are not dealing with public money? This levy is to be laid upon the licensed houses, and in addition, I suppose, to the duty which they pay. Well, a great many of us are under the impression that they could pay a very much higher duty and have some large margin of profit after all. I think that is a very general opinion. Is this to be to the prejudice of our prospect of getting some money for the State. That is a point on which we

ought to be reassured. Why should we be casting about for some unfortunate income-tax payer or tea drinker to fill up the deficiencies of the Budget of this year, when we have here a large available source of income to be used for that purpose. Do not let us pay away in anticipation a considerable part of that source of income, and therefore prejudice our own claim to it when the time comes.

Another observation I have to make is, that in all this there is no guarantee whatever for a reduction of licences; there is no guarantee whatever for any real reform of drinking habits. It is an arrangement for the benefit of the trade, and for the benefit of the trade alone. I do not want to do anything to injure the trade—[MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh"]—nothing unfair I mean. On the other hand, I do not see why we should be all on our knees before the trade, asking what they would be pleased to accept in order to enable us to do the things that we are told by our Royal Commission to do, and which we can see with our own eyes are necessary for the improvement and well-being of our own people. These are the reasons why I, for my part, and all those who act with me, will give this Bill our most strenuous opposition. We regard it as a timid concession for Party purposes to this great and powerful trade, and we regard its provisions, so far as we can yet understand them—because they are rather complicated—but in the main we regard them as invalidating the means which we already enjoy as far as they go, and which ought to be largely increased, for suppressing one of the greatest evils which afflict our country.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will not take up the challenge thrown out by the right hon. Gentleman in the last sentence of his speech. The amiable suggestion of the meanest motives on the part of the Government and those who support the Government is evidently exactly suited to the taste of his followers, if I may judge from the cheers with which he was received, but it requires no comment from me on the present occasion. I will return good for evil, and I will say that the right hon. Gentleman has done what I do not think anyone else on that side has done so far as my observation

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

this afternoon has gone. He really has tried to make a speech which is relevant to the Bill. I do not think he has wholly succeeded, but, at all events, he has tried. The hon. Baronet who began the debate on the other side, and the hon. Member for Spen Valley, who speaks with all the authority of one who represents a great temperance organisation, have not attempted to deal with the Bill at all. Judging from the manner of their speeches they came down with their criticisms ready made on some scheme which they expected to hear and which they did not hear. In this I admit they have a great deal of Episcopal example and sanction behind them. But what we may forgive in a Bishop I think inexpedient in a debate in this House. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down told us there were three reasons which induced him to oppose this measure even at this early stage of our proceedings, and, before he has seen the Bill in print, to promise undying hostility to it at every one of its stages. What are these three reasons? The first reason is that we interfere with the discretion of the magistrates, and, as he said afterwards, by magistrates he means the local magistrates—the brewster sessions. By the way, if I remember rightly, he supported a Bill in which the whole power was taken away from the local magistrates.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN. In that Bill the magistrates would not have been the local authority. I support the local authority, as the local authority; not because they are magistrates.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The word magistrate has figured largely in the debate. The phrase “local authority” comes into it for the first time on the interpretation of the right hon. Gentleman. I understand him to object now, at any rate, to any interference with the discretion of the local magistrates because, he says, they are on the spot, they know all the circumstances of the case, and ought to have an unfettered discretion in dealing with public-houses, and in that discretion you ought not to interfere. I complimented the right hon. Gentleman just now on having,

under the difficulties of a First Reading debate, tried to understand the Bill, but he has not taken the trouble to get up the existing licensing law, which this Bill is to amend, because if he had done so he would have known that the discretion of the local magistrates is not unfettered under the existing system, but that, on the contrary, those people who alone ought to have an appeal against their decision have an appeal to the quarter sessions which the right hon. Gentleman thinks are unfitted to administer our Bill. The right hon. Gentleman desires the *status quo*. The *status quo* is that there are brewster sessions with an appeal to quarter sessions. With the quarter sessions lies the ultimate decision. Well, we retain to the quarter sessions the ultimate decision, and I am utterly unable to understand how he can feel a rooted objection to a change which leaves everything in its present state.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Would the right hon. Gentleman abolish the Judges because we have got a House of Lords?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I want to follow the method of the right hon. Gentleman. I was not aware that the Judges of His Majesty's High Court had that local acquaintance with crime which would put them in a parallel position as regards the administration of justice in which he thinks the brewster sessions are with regard to the administration of licensing law. The right hon. Gentleman says his reason for opposing every stage of the Bill is that the quarter sessions are the final authority, while they, as a matter of fact, are the final authority at the present moment. The right hon. Gentleman asked me a Question as to new licences. He seemed to think that some dreadful change was being made that would greatly facilitate the granting of these licences. The right hon. Gentleman is totally mistaken. There is no change as regards the granting of new licences. The only difference which this Bill makes is that, when a new licence is granted by the quarter sessions or a committee of quarter sessions, they are obliged to make terms with the new licence-holder which will prevent those

enormous monopolies growing up which I think have been the greatest absurdity of our present licensing law.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : Then is the committee of the quarter sessions to grant the new licence ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : To confirm the recommendation. As the licensing committee now confirm, so the licensing committee of the quarter sessions will confirm, but it will confirm under conditions which I venture to say—I do not say they are in favour of temperance, but that they are in favour of a system less utterly irrational than the present, under which a monopoly has been allowed to grow up in this country. The condemnation of the present system is that this Parliament, in its wisdom, has created a monopoly, and has given the value of that monopoly to individuals. We think that when any new licence is granted the monopoly value should go to the public and should be added to the fund for the reduction of licences. An hon. Gentleman who sneers at that does not believe that the reduction of licences is going to have any effect on drunkenness. He only values the reduction of licences when taken away without compensation. We do not take that view, and we think one of the great reforms of this Bill is that it will in future prevent the growth of a monopoly value which, as you have allowed it to grow up, you cannot take away without compensation in our opinion, but which surely our ancestors would have been wise never to have allowed to grow up and which we ought to do our best to prevent growing up in the future. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that anything done in the way of compensation for licences must be done out of funds provided by the trade. I confess I do not know where the right hon. Gentleman and his friends are about compensation. They assented to the Local Veto Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, which permitted the unlimited spoliation of the publican. On the other hand, the hon. Member for Spen Valley thinks, or did think when he signed the Report of the Commission, that compensation should be granted, and I would

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

almost guess from what fell from the hon. Gentleman that he had abandoned the full heresy of the right hon. Member for West Monmouthshire, and that he now thinks that some compensation should be granted—I am not sure—provided it is done out of the brewers' funds. I have no right to insist upon knowing what their view is about compensation ; but it would greatly help me in the course of my argument if I knew.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : That would not induce me to do it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I admire the wisdom of the right hon. Gentleman. All we know about his opinion is that at one time he was responsible as Cabinet Minister for a Bill which refused any kind of compensation to the publican and that he now refuses to say whether he has or has not abandoned that position. We do not take that view. I really should like to ask serious men among the opponents of this Bill—I will not say honest men, because I am convinced of the absolute honesty of even the most extreme and fanatical holders of what are wrongly described as temperance opinions—whether they have considered the methods by which they propose to treat those who carry on what is undoubtedly a legitimate, and, as I consider, a necessary trade, necessary in the sense that no community will consent to do without it, if in no other sense. A practice has been allowed to grow up, and I do not think the law prevents it, by which consideration can be, and is, constantly parted with by these people for value received. These people may be compelled under the existing law to spend large sums of money upon their premises. These people, if their houses happen to stand in the way of street improvements, are compensated under the Lands Clauses Act, as if they were copyholders, for the full amount of their premises. These people are rated, these people are taxed. Every incident and every burden of property is theirs except reasonable security. By reasonable security I do not, of course, mean freehold. The hon. Member for the Spen Valley talks as if we intended to give freehold value to people who have no freehold value. We intend to do nothing of the

kind, and nothing in our Bill will do it. My right hon. friend the Home Secretary told the House that the machinery by which the value of this kind of property is to be estimated is precisely the machinery which determines the amount at which it should be taxed. May I ask hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they think a man should be taxed on one value and dispossessed on another? If a licence-holder dies, his son or his widow gets his property, less the death duties, which are estimated upon a certain value which the licence is supposed to have. That is the value we attribute to it in this Bill, and how any man can say that that value is excessive, without at the same time saying that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been robbing these people ever since the passing of the death duties, I am wholly unable to understand.

I have already told the House how much I regret the folly of the legislation which has allowed these monopoly values to grow up. But they have grown up, and we have permitted money to be given for them. No one has regarded that as either improper or as illegal, and I do not believe that in any trade in this world except the trade concerned with alcoholic liquors this House would tolerate for one moment the state of insecurity in which you have deliberately desired to place these people. Before I came into the House of Commons compensation was given to Army officers who had paid money for their commissions. It was illegal to give money for commissions, but the practice of paying for them had grown up, and it was felt it would be a gross injustice to treat that which had grown up as property as if it were no property at all. That is my great complaint of the attitude of mind of the hon. Member for Spen Valley. He went through any number of precedents and read long and interesting extracts to show that from time to time persons had arisen who held the view that a man applying for the renewal of a licence is precisely in the same position as if he were applying for a new licence. I do not wish to enter into any legal or technical discussion with the hon. Gentleman, but this House has to consider broad equities outside these narrow limitations. It has always considered those broad equities in connection with

every other class of the community, and I cannot see how it is to refuse to consider them in connection with publicans and publicans alone. If you think the publican is a wild beast to be hunted down; if you think his occupation is so disreputable, so contrary to public morals, that he should be stamped out, there may be some excuse for your action. But hon. Gentlemen do not hold that view, or very few of them have courage to avow it, although I admit that an attack upon intemperance usually means a very intemperate attack upon the publican and not upon those to whom the publican ministers, who, I should have thought, were the real offenders. If the Bill only attempted, for the first time really, to give reasonable security to this trade, which is a legitimate trade, it would have strong reasons behind it. But that is only a small part of the case for this Bill, in my judgment.

I have sketched imperfectly the position of the publicans. Now consider the magistrates. Large classes of the community, from bishops downwards, seem to think that the position of the magistrates under the law as it stands is an easy, simple, and satisfactory position. For my part, I cannot imagine a more unsatisfactory position. I am glad to think that it has never been my lot to sit in brewster sessions or in quarter sessions to decide these cases. And why? Because the existing law requires the magistrates to decide between two things which are not *in pari materia*, which cannot be balanced one against the other upon any rational or logical plan. In the first place, the magistrates have to consider the interest of the public, and, in the second place, they have to consider the hardship inflicted upon the publican if he were turned out of his public-house without compensation. If you say that the magistrate ought not to consider the second point at all, that it is only the first that they ought to consider, then you are suggesting a change in magisterial duties, or in the method in which those duties are carried out, greater than has ever been suggested before in this House. Everybody knows that no quarter sessions and not very many brewster sessions have taken the view advanced by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is those few brewster sessions who

have taken this extreme and fanatical, though perfectly logical, view, who have brought the greater part of this trouble upon us. The truth is that throughout the whole country, except in those few extreme cases, the magistrates have tried to strike some kind of balance between these incomparable considerations, and, naturally, they have struck it in different ways in different districts. In some instances the hardship on the publican outweighs any view they may take as to the excess of public-houses, and in other instances the hardship inflicted upon the publican is lost sight of altogether. From that intolerable and wholly illogical position we relieve the magistrates by this Bill. It was said by the hon. Member for Camborne that the object of the Bill is to prevent the reduction of licences. I contend that the Bill, by removing the hardship attached to the reduction of licences, will greatly promote that reduction, because, for the first time, the magistrates will be able, with a fairly equal mind, to consider the question of licences entirely from the point of view of the actual wants of their district. Therefore, not only in the interest of the publicans, but in the interest of the magistrates, I earnestly commend this Bill to the House.

But there are other interests. There is the financial interest of the public at large, and as to that the Bill, as I have explained, will prevent the growing up in new districts requiring new licences of that monopoly which we have allowed to grow up throughout the country in the past. And that is why I press the merits of this Bill on the House. Then there is the interest of which hon. Gentlemen opposite profess to be the great champions, the interest of temperance. If it be true that the number of licences affects temperance, then this is a great temperance measure; but it is a great temperance measure for other reasons than those directly and immediately concerned with the mere number of licences. I do not know whether there has been any conclusive proof given as to the exact relations between the number of licences and population and the amount of drunkenness that exists in that population. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Spenn Valley said that in Scotland as compared

with England there is less than half the number of licences as compared with the population. I wish I could think that my fellow-countrymen were less given to the vice of intemperance.

MR. WHITTAKER: They spend much less per head on drink.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is much more effectual. Though I doubt whether anybody can say, after having impartially examined the question, that there is any obvious connection between the amount of drunkenness and the number of public-houses, everybody, I think, must admit that an excessive number of public-houses has two effects, both of them bad. It makes police supervision more difficult, and it drives the smaller and less well-managed public-houses, by the mere effect of over-competition, to illegitimate means of supplementing their profits. You will never get rid of the public-house from this country, and, I frankly admit it, I do not think you ought to get rid of it. What, then, should you aim at? You should aim surely at this ideal, that the public-houses which you have should be kept respectably, should be kept by respectable persons, and should be kept in a manner which will make those who frequent them obey the law and conform to the dictates of morality. A difficult ideal to attain, but one which never seems to occur to a certain class of temperance reformer. [OPPOSITION cries of "Why?"] That is not intended to be uncharitable, and if it is uncharitable I think that, when I tell hon. Gentlemen the reason for the possibly harsh judgment I pass upon them, they will see what I mean. Their one desire appears to be to render the tenure of the publican insecure. All the speeches made, all the measures proposed, have that, if not for their ultimate object, for their first subsidiary object. How can you expect the trade which you deliberately intend to make insecure to be filled by men of the character I have just endeavoured to describe? And it is because I have never seen any real effort on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to give practical effect to that ideal, nor indeed by their friends, that I was betrayed into perhaps an unduly severe estimate of their attitude towards this particular aspect of the

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

question. I think myself that the extreme temperance reformers do a very ill-service to the great and sacred cause to which they devote so much disinterested exertion by coupling temperance and injustice. Depend upon it, no great moral cause was ever helped on by associating it with anything which the common sense of mankind, as well as the practice of this Parliament, would describe as a real injustice; and then, when I am told that this Bill is to be strenuously opposed at every stage of its existence, I am reminded of similar statements made, and, I admit, fully carried out, with regard to previous efforts made by this Party, and from this side of the House, to deal with the evil of the excessive number of licences. I do not know whether temperance reformers look back with pride—[some **OPPOSITION** cheers]—or with pain to their previous efforts. That cheer precisely bears out what I was suggesting at the beginning of my speech. They may desire to diminish the number of licences—

***MR. WHITTAKER:** We have done better without your Bill than we could have done with it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. If the money which Lord Goschen intended to devote, and tried to devote, to the diminution of licences had been allowed by hon. Gentlemen opposite to be used for that purpose, the evils of which they are complaining would, I believe, almost have disappeared.

***MR. WHITTAKER:** Oh, no!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This, I understand, is to be added to the number of Bills which we have endeavoured to pass and hon. Gentlemen opposite have strenuously opposed. The Member for the Spen Valley spoke contemptuously of the temperance reform which was carried through the House by my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon two or three years ago. He called it a small and petty measure. I am not going to estimate how great a measure that was, but let the hon. Gentlemen opposite look at their own record of temperance reform. The last Bill that was carried through the House before the Bill of my right hon. friend in 1902 was that of 1872, and

the Bill of 1872 had a great deal to do, as the hon. Gentleman opposite knows perfectly well, in spreading and in rendering deeper the conviction which every licensed holder has—that the Legislature did intend him to have something more than a year to year tenure of his property. And since that Bill hon. Gentlemen opposite have not touched the question at all, unless, indeed, I am to count the Local Veto Bill of 1895, which, as we all know, was intended to sweep away wholesale the licences from any area of the country which adopted it, and to sweep them away without the smallest compensation. I know the House will believe me when I say that in our judgment this is a temperance measure. I think it was the Member for the Spen Valley who said that in every respect this was retrograde from the temperance point of view. I deny that; and I deny it absolutely. I deny it because for the first time since the Beerhouse Act of 1869—and everybody interested in this question knows that beerhouses are one of the great difficulties you have to deal with—it will be found possible to deal with these beerhouses without inflicting hardship on individuals. In the second place, it is a great temperance reform, or, at all events, a great reform, because it prevents these monopoly values growing up in any new district under new licences; and, in the third place, it will enable magistrates sitting in quarter sessions to deal with licences which their sense of justice now absolutely prevents them from touching, and will in that way, at no great length of time, I believe, in most cases at all events, really make the number of licences in existence correspond fairly with the actual needs of the various districts. And are we to be told that these things are not reforms simply because they are associated with a great benefit to the publican? We always come back to that. Temperance, enthusiasm for temperance, love of temperance, is the polite name for hatred of the publican. I do not believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite will get behind them that great body of moderate opinion, not less earnest, believe me, than they are themselves in the cause of temperance, which will not willingly permit the great cause of public morality in one department to be wrecked

by a breach of public morality in another.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): said the right hon. Gentleman at the beginning of his speech complained that they were attributing to him and those associated with him the meanest possible motives, and he ended his speech by committing exactly the same offence himself. The right hon. Gentleman had accused them of being prompted by hatred of the publican. He could not conceive any meaner motive to prompt a political Party than hatred of anybody, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would believe that they were animated by the same honest motive as he was when they brought their judgment to bear on the proposals he had brought forward. The right hon. Gentleman had complained that his hon. friends the Members for the Spen Valley and Camborne had not criticised the proposals of the Bill, but that they had attacked some other proposals. His hon. friends had made the mistake of assuming that the Prime Minister would carry out the public pledges he gave.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: So I have.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the proposals had been changed from time to time. The measure had been recast a good many times during rehearsal, and in some respects he thought very much for the worse. They were told that the discretion of the licensing magistrates was to be suspended. Instead of being suspended, it seemed to him to have been choked off altogether. The licensing magistrates were to have practically no discretion at all. In future they were to have no more than the power a police constable had, for all they had to do was to report to quarter sessions. It was perfectly true that, as against this Bill, they were supporting the full discretion of the magistrates, but no one on that side of the House had ever concealed the fact that in their opinion the licensing power ought to be vested in the representatives of the people themselves. What they said was that, whoever the authority was, that authority ought not to be fettered by such conditions as were introduced into that Bill. The

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

right hon. Gentleman, he thought, hardly realised what the effect of his Bill was. He was fettering the discretion of the magistrates most materially. He first fettered the authority of brewster sessions, and he then fettered the authority of quarter sessions by the maximum limit which he imposed. He objected to the Bill because it created a property in order to buy it off. The Prime Minister had said, "We are simply saying that, if you dispossess a man, you must dispossess him at the value at which he is taxed." But what this Bill did was to increase the value of his property. By this Bill the Prime Minister was increasing the value of the property. Licensing magistrates proceeded with the utmost caution, and never interfered except in very bad cases. They might assign as a reason that a particular public-house was not required in the neighbourhood, but in making their selection they, guided by their own local knowledge, always selected the worst conducted houses. To that gross type of public-house the Bill would give a fictitious value. The would-be purchaser of a house in a district in which the magistrates were active, took into account the probability of the licence being renewed, and if licences were being reduced year by year and the renewal for the house in question was likely to be refused, he either did not buy it at all or paid a lower price for it. Under this Bill he would be assured of good compensation if the licence was refused, and consequently he would give a big price for a property which under ordinary conditions he would not touch. A value was being created for the worst type of house, and a corresponding burden imposed on the better type. The well-conducted and better class houses were to be taxed for the sake of a class of property which ought to be destroyed. Such property was of a purely speculative character, and at present the elements of risk had to be taken into account. In future, however, this class of property might be bought with impunity, and the good hotels in the district would have to pay the compensation. The Prime Minister was creating a new business, a new Stock Exchange gamble—that of speculating in bad, rotten public-houses.

A great deal had been said about licensing magistrates confiscating property. If the right hon. Gentleman had sat on a bench of magistrates, his conduct in making such a charge would have been inexcusable; his only excuse was that of absolute ignorance of the practical working of these bodies. The charge was unmitigated nonsense. It was the Prime Minister who was the confiscator, because by this Bill, instead of the element of uncertainty being from 30 to 60 per cent. in the bad houses and practically nil in the good, the two classes of property were placed on precisely the same footing.

A further reason why he objected to the Bill was that it created a permanent impediment in the way of temperance reform. A great deal had been said about the rights of the publican, but very little about the interests of the public. No one listening to the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary would have supposed they were dealing with a monopoly, which in the opinion of judges was responsible for one-half of the crime, a great deal of the lunacy, a large portion of the misgovernment, and much of the distress and degradation of the country. There had been much talk about safeguards for the trade, but not a word about safeguards for the public; much criticism of magistrates, none of the trade. The Prime Minister, being a Member for Manchester, was pre-eminently a brewery representative, as there were more breweries in Manchester than in almost any other constituency. It was really out of what had happened at Manchester this Bill had arisen. A few years ago a great scandal occurred by reason of the corruption of the police by the brewery companies. A first-rate chief constable was appointed who went into the matter and found that every Christmas the police were paraded in the brewery yards represented by the Prime Minister, and there presented with a donation from the brewery. The names of those who were to receive donations were supplied by the publicans. One police inspector gave evidence to the effect that he received 30s. from one brewery, a hamper of liquor from another, and a supply of beer from a third. A sergeant received 10s. from one brewery, and 5s. from another. The police were

receiving donations every Christmas from the various breweries, and the chief constable said it was absolutely impossible to carry out the Licensing Act as long as this kind of thing went on. There were hundreds of cases of drunkenness on duty and of drinking on licensed premises by the police, but the chief constable put a stop to the system, and, in the very first year after, a considerable improvement was the result. Then the brewers got at the magistrates. The suggestion was that the temperance people brought pressure to bear on the magistrates, but what happened amongst the right hon. Gentleman's own friends in East Manchester? There was a magistrate named Mr. Hughes who was a great supporter of the Prime Minister. A police inspector found drunkenness on licensed premises in Manchester. Mr. Hughes drove up to the police with the licensee and begged them not to prosecute. The police inspector declined to take any notice of the appeal. The next step was that the magistrate drove up to the chief constable and brought pressure to bear upon him. When the case got into Court, the two magistrates who had been trying to persuade the chief constable not to prosecute were on the Bench, although not on the rota for the week. The case was taken from Court No. 1 to Court No. 2; the two magistrates followed. They got a little Court of their own, in which Mr. Hughes was chairman of the bench. The chief constable, being telephoned for, gave notice that if the case was proceeded with he would publish the whole of the facts. The case was withdrawn, but the facts leaked out, and the chief constable was hauled over the coals. Like a plucky man, he declared that the time had come to speak out, and he called attention to the fact that the number of dismissals in licensing cases by magistrates who were supposed to be partial to temperance was quite out of proportion to the dismissals in similar cases by other magistrates, the suggestion being that undue influence was exercised upon the magistrates. The magistrates got very angry; they appointed a committee, consisting of seven Unionists and two Liberals, to inquire into the matter. The committee found that the charges brought by the chief constable were

absolutely true; and the two magistrates against whom he brought the charges had to give up the commission of the peace. In another case the magistrates on the bench actually told the inspector not to bring much evidence as they had made up their minds to dismiss. This Bill was brought in because it was an attack upon the magistrates for unduly favouring temperance, but in his opinion the undue and corrupt influence had been entirely on the other side. The chief constable brought forward a charge of packing the bench. A committee after full investigation had found that, after applications for the renewal and transfer of licences had been refused several times by the magistrates after they had given careful consideration to the cases, when new applications had been made and heard on the same evidence, the previous decisions had been reversed by majorities which included magistrates who seldom appeared at other times save when licensing cases were considered, and who generally retired as soon as those cases had been reversed.

The result of what had taken place in Manchester had been to stop the bribery of the police and the interference of magistrates; and so the licensed victuallers now came to the Prime Minister and said, "As we have lost these powers, as we cannot bribe the police any longer, and as we cannot bring undue influence to bear upon the magistrates in the future, you must help us out of this difficulty." Somebody had referred to Liverpool, and the same story applied there. That was why a Bill of this kind had been brought in, and it had been introduced because at last decent men on the bench were beginning to realise what had been going on. The chairman of the Liverpool licensing justices was a strong Conservative, and the vast majority of those sitting on the bench at Liverpool were Conservatives, and the same thing applied to Manchester, where they were nearly all supporters of the right hon. Gentleman. But in Manchester they had some sense of their duty to the community and some regard to the oath which they had taken, and they were at last beginning to administer the law. The Prime Minister had great regard for the law, and he would punish all law-

Mr. Lloyd-George.

breakers if they belonged to a different Party from his own. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh," "Withdraw," and "Divide, divide."]

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will see that his words suggest that the right hon. Gentleman is actuated, in prosecuting for crime, by the unworthy motive of punishing persons who are of different politics from his own. That is a suggestion which the hon. Member ought to withdraw.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: If my words—[Loud cries of "Withdraw"]—are capable of that interpretation I unhesitatingly withdraw them. But I am entitled to draw attention to the different treatment accorded by the right hon. Gentleman to those who have broken the law in this way and to the Welsh County Councils.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Really, Sir, I have been listening to the hon. Member for a considerable time, and I hardly thought it worth while interrupting him in his personal attack on me. But what have I to do with prosecuting any one in Manchester? [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: What about Ireland?] I never heard of the transaction of which the hon. Member has given such a long history, and what he means by saying that I am prosecuting any one in connection with this Bill I am at loss to imagine.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, who was received with renewed cries of "Withdraw," said that if the Prime Minister said that this was the first time he had heard of these transactions in his own constituency—transactions which bore very much on the licensing law dealt with by this Bill—he could only express his astonishment. It was a matter of public notoriety in Manchester. He was entitled to call attention to the fact that for Wales the right hon. Gentleman was going to introduce a Bill to enforce the law, and in this matter he was introducing a Bill to prevent a law which had been beneficial from being carried out. It was all due to the fact that the publicans had intimidated the Government. The placard issued by them at the Woolwich election had brought the Government to heel.

The publicans said, "We cannot bribe and we cannot bring undue influence to bear any longer." [Cries of "Withdraw."]

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (turning to the Benches behind him): Let him go on. It will not matter.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the right hon. Gentleman would find that it would matter a good deal. The publicans said to themselves, "As we cannot intimidate the police or the magistrates, let us get hold of something thoroughly feeble;" and so the Government came to their assistance. The publicans issued a placard to this effect: "The time has come when the Government should be made to feel the full force of our resentment of their policy. Let us make our trade our policy, and by putting forth our full strength render it impossible for Government candidates to secure election. All Governments depend on votes, and if the present Government want the votes of licensed holders they must promise us the protection we demand." Having used that threat and having fired one or two shots at the right hon. Gentleman, he hoisted the white flag. Now the right hon. Gentleman made an appeal for equitable treatment for the trade. Was there not to be equitable treatment also for the victims of the trade? As the trade had this record of abusing its monopoly, let it remember the great principle of British law—that those who come to equity should come with clean hands.

MR. GROVES (Salford, S.) said he had the honour of being a Manchester man born and bred, and he believed that the hon. Member for Carnarvon was also a Manchester man born and bred, but it was evident that he had been transplanted at a very early age to a less congenial atmosphere, or the House would never have had this distressing and disgraceful exhibition of bad taste.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman may accuse another hon. Member of

bad taste, but he should not couple the word "disgraceful" with the accusation.

MR. GROVES said that he withdrew the word; but the hon. Member had made a most unwarrantable attack on the Prime Minister, who commanded the unanimous respect of the House. This was a Bill which dealt with a very large trade with which he had the honour of being associated, and it was only right that that trade should have an opportunity of digesting the proposals of the Government which they had just heard for the first time. Therefore he thought it would be best to reserve judgment in regard to this measure. The hon. Member for Spen Valley and the hon. Member for Carnarvon Burghs appeared to think that this was a Bill which taxed teetotallers, and which proposed to devote the proceeds of that tax to paying compensation to the trade. He did not think there was anybody in this country who would be worse off by this Bill becoming law. The attitude taken up by hon. Members opposite, and by those who opposed the Government in this matter, was illogical in the extreme. It was only owing to the long continuance in office of a strong Government that any modification of the existing licensing laws had been brought forward, and he thought this was a true advance in temperance reform. The trade had been looking forward to a return of the £6,000,000 they contributed years ago, and they hoped and believed until quite recently that that fund would have been restored, and that the money would have been devoted to dealing with licences as was originally intended. The licensed victuallers thought that the Government in dealing with this matter might have taken a portion of the war tax upon beer and spirits and devoted it to forming a compensation fund. He desired to assure the Government that the measure they were introducing to-day was not in any shape or form what they had expected, but nevertheless they were prepared to discuss it dispassionately and give it reasonable consideration. He hoped to have an opportunity later on of refuting some of the fallacious arguments which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Spen Valley. This was no occasion to take up the time of the House by enlarging upon the merits or demerits

of the Bill, and he would content himself by assuring the right hon. Gentleman and the Government that the measure which they had honestly proposed would receive their serious consideration.

He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider at a later period what would happen in a district where the local bench decided that no reduction of licences was necessary because there were many benches of that kind. Would the rate in those districts be levied and would it accumulate? He would like to know something more with respect to the position of licences in county boroughs. He desired that there should be no misconception about the matter, and that nobody should be able to say there had been confiscation or robbery. In the case of county boroughs where action was taken by the licensing committee of the local bench, would the reference be made to the larger county body within the same area, or would it be referred to the local bench? There was a very important difference. In the case of the small boroughs the definition was quite clear. In the case of the larger boroughs it would be useful to know to what body the reference was to be made, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give some information on that point. The measure had been drawn on broad lines, and gave evidence of an earnest desire on the part of the Prime Minister and the Government to deal with a most difficult and thorny question in a fair and honourable way.

*MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby) said it was not quite clear from the explanation the Prime Minister had given of the Bill whether quarter sessions would deal entirely with the question of compensation. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say so, but he wanted to be sure that that was so. He also desired further information on a question of machinery. In regard to new licences the right hon. Gentleman said that the local justices were to report to quarter sessions and that quarter sessions were to decide whether a licence was to be taken away or not. Would quarter sessions decide on the report of the licensing justices alone, or would they

hear the case just as if it were an application before brewster sessions?

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS was understood to say that quarter sessions would rehear the case.

*MR. CORRIE GRANT said that was worse than if they acted on the report of the justices. He wanted to offer one or two technical criticisms of the Bill. He disputed what the Prime Minister had said as to licensed premises being rated exactly on the same basis as other premises; and pointed to the injustice of the Bill to the existing tenants who were to be taxed on their licence value in order to form a compensation fund. Upon a very low estimate, out of every 100 houses there were seventy tied to some great firm or other, and the tenants all over that area would contribute to the fund out of which compensation would be paid, but the first person to get it would be the mortgagee, who was the brewer or distiller. Not until they had been paid would the tenant get anything. The tenant, therefore, was to be the first to pay and the last to receive, and the Bill, instead of being one to look after the interests of the tenant of whose hardships they had heard so much, was one for the endowment of rich companies already making large profits out of the trade, and perfectly competent to safeguard themselves. The Bill was first of all unjust, because of the way in which it interfered with the local justices, and secondly, because of the way it treated the existing tenant, but the worst feature was that for dealing with the sale of new licences. They were going for the first time to make the State a party with the trade in the method of dealing with new licences. They would have quarter sessions putting licences up by auction, and the highest bidder getting them—[Cries of "No, no!"]—and they would have quarter sessions hearing the argument constantly pressed upon them: "We gave you a big price for a licence the other day, you ought to give us a big price when you come to deal with compensation for closing our house." If the Bill passed, did anyone doubt the

value of licences would go up enormously? There could be no question of it. For these three reasons he submitted that the Bill ought to be rejected.

Question put.

The House divided: — Ayes, 314; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 88).

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Aird, Sir John
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 Austin, Sir John
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)
 Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brassey, Albert
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Bull, William James
 Burdett-Coutts, W.
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worcester)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coddington, Sir William
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge

Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
 Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Duxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manchester)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fison, Frederick William
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hon. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gore, Hon. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
 Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby (Lincoln)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
 Grettton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Guthrie, Walter Murray
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of (Londonderry)
 Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemouth)

Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (Somerset, E.)
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Horner, Frederick William
 Houlst, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutton, John (York, N.R.)
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kerr, John
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monmouth)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 MacArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 MacAlmont, Colonel James
 MacIver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W.)
 MacKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 MacKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Majendi, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian

Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Moon, Edward Robert Percy
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, William Henry
 Newdegate, Francis A. N.
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, Mid
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parker, Sir Gilbert
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretzman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy

Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Ratliff, R. F.
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Rollet, Sir Albert Kaye
 Roper, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb, Tyneside
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stock, James Henry

Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollemache, Henry James
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuftnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walker, Col. William Hall
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Young, Samuel
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 A. Acland-Hood and Mr.
 Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhonda)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
 Barlow, John Emmott
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Black, Alexander William
 Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Cameron, Robert
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Cawley, Frederick
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
 Cremer, William Randal

Crombie, John William
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
 Emmott, Alfred
 Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Eve, Harry Trelawney
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. (Monm'th

Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Johnson, John (Gateshead)
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kiteon, Sir James
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Logan, John William
 Lough, Thomas

Lyell, Charles Henry
 Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
 McCrae, George
 McKenna, Reginald
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmathen)
 Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose)
 Moss, Samuel
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 O'Shee, James John
 Parrott, William
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan, V.
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)

Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowden
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C.R. (Northants)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)

Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E.R.)
 Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Yoxall, James Henry.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Herbert Gladstone and Mr.
 William McArthur.

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Cochrane do prepare and bring in the Bill.

LICENSING BILL.

"To amend the Licensing Acts, 1828 to 1902, in respect to the extinction of licences and the grant of new licences," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 159.]

EVENING SITTING.

Adjournment (under Standing Order No. 10.)

ECCELESIASTICAL DISORDERS — ROYAL COMMISSION.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth) on rising to call attention to the composition of, and scope and reference to, the Royal Commission appointed to investigate ecclesiastical disorders in the Church of England, said it was impossible to ignore the fact that the agitation in connection with what were known as Ritualistic practices in the Church of England was no recent thing. It would be five years next month since the House witnessed as excited and hotly-contested a debate as had ever taken place, upon these practices. In the course of that debate on a Church Discipline Bill eman-

ating from Liverpool, an Amendment was moved, with the sanction of the Government, and eventually carried by a substantial majority. The terms of the Amendment, which had a distinct bearing on the terms in which the appointment of the Royal Commission had been indicated, were these—

"That this House, while not prepared to accept a measure which creates fresh offences and ignores the authority of the Bishops in maintaining discipline in the Church, is of opinion that if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure due discipline are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to obtain the observance of the existing laws of the Church and realm."

It could not be said that the Government had been unduly hasty in this matter. During the interval of five years between 1899 and now, much had happened to distract the nation's attention from domestic affairs and from the affairs of the National Church. But he did not think he was exaggerating the situation when he said that during the whole of that time these practices had continued, the movement which was their origin and source was strong and flourishing, and the condition of the Church to-day in this respect was more serious than it was when the Amendment was passed by the House. Yet the Government did not now come forward to propose legislation, but to proceed by way of inquiry. From the terms of reference it appeared as if the Government had still very grave doubts upon the prevalence of those practices. Whatever doubts the Government might have, those doubts were not

shared by the House of Commons. He was not overstating the case when he said that the House of Commons was of opinion that the time had arrived, not for an inquiry by Royal Commission, but for practical legislation to deal with an intolerable state of things.

*MR. SPEAKER said that the hon. Gentleman would not be at liberty to discuss the desirability of legislation or any delay on the part of the Government to legislate. He must confine himself, on the assumption that a Royal Commission be appointed, to its composition, and to the scope of the reference to the Commission.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR said all he desired to make clear was that the section of opinion he represented took no responsibility for the Commission, and had ideas in a different direction as to the best means of dealing with the situation. The terms of reference to the Commission were worthy of a little definite scrutiny. It was perfectly evident, it appeared to him, that under those terms the Commission was not to inquire at all into the matter of irregularities of doctrine. The Commission was limited apparently to what they might call the exterior observances of the Church rather than to its esoteric doctrines, and to the ornaments and fittings of the churches. It was rather remarkable that the Commission should be appointed in these terms, because the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in discussing this matter on 10th May, 1899, fell rather severely upon the Bill which was before the House upon the ground that it did not deal with doctrine. He was very severe upon those extreme men, whom he described as persons of ardent zeal, but very often of defective historical knowledge. The attribute of being an extreme man was one which was rather difficult of definition. He had sometimes attempted to describe an extreme man as "a man who on some particular matter holds exactly the same opinions as you do, but who insists on expressing his opinions at the most inconvenient moment, and, therefore, makes you look not quite so much in evidence as you ought to be." The very thing which the Prime Minister complained of in 1899,

namely, that the Bill of that year did not deal with the question of doctrine, was exactly the thing which appeared in the terms of reference to the Commission which had been appointed under his advice. He (Mr. Taylor) thought his right hon. friend might very well tell them why it was that, in the terms of reference to this Commission, the question of those serious variations of teaching in doctrine, which, after all, were the root of the evil of which they complained, were to be outside the purview of this Commission, which was limited by the terms of the reference to dealing only with the exterior symbols which were intended to convey those lessons.

In connection with the wording of the terms of reference, which related to the "alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law," it was not merely the existing prevalence of those breaches of which they complained. He thought it had been urged in that House before, and it might be urged again with advantage, that it was not a case of 100, 200, or 300 extreme samples with which they had to deal, but a well-organised and determined movement, a growing movement, one which had captured a very large portion, if not the major portion, of the Church of England. It was that movement with which they had to deal, and he thought that it would be a very great advantage if, in the terms of reference, the Prime Minister were to incorporate words which would take cognisance of the growing character of that particular evil. He would suggest that in place of saying "alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law," he should insert "the alleged growth and prevalence of these breaches," because he thought the attention of this Commission should be directed to the fact that what they had to examine was not the eccentricities of a few misguided men, but the whole movement of which a particular church here and there of the most advanced type was, after all, the vanguard, and which was moving as an organised body of opinion, forming the most serious menace to the continued welfare of our national Church. He was not at all sure, though he might be informed on that point, that the terms of reference would cover such matters as the manuals which were used for teaching

Mr. Austin Taylor.

the children of this country Roman practices in connection with the worship in our national churches. That question of the growing generation was one of the most alarming of the whole features of this movement. There was not the least doubt that it was a conviction that the clergy of the Established Church had in many cases used their high office to proselytise the children from the faith of their fathers to the faith which was rejected at the Reformation, that had led to that agitation in connection with the Education Act, of which they had not yet seen the full result. He hoped the Prime Minister would inform the House whether the Commission under the terms of reference would be able to examine the whole of these practices in connection with the growing generation which, in the form of children's masses and other forms of instruction, had proved one of the most dangerous symptoms of the movement to which they objected.

The Commission, as he understood it, would have no compulsory powers, could take no evidence on oath, and therefore could not in any way protect the witnesses who would appear before it. That would not have been the case had a Select Committee of that House been appointed to deal with the matter. He thought there was a general impression that on this particular subject the country was full of people who were willing to play the part of spies, and come forward and give evidence against the clergy of the National Church. His own conviction was the exact opposite of that. He believed that both the Anglican layman and the Nonconformist who attended the parish churches of this country were, as a rule, so unwilling to take anything like hostile action to the clergy of the Church, that when these practices were introduced they preferred rather silently, and reluctantly, to abandon the church to which they were accustomed than to subject themselves to the unpleasantness and criticism which were involved in anything like hostility to the clergy. He was not at all clear that the Commission was in a strong position in the sense that it was able only to rely on voluntary evidence, was not able to compel anyone to appear before it, was not able to take evidence on

oath, and was not able to protect those who came before it to give evidence (which must be in many cases of a distasteful character) against that hostile criticism, and possibly persecution, to which they might be exposed.

He would like to say a word or two upon the composition of this Commission. He must at once express his great disappointment that they had not upon the Commission a stronger judicial element than was represented in the list of names before them. He did not know how the Government regarded the matter, but from his own point of view—and he thought he represented a great many outside who simply desired an impartial finding upon the real facts of the case—he would have wished to have seen on this Commission not so much of an ecclesiastical element or of any element which, if not strictly ecclesiastical, represented something to his mind even perhaps more dangerous—that was the clerically-minded layman. He thought that in a Commission to inquire whether or not there were breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of divine service in the Church of England, and the ornaments and fittings of churches, what was wanted was a plain, common sense, judicial finding, based upon the known law of this country, and he was sure the very last thing that would make for the advantage either of Church or State would be an opening up of inquiries into canon law or pre-Reformation usage, or general and vague inquiries into what was described as the Catholic faith. They were dealing with an Established Church, a Church having a Prayer-book and Articles which the Bishop of Rochester admitted were treaty terms between the Church and State, and what the nation really required, he thought, was that this Commission should ascertain whether those treaty terms were being loyally and faithfully carried out by the clergy who had sworn to do so. For this purpose a stronger judicial element upon the Commission would have been one of the most honourable means of arriving at an impartial decision. There was only one Judge upon the Commission, and against that Judge he had nothing to say, but he wished his presence could have been supplemented by that of others of his colleagues upon the bench.

As regarded the Episcopal element upon the Commission, he noticed that in addition to the Primate there was only one other Bishop, the Bishop of Oxford, who was, he understood, a prelate of distinctly High Church views, fully in sympathy with the movement which made for the catholicising of the Church of England, and therefore he could not welcome that prelate's presence upon the Commission as calculated to give confidence in its findings. If it were necessary to put the Bishop of Oxford upon the Commission he could not understand why he was the only prelate, apart from the Primate, who was placed upon it. A great deal of the strong Protestant feeling of the country was a feeling that, although occasionally the subject of sarcasm in the House and outside it, would, he hoped, never be dormant or extinct. It was chiefly centred in the northern part of the country, and he would have thought that some Bishop from Lancashire or Yorkshire might have found a place upon the Commission if it were thought necessary that the Bishops should be represented at all. With regard to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who, they were all glad to hear, was to act as chairman of the Commission, he had no exception to take, although he would be extremely chary of saying anything in the right hon. Gentleman's favour, because he was well aware that there were some forms of blessing which were no better than curses. That text of Scripture which speaks of the man who rises early to bless his friends being no better than a curse to them, might perhaps have some application if he were to pass anything like an encomium upon his right hon. friend. As to the other names, the majority appeared to be those of persons far too much associated, far too much saturated with ecclesiasticism—far too much of the clerically-minded type to produce that clear and impartial finding which one might hope for from a Commission of this kind.

In justification of the action which he had taken in moving the adjournment in order to call public attention to this matter, he would say that he considered the connection between Church and State in this country so important that anything, whether they

agreed with it or not, which might in the remotest way ultimately affect either the Church or State or the connection between them, was a thing which fully justified any Member of the House in initiating the discussion which he had ventured to start.

Mr. CHARLES M'ARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange) said that in seconding the Motion, while the terms of the reference and the *personnel* of the Commission appeared to him unsatisfactory, he wished to recognise the difficulties with which the Government had had to deal, and that they had endeavoured to take steps in advance. When first he heard of the Royal Commission he had very little hope of a satisfactory result, and having learned the *personnel* of the Commission, and the terms of the reference, that hope was still further removed. In his judgment the Commission was not fairly constituted. It would have been possible to have constituted it fairly, either by making it a neutral body without any party representation upon it, or by making it fairly representative of all the parties in the Church. This Commission answered neither description. In particular he complained that there was no representative of the Church Protestant party upon it, and he was informed that there was no representative of the Broad Church party upon it. High Churchmen, neutral men, and moderate Churchmen were upon it, but he could find no member on it who could be said to be a fair exponent of the views of the Church Protestant party. That party had from the first taken a very grave view of the Ritualistic movement. They, and they alone, had forced this question upon public notice, and through their action the Government had been led to move in the matter. Therefore, it seemed unfair that that party should be studiously avoided in the composition of the Commission. He thought that the Church Protestant party, which he represented, ought to have adequate representation on the Commission. It was useless to label the members of that party as extreme men, and to say that they were zealots. Whether they were right or wrong the Protestant party in the country

Mr. Austin Taylor.

had to be reckoned with, and no settlement could be made without their sanction. Another objection [which he took was to the presence of two members of the Episcopal Bench upon the Commission. He objected on the ground that the Bishops themselves were accused parties. He thought the terrible condition of things prevailing in the Church was due to the apathy of the Bishops and their sympathy and concurrence with a great deal of what had been going on. By the wholesale exercise of the veto they had shut the doors of the Courts and taken the responsibility for the settlement of the question in their own hands. And how had they discharged it? To a great extent they had aided and abetted the lawless clergy. They had used their patronage to a very large extent for the promotion of men whom they must have known were breaking the law of the Church. For these reasons the Bishops had lost the confidence of the Church Protestant party. No man should be judge in his own cause, and he ventured to say the Bishops would be on their trial if this Commission were properly constituted.

The terms of the reference constituted a very weak statement of the case. The House and the country had long ago been convinced that the law of the Church had been systematically broken. It was a notorious fact that in hundreds of churches the law of the land and of the Church was broken. There was no need for an inquiry into the "alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect." They wanted the legislation that was promised four years ago. He failed to see how the Commission would arrive at the facts of the matter beyond calling those who might be willing to come and who would give their own version of the position. Both as regarded composition and terms of reference, the Royal Commission was wholly unsatisfactory, and that being the case what would be the real benefit of it? The last Royal Commission sat for three years, and it was seven years before anything was done. What guarantee had they as to any limit of time? All they knew was that the question would be hung up for a term of years, and there was a very strong feeling on the part of the Protestant party in the

country that to a large extent the appointment of this Royal Commission was a political expedient intended to tide over the next general election. This was a matter above Party, and he would rather not have a settlement which was illusory.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. Austin Taylor.)*

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea, District) said he desired to take this opportunity of thanking the Prime Minister for taking action in this matter in response to the Question he had the honour to present at an early period of the session. He regretted to have to say that he shared the feeling of disappointment expressed by the mover and seconder of the Motion in regard both to the composition of, and the terms of reference to, that Commission. He objected to the whole theory on which this Commission was to be composed. First of all, he objected to any Bishops at all being placed on it. He entirely agreed with the remarks of the hon. Gentleman opposite, that the Bishops were persons who were accused in this matter, and if any tribunal to inquire into these disorders in the Church was to be appointed at all, it seemed to him contrary to the elements of justice to make these men judges in their own case. He desired to speak with respect regarding the right reverend Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he made no personal attack on him whatever. But it followed that if they were dealing with the Church founded on the idea of Episcopacy, the Bishops, who were the heads and governors of the Church, ought not to be the judges in a case against themselves or their clergy. If they were to have Bishops on the Commission at all, it was hardly fair to the Episcopal Bench that the Prime Minister had made the choice he had done. There were two provinces in England, Canterbury and York; and if the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be on the Commission, why not also the Archbishop of York? Then there was the Principality of Wales. Why had not the Prime Minister put one of the Welsh Bishops on the Commission? Further, he objected to Members of the House of

Commons being on this Commission under the special circumstances. What he had asked for, with the general consent of that side of the House, and with the consent of a great many hon. Members on the other side who shared his views, was a Select Committee. The Prime Minister said he thought the procedure by Royal Commission was better, but if he did proceed by Royal Commission, it was not right, in his opinion, to appoint any Members of this House on it. It was all very well to say that this was not a Party question; but there was no question that did not tend to become a Party question, and no Prime Minister could possibly nominate gentlemen to a Commission without giving rise to a certain amount of feeling. He recognised that the four hon. Members on the other side of the House nominated to the Commission were most admirable men for the purpose if they had not been Members of this House. But there were four as against only one on his side of the House. He did not think that that was right. If the Prime Minister had consented to the appointment of a Select Committee, then they would have been selected according to the usual practice. He noticed that the hon. Gentlemen who were appointed from this House on the Royal Commission were especially interested in ecclesiastical matters; but, so far from that being in favour of their appointment, it was against it. What was wanted was a Commission of impartial men. He admitted that it was a very difficult thing to get together a body of impartial men for a purpose of this kind; but he thought such a Commission might be described as—"A body of men, scholarly, well versed in ecclesiastical history and law, but not committed either by Holy Orders, or by political action, to any controversy now raging within the Church." What was wanted was a kind of superior special jury—a body of men well versed in history and ecclesiastical law, but not committed to either political Party in the State by overt action, or to participation in the controversies existing in the Church.

Passing to his second point, he objected to the fact that there were no Nonconformist Members on the Commission. Without labouring the point he would like to remind the Prime Minister, as he

Mr. Brynmor Jones,

had had to remind the Standing Committee upstairs, that the prevailing theory that because a citizen of this country took advantage of the Toleration Act he ceased to be a member of the Church of England, was not well founded. By Common Law the subjects of the King were divided into the clergy and the laity; there was the *status* of the clergy and the *status* of the laity. So long as the Church claimed to be the National Church of England it could not deny the right of any Nonconformist to take part in the deliberations concerning the government of its affairs. He had nothing to say against any individual on the Commission, but he was thoroughly disappointed with its general aspect. He could see by the way it was formed, that it was formed by a kind of balancing of interests and views of the gentlemen composing it. The questions to be considered were partly questions of law and partly of facts, and the matter required to be dealt with by a kind of superior or very special jury. Then with regard to the terms of reference, he did not think the Prime Minister had quite carried out the undertaking that he gave to inquire into alleged breaches of law relating to the conduct of divine service. In a service held last January at St. Jude's, Birmingham—the clergyman of which was appointed by the right hon. Gentleman in January, 1896, on the express understanding that he was not a Ritualist—the children went into pews or seats. It was stated that this service was a children's Eucharist at which special books, not the Book of Common Prayer, were used, and those special books contained the admonition, "Be very still. Jesus is coming." Then at the critical point of the service the Priest elevated the host, the direction was given, "Be still, Jesus is here." There were only three or four communicants at that service, and one or two acolytes were pressed into the service to make it legal. Would it be permissible to bring evidence of this kind before the Commission?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Oh yes, that is the intention.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES said that removed much of his objection to the

phraseology of the reference. He quite understood that an inquiry as to what were the true doctrines of the Church of England would be too broad and too vague for any practical body of men to deal with, but there were many books circulated by Churchmen, which received a kind of clerical sanction, to which exception was taken. Would it be permissible to put in those books before the Commission? He could not quite think that either the composition of the Commission, or the terms of reference, were satisfactory or that it would lead to any real solution of the difficulties in which the country found itself placed.

*MR. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said he desired to associate himself with the remarks of the preceding speakers, but he hoped his hon. friend the Member for the East Toxteth Division of Liverpool would not think it necessary to go to a division, because, although he should feel it his duty to support him, he believed the division would be most misleading, inasmuch as they would be largely supported by those who did not wish well to the Church of England and who did not wish well to His Majesty's Government. He could not help feeling that in deciding upon the *personnel* of this Commission the Government had overlooked somewhat the great Protestant feeling in the North of England. The feeling in every constituency in Liverpool, except the Scotland Division, which was largely an Irish one, would be with the most temperate remarks which fell from his hon. friend who moved the adjournment. The majority of people in the Liverpool constituencies did not think this Commission was necessary at all, and many people believed that it was only intended as a means of shelving that legislation which in Liverpool, Manchester, and other great towns in the North was so greatly desired. He hoped the Prime Minister when he spoke would be able to dispel that view, because it would be generally believed, unless he was able to explain it that night, that the intention of the Commission was to block the way to legislation. It would be invidious to speak in disparaging terms of any member of the Commission. His only complaint was that the Party which

was in the vast majority in every constituency in Liverpool was not represented upon the Commission. Sir John Kennaway and Sir Samuel Hoare were the only Members who could in any sense be said to represent the Protestant party, and the former was known in Liverpool simply as one of those who spoke and voted against the Church Discipline Bill. Liverpool people would not therefore regard him as an exponent of their views. Was it too late for the Prime Minister to modify the composition of the Commission? Would it be possible for him to add to it the name of the hon. Member for the East Toxteth Division of Liverpool, who, he thought, might be willing to serve? He had no authority to make the suggestion; but he thought that some such appointment was required to make the Commission in any way acceptable to the constituencies of Liverpool. The Commission would have met with approval if it had been a strong judicial Commission with the clerical element not so largely represented as at present. He hoped the Prime Minister would see his way to place on the Commission some fair representation of the Protestant feeling of the North, which was very real, very honest, and very true, and was not by any means confined to Liverpool or to any particular district.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD (Liverpool, West Derby) said he was exceedingly dissatisfied with the speech of the mover of the Resolution. It resolved itself practically into an attack upon the Prime Minister, and when some of them were aware that the hon. Member for the East Toxteth Division of Liverpool had lost the confidence of his own Party in that Division, they realised that in moving that Resolution that night he was simply seeking to get the support of a certain section in that Division with a view to carrying it, as he had himself explained "against all comers." When it was announced that a Royal Commission was about to be appointed the hon. Member for the East Toxteth Division convened a meeting upstairs of certain Members of that House, and he (Mr. Rutherford) was present at that meeting. A Resolution was proposed and seconded, to be sent to headquarters, with a view

to trying to get certain people appointed upon that Commission. He at once pointed out that he would not be a party to any Resolution which did not condemn the Commission itself *in toto*. The result was that the Resolution that was going to be proposed was very reluctantly withdrawn, and the Chairman was to see the Prime Minister privately with a view to eliciting certain information. He considered that the hon. Member for (the East Toxteth Division, in asking leave to move this Resolution without consulting those who were associated with him in this movement, and who were as strong supporters of the Protestant cause as he could claim to be, was simply playing for his own hand, for his own purposes. He was entirely at a loss to know why this Motion had been moved at all, except to give the hon. Member the opportunity of making an electioneering speech. For that reason he strongly objected to it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As my hon. friend who has just sat down observed a few moments ago, this Motion, although not an attack upon me, is undoubtedly a criticism of the action which the Government have taken, and for which I, in particular, am responsible. The House, I suppose, will therefore require me to deal with some of the criticisms which have been offered by my hon. friend who moved this Motion, my hon. friend who seconded it, and the other Gentlemen who have spoken. The criticism resolves itself naturally into two parts. One part deals with the composition of the Commission, and the other part deals with the reference to it. As regards the constitution of the Commission, the main criticism which I have heard is that there are two members of the Episcopal Bench appointed to serve on the Commission. I think that those who support this criticism can hardly have remembered that the Commission is to deal with a question closely affecting the Church of England. To have a question closely affecting the Church of England, and to exclude from it the Archbishop of Canterbury and any other member of the Episcopal Bench, appears to me to be absolutely absurd. I certainly could never have been responsible for the appointment of any Commission which

Mr. William Rutherford.

had to deal with any subject connected with the Church from which the ecclesiastical heads of that Church were to be formally and in terms excluded. If that proposition be rejected, as I am convinced it will be rejected by every Member of the House, whether he be a member of the Church of England or whether he be a Nonconformist, as almost an insult to the Episcopal Bench, I would ask whether it can be alleged for an instant that this Commission has been overloaded by ecclesiastics. There are two Bishops out of a total of thirteen members. I do not think anybody will contend that that proportion is excessive. When I come to the two members of the Episcopal Bench who are appointed, does any one suggest either that we should have excluded the Archbishop of Canterbury, or that the Archbishop of Canterbury is likely to be otherwise than the sincerest friend which reasonable and orderly Churchmanship could possibly have? There has been an attack made, indeed, upon the Bishop of Oxford on the ground that he is a High Churchman, and I believe he is a High Churchman. But nobody has ever suggested, and nobody in the least acquainted with the action which he has taken in his diocese will for one instant suggest, that he is a sympathiser with what are described as disorders in the Church, or that he has not done his best to maintain among his clergy the observance of the ecclesiastical law to which they have promised obedience. There is only one other criticism made on the Episcopal members of the Commission. It has been said that the Bishops ought not to be put on the Commission because by the exercise of their veto they have prevented the law from being enforced. I do not know what evidence my hon. friend who seconded the Motion had for that statement.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR said he had the evidence of a Report of that House, which showed that of twenty-three complaints that had been made from 1874 to 1898 seventeen had been vetoed by the bishops.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not going into those statistics, but I will put this plain question to any hon. Gentleman who takes the view of my hon. friend.

It is always possible for any man who objects to the proceedings in any church to institute a prosecution. By doing so, he throws upon the Bishop the responsibility of exercising his veto. My hon. friend is of opinion, I hope wrongly, but I have no authentic information on the point, that these illegal practices are of enormous prevalence in all dioceses and all districts. How comes it then that, so far as I know, in the four years which have been in controversy to-night, not a single prosecution has been instituted on which a Bishop has even been asked whether he would or would not exercise his veto?

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR said that during that interval complaints were made, and they were vetoed by the late Bishop of London and the present Bishop of Rochester.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not sure of my dates, but I think that was before 1899.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: No, since 1899.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will change my question then. The only case since 1899 in which any Bishop has been asked to exercise his veto is the case in which the complainant was a man who had nothing whatever to do with the parishes, and who wrote, I believe, from a club in London, to suggest that these prosecutions should be instituted. The late Bishop of London was the last man who could be described as a sympathiser with that form of ecclesiasticism to which my hon. friend objects, and if he, after consideration, thought these prosecutions should be vetoed, I doubt not he was right. But in any case there is not a single example of a parishioner in any church in any part of the country having tried whether the Bishops were or were not determined to exercise the veto which the existing law gives them. I never understood how that could be, because I do not doubt that there are a great many practices in various churches which ought to be stopped, but to say that the Bishops should be excluded from the Commission because they have not exercised the veto in any case which has

come before them in any reasonable or practicable shape, is to pass a criticism on the Episcopal Bench and upon those who have been responsible for the formation of the Commission which might well have been avoided.

The next criticism I heard on the constitution of the Commission was that there was no representative of the Protestant party. I have always conceived myself for now fifty-six years—perhaps in my very early life I was not able to form an opinion, but ever since I have been able to form an opinion on ecclesiastical views—an ardent Protestant. But I now find the word Protestant used in a manner wholly unknown, I will not say to the centuries in which Protestantism began, I will not say to the age of the Reformation, but to every age of ecclesiastical history down, I believe, to the last ten years; and I do think that we humble but repudiated Protestants have some right to complain of this restricted use of the term and to ask with all respect, and in regard to the historical use of the word, that we may still, if only in the outer court, be regarded as members of the true Protestant body. I am told there is no Protestant upon this Commission. I will not ask whether the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of Oxford is a Protestant. Sir Francis Jeune is the next name I come across. Sir Francis Jeune, I have always understood to be a very eminent ecclesiastical lawyer of Low Church tendencies. If he were told that he was not a Protestant I do not know what his emotions would be. I will only say that they would be less poignant than the emotion felt by my right hon. friend the Member for Honiton if he were told that he was not a Protestant. He would feel that we all have, as we get older, very much to learn. I suppose the Member for Oxford is quite outside the pale. But with my hon. friend the Member for Norwich, it really is hard, after a long life, in which his fellow-citizens have known his opinions, political and religious, for so long, that my hon. friend should be publicly described in this House as unworthy of the name of Protestant. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Bolton regards himself as a Protestant or not. I should imagine

he did. But when I find as a culminating case—I cannot go through all the names—that the head of the Evangelical College in Cambridge, the denominational college created for the purpose of giving what is called a Low Church training, Ridley Hall, which bears the name of one of our Protestant martyrs, is unworthy to be called a Protestant, then I ask to what limits true Protestantism has shrunk, and how many of us are to be sent to the stake as unworthy of carrying on the great traditions of the sixteenth century. There may be many attacks possibly which may be made upon the constitution of this Commission, but the attack that it has no Protestants upon it is really almost the most grotesque attack I have heard on any subject in this House.

Then another comment was made, that the legal profession was insufficiently represented. I am always anxious that the legal profession should be amply represented, and I made great efforts to have the judicial element strengthened. I cannot, of course—it would be improper for me to go into the details of the matter; but, in fact, no other Judge of the High Court could possibly be spared. It is a question of carrying on the judicial business of the country, and I could not get another Judge to serve without absolutely dislocating the judicial business and putting suitors to the greatest inconvenience. But I did all I could. I have already mentioned the name of Sir Francis Jeune, and no one will doubt the competence of Sir Lewis Dibdin, Dean of the Court of Arches, who is the most competent ecclesiastical lawyer and will not be accused by anybody who knows him of any leaning towards irregular practices. One other point. The hon. and learned Member for Swansea, who by his Question gave occasion for the original appointment of this Commission, said that he desired not a Commission but a Committee, and he still, I think, would have preferred proceeding by a Committee of this House.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES assented.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: But what is his commentary on the Commission which has been substituted for a Committee? He says that what he would desire was a

Commission composed of scholars and historians unconnected with Party.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES said he should have preferred a Select Committee, which, if it had been appointed, would no doubt have been appointed in the ordinary way, by negotiation between both sides of the House. He should not have objected to Members of Parliament investigating in that way. But when once the right hon. Gentleman appointed a Commission, if any Member of that House were nominated the question of Party would come in, and he had tried to define the class of men he should prefer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, and I have given his definition—scholars and historians unconnected with Party. But I cannot understand the frame of mind of an hon. Gentleman who insists that we should have appointed either a Committee of the House, on strictly Party lines, by negotiation between the Party Whips, quite irrespective of ecclesiastical considerations, or else a Commission which should have nobody connected with Party on it, but which should consist of scholars and historians.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES: That is an alternative.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. It may be an alternative, but it must be admitted that the alternatives are very wide apart, and if the hon. Gentleman were given his choice, the difference between the Committee which he would have liked and the Commission which, if he could not get the Committee, he would prefer, would have been truly amazing. I do not press the matter further. I venture to say there are scholars and historians on this Commission, and that, though it is quite true that there are Members of this House who are persons connected with Party politics, there are a great number of gentlemen of whom that cannot be said. Certainly I do not think even my hon. friend the principal critic of this Commission, whatever else he may say about it, will say that Party politics, as distinguished from ecclesiastical politics, are likely to pervert the course of its investigations.

I think I have done with the criticisms on the constitution of the

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

Commission and have only to deal with the terms of the reference. As far as I have followed the debate, the complaints made about the reference are, in the first place, that it is to investigate a subject of which all the material facts are already known. I think it is my hon. friend who seconded the Motion who asked who doubts that there are these irregular proceedings in the Church of England, and if nobody doubts it why do we have a Commission to investigate it? Nobody, I am afraid, can doubt that these irregularities exist; what is doubted is not the fact that the irregularities exist, but the degree to which they exist, and the area over which they exist, and on that there are really the most diverse opinions. I have endeavoured, certainly with impartiality, but I admit with inadequate machinery, to arrive at some conclusion on that matter, and I have not succeeded. I think the Commission will succeed, and surely it would be an invaluable factor in our future discussions if we could have some authoritative statement made, based upon evidence, as to the extent to which these unfortunate and regrettable practices occur. Then it has been said by at least two of the speakers that this Commission will not be able to get evidence, that, like other Royal Commissions, they cannot examine on oath, and cannot compel persons to come before them or require reports to be made. Well, an accusation which is true of all Royal Commissions cannot be very damaging to this one. If Royal Commissions are able, as nobody doubts that they are able, unless in very exceptional circumstances, really to obtain a full account of the facts of any subject they are set to investigate, why is this particular Commission to be less fortunate than its predecessors? I do not believe there is the smallest chance of their failing to obtain evidence. My hon. friend appears to think that the incriminated clergy will refuse to come before them supposing they are summoned. I should doubt that. But in any case, my hon. friends know of the facts; they have details of all the churches of England; let them come before the Commission and give their evidence. If they give evidence which was not in accordance with the facts,

depend upon it those who felt injured by the evidence would at once take every step towards correcting any false impression that may have been produced.

Then there remains only one further criticism which requires answer, perhaps the most important of all. It was raised by my hon. friend who moved the adjournment, and in substance it amounts to this — that whereas this Commission is a Commission to inquire into irregularities of practice, whether in the shape of extreme ritual or other irregularities, he would like in addition that it should examine into errors of doctrine in the Church of England. Well, I think this House would commit a most deplorable error if it started a Commission to examine the niceties of doctrine preached in all the pulpits of the Church of England, and I do not think my hon. friend can have seriously considered what floodgates of controversy he would be opening by any procedure of that kind. What my hon. friend is anxious for is to get at what are truly called Romanising doctrines not connected with the Church services. I sympathise with him. But can anybody frame a Resolution of that kind without dealing with doctrines as a whole, and are you seriously going to suggest that there is to be an examination into the errors of doctrine of which any clergyman may have been guilty, or thought to be guilty, in the course of his ministrations? I am not sure how the Protestants would come out of it. It is a difficult and a delicate matter. But I will not guarantee to say that there have not been doctrines preached by those who would call themselves of the extremist and strictest sect of the Protestant denomination which perhaps might not stand a critical examination into their harmony with the formulæ of the Church of England. I know there is no Nonconformist sect that would care to have a judicial examination of the exact relation of its present doctrines with the formulæ of its founder. At any rate I do not think such an examination would be in the interest of true religion, whether taught in Nonconformist chapels or in the Church of England. Those are questions which, I believe, can be brought before

the Courts of law under the existing machinery of the Church of England. I hope they will not be brought forward, and, so far as I am concerned, I will not do anything to make it easy to have an endless series of actions for heresy brought against High Churchmen, Low Churchmen, Protestants, Broad Churchmen—men of all the various ecclesiastical divisions which are to be found in the Episcopal as in the non-Episcopal churches of this country. No good ever came of such discussions; in my opinion no good will ever come of them, and, while I am most anxious to do what I can to secure that the ritual of the Church of England shall be in harmony with the great traditions of that great

Protestant Church, I will not be a party to doing anything to drag in those doctrinal controversies which would go to an extent not contemplated, I believe, by my hon. friend, and which, so far from ministering to the cause of true religion, would only increase differences which are already only too prominent and would further accentuate that most lamentable fact, to which we cannot shut our eyes, that the greatest obstacle to the progress of religion is the divisions between Christians who profess the same faith.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 90; Noes, 176. (Division List No. 89.)

AYES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cremner, William Randal
Dalsiel, James Henry
Dobbie, Joseph
Duncan, J. Hastings
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grant, Corrie
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Houston, Robert Paterson

Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jocey, Sir James
Kitson, Sir James
Langley, Batty
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lloyd-George, David
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
Markham, Arthur Basil
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nusey, Thomas Willans
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon

Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, Fred W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr.
Austin Taylor and Mr.
Brynmor Jones.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Waltham)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Captain C. B. (Hornsey)

Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Butcher, John George

Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Oecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Oecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worcester)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C.R.
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Crooks, William
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley-
 Denny, Colonel
 Dewar, Sir T.R. (Tower Hamlets
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dorrington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Duxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manor
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fison, Frederick William
 Fitaroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gordon, Hn. J.E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Marq. of (Londerry
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Heath, James (Staffords, N. W.
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.

Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
 Kerr, John
 Keswick, William
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monmouth)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N.R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Levson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McIver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W.)
 McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Myers, William Henry
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick

Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Shackleton, David James
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, H.C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
 Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
 Stewk, James Henry
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J.G. (Oxford Univ.)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Walker, Col. William Hall
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Webb, Colonel William George
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E.R. (Bath)
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NAMES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellows.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (MEALS).

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton), in rising to move — "That the Board of Education should require arrangements to be made by the local education authorities whereby every child compelled by law to attend a public elementary school shall have received proper nourishment before being subjected to mental or physical instruction, and that in cases in which proper food has not been provided for the child by its parents, it should be first supplied by the local education authority, and subsequently suitable action taken to recover the cost," said that practically everyone who cared for education was agreed about two things: first, that

when the body was half-starved the mind could not work well; and, secondly, that the supply of the necessary food at school by the State impinged upon the great principle of parental responsibility. He did not deny that the difficulties were considerable, but that was no reason why they should leave this vital question alone or permit it to be tinkered by private charity, involving the uncertainty which attached to voluntary effort and the pauperising effect of doles. It was necessary to face the widespread disappointment resulting from thirty years compulsory education. That disappointment was shared both by the opponents and by the supporters of compulsory education, and it led to the conclusion, not that

compulsory education should be abandoned, but that it should be made effective.

What was the cause of failure? Was it found that the men and women of to-day who had passed through the schools were so much superior to their fathers and mothers as the authors of compulsory education believed they would be? In reality, the gain in intelligence was, to say the least of it, equivocal, while the physical degeneration of the people was obvious. The reason was largely that we had taken education as an isolated factor, whereas it was part of an absolutely indivisible unit. We had compelled children to receive a certain amount of daily intellectual instruction. But we had assumed that which all science rejected, viz., that the intellect could act independently of all other parts of the total human being. We had ignored the body, the soul, and the will, and the result had been a fiasco. We had conceived the children of the poor as being of diametrically opposite constitution to the children of the rich, for at the public schools prominence—perhaps undue prominence—was given to the care and culture of the body and the discipline of manners; but until recently no such consideration formed part of the compulsory education of the workman's child. The hour being late, instead of going into the historical question of the factory laws, which had protected the lives and bodies of our adult workers, he would content himself by saying that if compulsory education had been inaugurated by a Tory Government, the Disraelian principle of *mens sana in corpore sano* would not have been ignored as it was by the middle class commercialists, who regarded it as a sin that the State should nourish the bodies of the children whose brains they compelled to work, just as they held it to be monstrous for the State to protect the mill-hand and the miner. By this Motion he was not taking a leaf out of the book of the Party opposite, but was following the principles which governed the action and the creed of the Party to which he was proud to belong.

Passing to the commercial view—that of profit and loss—he asked, Could it pay the State to spend colossal sums on the in-

Mr. Claude Hay.

tellectual instruction of children who were bodily unable to receive it? In his opinion, all money so spent was sheer waste. The laws insisted upon three necessities being provided at school, viz., fresh air, pure water, and adequate warmth. In addition there were three other necessities of the condition in which the children came to school, viz., food, clothes, and cleanliness. The local authority was now responsible for the education of the children. The local authority had to provide fresh air, pure water, and warmth, but the local authority was not allowed to make inquiries first and provide these necessities for education afterwards. It was forbidden to inquire whether a parent was poor, or lazy, or drunken, or whether the education it compelled the child to undergo weakened parental responsibility. The local authority was charged by Parliament to secure to every child that was born a share in the common heritage of education. He held, therefore, that the feeding at school of the necessitous child was a corollary of compulsory education.

The subject must be dealt with from the point of view of the children. The first duty to the child whose guardianship for educational purposes the State had now assumed was to see that it had a fair chance in its equipment for life. They could not leave the child unfed or underfed whilst they were discussing parental responsibility, for the child would neither grow up healthy nor do justice to the education they forced upon it at great public expense. What would be thought of a manufacturer who provided machinery at great cost and then fed it with raw material utterly unfit to produce the article intended? To say that it was better for the moral character of the parent to let the child starve—for that was what the ultimate assertion of the lessening of parental responsibility amounted to—was to urge that by the gradual general improvement, moral and material, of the community, unfed or underfed children would disappear. It was obvious that to prevent underfeeding of children now was an effective instrument for promoting general improvement, and in any case many school children would come and go before the underfed child disappeared, if they relied

upon the gradual general improvement of the community of adults as their only remedy. If they relied upon the general improvement of the community for the solution they must at once consider the conditions under which they asked the parents of to-day to feed their children suitably. Had they the accommodation, and had they the time and the knowledge? Two-thirds of the population was now urban. They were crammed into cramped dwellings in drab streets. A house originally intended for one family was often inhabited by six families, and they had insufficient, if any, appliances. To parents who were employed away from home all day, appliances in their homes for a midday meal were almost useless, and they would prefer to pay for a good meal provided at school rather than provide money for the child to spend at the fried fish shop. Everybody complained of bad cooking in England and deplored the lack of interest in the home and housewifery which was characteristic of the men and women of to-day. The fact was that the bulk of the people did not know what was suitable food for their children. Not long ago he asked an eleven-year-old girl what she had had for dinner, and she replied: "I had some cheese and pickles." A physician told a friend of his that when examining children at a hospital, he found the most effective manner of ascertaining the diet of his child patient was to accuse the fond parent of starving the child, whereupon he invariably received the indignant reply, "'E 'as all we get," which generally meant hunks of ill-cooked meat and other heavy food late in the evening, and little if nothing during the day. Was there no experience whereby to test this bogey? The Report of the Royal College on Physical Training, 1903 (Scotland), on page 30, paragraph 167, declared that—

"The preparation and cooking of meals (at school) where it is found necessary to provide for them should be regarded as one of the charges incident to school management."

Paragraph 170—

"In a country district where the children of the ploughman and farm labourers were the poorest, a system of providing broth, etc., at school during the five winter months was carried out with the approval of the parents. A small charge was made to cover the cost. Similar attempts have been made elsewhere,

and we do not see why they should not generally prevail."

The London School Board Committee's investigations proved that 35,579 children under sixteen years of age were receiving outdoor relief in the 3rd week of February, 1895; and further investigations in 1898 showed that 55,050 underfed children attended school; 31,280 children at Board schools, and 23,770 children at voluntary schools. The Report of the School Board Joint Committee on underfed children, issued June, 1902, recorded that a weekly average number of 20,085 children received a weekly average of 46,619 meals. The Report issued June, 1903, showed that 22,206 children received a weekly average of 54,572 meals during twenty weeks in winter. During that period the average school attendance at Board schools was 475,000 children, and at voluntary schools 178,000 children. Assuming the percentage of underfed children at Board and voluntary schools to be the same, there would be 9,000 underfed children at voluntary schools, or a total of 31,000 underfed children for Board and voluntary schools, which was equal to 5 per cent. of the total attendance. But a number escaped the net, therefore the total of underfed children in London might be fairly put at 35,000. To provide 35,000 children with dinner for 120 days at a penny per meal would cost £17,250. Add a halfpenny breakfast, and the total cost would be £26,280, or considerably less than a rate of a farthing in the £. To provide every child at school (taking the average attendance) would cost London in dinners and breakfasts £489,800, or a rate of 3½d. Did London experience, extending over an average attendance daily of nearly 750,000 children at school, point to school feeding, paid or gratis, pauperising the family and destroying parental responsibility? He would give one or two examples on this point. The National Food Supply Association state—

"We are not aware of a single instance of a man earning 30s. per week abusing the system by coming to us for a ½d. dinner."

Mr. Libby, of the Lambeth Teachers Association, writes—

"In many cases when the parent has obtained work the children go at once and, inform the teacher, and some of the parents as an act of gratitude for food supplied free to

their children when they were out of work, have sent contributions for those still in need of help."

and Mr. Burgwin says—

"I do not think free meals tend to pauperise a district; in fact, tickets for free meals are often returned by parents directly they find work."

He would not describe the experience of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Bristol, and Newcastle, beyond saying that in these cities voluntary effort, combined with School Board committees, fed necessitous children with results similar to those of London.

In Paris in February, 1881 *Le Conseil Municipal* determined to assist in providing poor children with a free meal upon the following lines. (1) Free meals to children known to be in want, whether their parents were paupers or not. (2) Establishment of canteens at the various schools under the control of the Mayor and School Fund Committee. (3) No meal to be served except on presentation of a check which could be bought, or was given gratuitously to the children. (4) Secrecy as to whether the check was bought or received free. The *Caisse des Ecoles* provided a free meal daily for those who could not afford to pay. This meal was provided in the school play-room. No degradation attached to those who partook of a free meal because the children who paid for their meal ate alongside the children who received a free dinner. On this point he wishes to quote the following statistics—

Year.	Proportion of Municipal Subvention to total receipts per cent.	Number of meals distributed.	School population.
1892	Cost £27,000 62·80	6,971,340	
1894			165,977
1897	Cost £36,000 67·84	8,229,870	169,832

In Paris the teachers practically selected the needy scholars, and at the beginning of each day's school the teachers distributed copper counters, having already received from their parents in the

Mr. Claude Hay.

case of some children the requisite payment. When the dinner hour arrived the children presented these counters and received food in exchange. It would thus be seen that the work was based upon the following principles:—The work was primarily municipal, private gifts and grants from the rates being pooled to help the children. The first intention was to facilitate the use of education. The child was not fed two or three days each week, but every school day. There was no feeling of pauperising. The combining of those who were aided by public gifts and those who could pay for themselves did not cause unsatisfactory feeling. Paris says, "We compel the children to go to school. We must then see that they can learn with advantage, so that they may really benefit." In Berlin the city corporation granted a considerable sum annually to give free breakfasts to poor children at the public schools, with the happiest results. In Rome the Minister of Public Instruction made a large grant for feeding school children gratis; and in Christiana (Norway) the municipal authorities distributed food amongst poor school children. In the case of Berne, which was the last one he would quote, the system of providing free meals for underfed children was a fair specimen of that existing in the rest of Switzerland. The expenses were covered by State and Communal subsidies, as well as by bequests and voluntary contributions. The teachers testified to the consequent increased school attendance, as well as to the improved application and acquisitive powers of the children. His plan was to begin by the State providing free meals at school for necessitous children, and, if found desirable thereafter, to provide school meals for all children on payment. Local authorities now had the care of the children for educational purposes and it was their duty to see that underfeeding ceased. There could obviously be no system of school meals without proper home visiting. Thus the parent who could pay would be forced to pay by process of law, and the parent unable to pay would be assisted by a loan under Poor Law, as was the case with school fees before compulsory education became free. There would be no pauperising. Experience at home and abroad showed

that since 1888, parents, with rare exceptions, gladly paid when they could. The people who now neglected the children ought to be punished, but it had never been possible to get a conviction for underfeeding. If the State provided food, those who neglected their children would be punished. There would be a much more effective machinery for ascertaining the means of the parent, and it would be the business of a powerful public authority with complete local knowledge to bring delinquents to justice, whereas now it was nobody's business, therefore prosecutions were few and usually failed. They would not require a large and expensive staff, because four-fifths of the child population of the United Kingdom was under the daily observation of the local authority. Accurate information was easily obtainable by the teachers, as they were persons trained in the observation of children, and this could be supplemented by the school attendance officer's investigations. The conclusion of the whole matter was that either they must drop compulsory education, or they must see that the children were properly fed, for they could not educate unfed or underfed children; therefore, if they were determined to educate them, feed them they must. Why did the State educate them? Because it considered that a healthy educated man or woman was the most valuable asset the State could possess. Expansion and vitality of industry depended directly upon the calibre of the individual. They were all agreed that individual calibre was not now all that they desired. To make it so, were they going to stop at the penny, having paid the pound? They could go on acquiescing in a state of things which allowed too many of the poorer parents of to-day to say, with old John of Gaunt—

“ The pleasures that some fathers feed upon
Is my strict fast—I mean my children's looks. ”

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said that in rising to second this Motion he did not mean to go through again the very cogent facts which

his hon. friend had so forcibly brought before the House in support of his Motion, but he would content himself by saying that he doubted at the present day whether anybody would deny the proposition that children ought to be fed before they were taught. That there were in elementary schools a considerable number of underfed children who were not fit to profit by the education which was supplied by the taxpayer and the ratepayer at so very high a cost, no one would deny, and he thought that the time had now come for deciding that there had been enough talk about this matter, and that what was wanted was not so much a debate and a Resolution as some definite and distinct action on the part of the Government and the local authorities, who had already considerable powers, and who would require additional powers after they had put those they already possessed into force. The great obstacle in the way of the adoption of the plan sketched out by his hon. friend was the reluctance which far-seeing people entertained to weakening parental responsibility for the feeding of the children. In this country he was happy to say that the vast bulk of the poorest class were very fond of their children, and were prepared to make great sacrifices for their benefit. Anyone who had mixed with the poor could supply examples of the most pathetic devotion, principally of mothers and largely of fathers who denied themselves many things in order to benefit their children and give them a fair chance in life. Those people were perfectly ready to come in and assist under any scheme for the better feeding of children in schools, and they would gladly pay enough to defray the cost of wholesome meals for the children. It would only be for a small section of the community that the full cost of feeding the school children would have to be paid. But there was also in this country a section of people who did not care for their children and did not do their duty by them. They looked upon them as a

valuable asset to be put into money by hiring them out for their own profit. They were only careful to see how much they could make out of the children. They required that a sense of responsibility should be brought home to them. He objected to bringing home parental responsibility to the minority by letting the children starve; first, because a child was too valuable an instrument to be used for such a purpose, and, secondly, because such a course would be absolutely ineffective. Under such a system as that sketched out by the hon. Member they could not only put a stop to the hunger of the children, but would have an efficient instrument for bringing the parents to see what their real parental responsibility was. At present it was impossible to convict a parent of family neglect. If it were part of the duty of teachers to provide children from day to day with tickets for meals and to report the children so provided, there would be most conclusive evidence that the parent had neglected to feed his children.

*MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.): How does the teacher know?

SIR JOHN GORST said the teacher was the one person who did know, and if he were mistaken one day he would not be another. If, on application, the parent refused to refund the money for the meals provided there would be the most conclusive possible evidence of neglect of family on which any police magistrate could convict and punish the parent in a bad case. The child must be fed or else they could not teach him. Of course, there were a number of cases in which parents could not feed their children, and such cases would have to be reported to the Poor Law authority.

Sir John Gorst.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Board of Education should require arrangements to be made by the local education authorities whereby every child compelled by law to attend a public elementary school shall have received proper nourishment before being subjected to mental or physical instruction, and that in cases in which proper food has not been provided for the child by its parents, it should be first supplied by the local education authority, and subsequently suitable action taken to recover the cost."—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

*DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said he was very glad the opportunity had arisen for discussing this question. He reminded the House that he was for many years a Board school teacher in a very poor school, and that the sufferings of hungry children came before him day by day. Out of the 300 boys in the school in which he taught twenty-five or thirty did not go home in the dinner hour because there was nothing to go home to. Thirty or forty others would also stay and have nothing to eat but a crust of bread or an onion. He had seen two brothers, in cold, frosty weather, sitting against a wall making a meal off a cold turnip, and he had known boys many times become sick directly cold, frosty weather came, because their stomachs were empty. The first thing he did as a member of the London School Board was to ask for a committee on the subject. There had been a committee in 1889, and that committee found that 48,000 children came to school daily hungry, and that benevolent efforts could only reach the needs of half of them. The third committee which was got together in 1898 came to the definite conclusion

that private and charitable agencies could never cope with this problem properly. He personally had come to the following conclusions: That it was absolute cruelty to endeavour to teach a hungry child; that to try to do so was to waste money; that it was nationally a policy of reckless profligacy to let these unfortunate slum children go on in the condition in which they now were; that we must feed the child before we attempted to teach it; that charitable agencies could not cope with this work; and that, if private benevolent agencies could not deal with this problem, the matter must become a public obligation. Parental responsibility, he fully admitted, must not be lessened. Parents who could not make provision for their children must be assisted as a public obligation and without any suggestion of pauperisation. But those who could and would not feed their children must be severely punished. Reference had been made to the neglectful working class parent, but "working class" was not the right term, for in many cases they did not work. The great bulk of the working classes made enormous sacrifices for their children. But there was a small minority of thoroughly thriftless, self-indulgent, and drunken parents, who brought children into the world for their own pleasure, and handed them over on the first opportunity to the care of others. Why punish a child by allowing him to go hungry because of the shaking off of parental responsibility? He would therefore say that they must punish those parents who could and would not do their duty.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
(Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University)

said he was sorry that this interesting and important debate had to be curtailed into so small a compass. Hon. Members were aware, from a communication he addressed to the House before Easter, that a Committee which was sitting was collecting a quantity of very important and valuable evidence on this subject, but he felt that the matter was ripe for discussion, and that the discussion should not be delayed until the Committee reported. The difficulties which beset the matter were, he thought, obvious from the fact that the Member for Cambridge University when in office did not feel able to make any proposal for dealing with the question. The evil was a mere episode in the life of poverty, a local symptom of a widespread evil. They had not merely to deal with the individual child which went hungry to school; they had to deal with children ill-fed, ill-managed, ill-nurtured from birth, who were themselves behind the rest of the children and hindered their education. From evidence submitted to the Committee, it appeared that about 90 per cent. of the children in whatever class started with an average chance of a healthy life; but in the case of slum children by the time they reached school age 60 per cent. were below the normal standard. The regularity of school life so far benefited the children that midway in that life the percentage below the normal diminished to 40 per cent., and at the conclusion it fell to about 15 per cent. This showed that they had to deal with two classes of children, and with a very wide-reaching evil. The parents of these children did not know how to feed them. Some of the remedies were attainable without legislation, such as the gradual teaching of the laws of

health. The Board of Education might do something by communicating with local authorities, through its intelligence department, what was being done in the matter by other local authorities. But there were some things which could only be dealt with by the State. The case of retarded children in particular could only be dealt with by an extension of the system of truant and industrial schools in which the children would get their meals, a smaller amount of intellectual teaching and a considerable amount of manual exercise and work about the house. The case of children brought to school occasionally underfed he would like to see dealt with by voluntary effort, organised and conducted under the local authority. He thought they might work out a scheme to meet the difficulties and evils discussed that night. He could not vote for the Resolution as it stood, because he did not think it was right that the House should impose on a Department of the Government an obligation to require a local authority to do a certain thing which involved very careful consideration in the working out, and which could not be worked out except with full information and careful consideration. He might say that whether the Resolution were carried or not, he would continue to devote his attention to the subject. If the Resolution should be rejected he would work on patiently in the endeavour to solve the question. If it were accepted he should not be hurried into submitting any crude or ill-considered scheme. Having said this, he hoped the House would understand that his attention was seriously directed to the question, and in the circumstances they might be disposed to leave it in his hands.

Sir William Anson.

*MR. BOND said the question now before the House was really part of the greater question of the poverty of the people and of the means of meeting the distresses which poverty brought with it. It involved also the question of how far it was incumbent on the State to aid parents to discharge one of their primary responsibilities, namely, to provide food for the children they brought into the world.

And, it being Midnight, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to interrupt the business.

Whereupon Mr. CLAUDE HAY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but Mr. SPEAKER withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question, and the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Wednesday next.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT (DEFICIENCY ANNUITY).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of The Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 21st April, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The LORD HARTISMERE (*L. Henniker*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with:—Richard Jaeger's Patent.

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with:—Chippenham Gas; Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas; Sheppy Gas; Wellington (Somerset) Gas; North Staffordshire Railway; Norwich Water; Sutton Gas; Croydon Gas; Great Northern Railway; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway; Ryde Gas. The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. The Lord BALFOUR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The orders made on the 22nd of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed.

Ulster Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed.

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March last discharged, and Bill committed.

Gomersal Gas Bill; Bexhill Water and Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Torquay Tramways Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Great Eastern Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a; Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL AND HUTCHESONS' EDUCATIONAL TRUST BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, under ordinary circumstances I should move the Second Reading of this Bill in a couple of sentences, but as my noble friend Lord Camperdown intends to ask your Lordships to adopt the somewhat drastic treatment of refusing the Bill a hearing before a Committee of your Lordships' House, I must briefly state what the history and objects of Hutchesons' Hospital and Hutchesons' Educational Trust are, and also the proposals contained in this Bill. The Hutchesons' Hospital and Hutchesons' Educational Trust is the result of the endowment of certain worthy citizens of Glasgow of two centuries ago. I think there were five or six original endowers. There were

the brothers George and Thomas Hutcheson in 1640, there were James Blair and David Baxter in 1714 and 1776, and there was William Scott in 1818. All these citizens of Glasgow had the same object—namely, to benefit Glasgow men of their own class. It was not a charity for the benefit of Glasgow as a whole, but for the benefit of the burgesses of Glasgow; and the intention of the founders of the charity was to help their brother burgesses when in need, first by giving them pecuniary assistance, and secondly by giving education to their sons. The proportion in which these funds were to be distributed was, roughly, three-fifths for personal maintenance and two-fifths for the purpose of education. When the scheme first came into operation its method was this—the personal assistance was given to needy burgesses of Glasgow by putting them into a hospital—that is to say—they were lodged and maintained in a sort of glorified workhouse. The education was given by boarding out the boys in different parts of Glasgow. But this system was very soon changed. As early as 1652 a school for the boys was established, and by 1780 the hospital system had fallen through, and, instead, pensions were given to the needy burgesses. So things went on, and in 1846 the present boys' school was built, and in 1876 a girls' school was also erected by means of which girls, for the first time, had the benefit of educational assistance under the charity. Then, in the year 1872, the Hutchesons' Hospital Act was passed which allocated the funds of the trust in the proportion of about half to pensions and half to education. In 1882 came the Scottish Educational Endowment Act, and, as a consequence of that, the Scottish Educational Endowment Commission, of which my noble friend Lord Balfour of Burleigh was President, in 1885 prepared a scheme for the administration of this trust, by which the charge of education was taken out of the hands of the old body which had complete control—namely, the patrons—and given to a new body called the governors. It was decided that two-fifths of the funds coming from the Hutcheson, Blair, and Baxter endowments should go to education, and three-fifths to pensions.

Let me now say a word as to the two bodies who manage the funds. First, there are the patrons. They consist of

Lord Tweedmouth.

the whole of the Corporation of Glasgow, some seventy-seven persons. Added to them are twenty-two outsiders, made up of the seven ministers of the Established Churches in the old city parishes of Glasgow, and certain persons appointed by outside bodies, of whom the most important are the Merchants House and the Trades House in Glasgow, making altogether a body of ninety-nine. It is due to this body of patrons that the funds have been so admirably managed that from an endowment, originally of a few thousand pounds, the annual income has grown to £19,000 a year. I may say that the patrons still have complete control of the pension part of the scheme, and also complete management of the general fund. The patrons are unanimously in favour of this Bill. I come now to the governors, who, under the scheme of 1885, were given the charge and the management of the educational part of this Trust. They, too, are a very representative body. They consist of twenty-one persons, eleven being nominated by the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, one by the University of the City of Glasgow, two by the city ministers of Glasgow, one by the Merchants House in Glasgow, one by the Trades House in Glasgow, three by the School Board of Glasgow, and two taken from ministers of other denominations than that of the Established Church, who have churches within the district affected. I think your Lordships will agree that that is a thoroughly representative body. Of the twenty-one gentlemen who form the body of governors, fourteen are in favour of the Bill as it stands. There are six against it, and there is one, a very distinguished member of the Glasgow School Board—Sir John Cuthbertson—who is neutral. You are, therefore, in this position. The patrons are unanimously in favour of this Bill, and the governors are in favour of it in a majority of more than two to one.

The first object of the Bill is to enable the governors to put an end to the schools that are now carried on under the Trust—the boys' school and the girls' school. That may seem, at first blush, rather a strong order, but I will show that it is not so. Since 1885 the whole circumstances of education in Glasgow have totally changed. You have had compulsory free education introduced, you have had

greatly increased grants for education, and there is also this other point, that the situation in which the present boys' school under this Trust is placed in Glasgow is one that has had a bad effect on the success of the school. Whereas in the year 1885 there were on the boys' side 1,825 fee-paying scholars, there are now only 164; and whereas in 1885 there were on the girls' side 562 fee-paying scholars, there are now only 216; and it is calculated that the average course of education of each of the scholars in these schools amounts to no less than £13 a year, as against £2 18s. 3½d. a head for the scholars in the elementary schools of the School Board of Glasgow, and £9 11s. 4d. for the scholars in the higher grade schools in Glasgow. From that it is very evident that the education given to the children in these schools is exceedingly expensive, and that the money that is now devoted to these schools could be much more usefully and profitably expended in some other direction for the purposes of education. That idea is borne out by the action of the School Board for Glasgow itself, for last year that Board accepted the propositions now made in the Bill, and consented to take over the schools of the Hutchesons' Hospital. Now they have resiled from that position, and say they will not take over the schools; but the reason they give for that is, that already in the public schools of Glasgow there is ample accommodation for all the scholars likely to be brought forward, and that they have already under their jurisdiction sufficient room for all the scholars to be set free supposing these schools were closed. In that respect the action of the School Board itself is an argument in favour of the proposition of the governors.

As I have said, roughly speaking the proportion given to pensions and education in the past has been three-fifths to two-fifths. The proposal now made by the governors is, taking the annual income at the present moment at £19,000, to stereotype the sum of £7,000 for education, and they propose that the rest shall be given for pension purposes under the original Trust. But there is nothing final about the £7,000. If a Committee of your Lordships' House thought that a larger proportion should be given, or that the proportion should be smaller, it would

be perfectly open to the Committee to make any such alteration, and the promoters of the Bill would be perfectly willing to accept it. In consequence of the opposition of the School Board, a number of the clauses now in the Bill will have to be struck out, because there is no longer any reason for an arrangement between the two bodies as to the disposition of these schools. The Bill goes on to lay down the various objects to which this £7,000 a year is to be applied; but again I say there is nothing final in these proposals. They are proposals that a Committee of your Lordships' House could well investigate and upon which the Committee could well express an opinion. When my noble friend the Acting Chairman of Committees brought this Bill before the House the other day my noble friend Lord Camperdown took exception to it on two grounds—in the first place, because it was too soon after the 1885 settlement. I admit that it is soon after that settlement, but the change in the educational position of Glasgow since 1885 has been very great, and what was suitable in that year, and what was the best course then, need not necessarily be suitable or the best course to-day. Therefore I think that argument is not a sound one, and that it is a perfectly fair thing that a further revision of the situation should take place. The other point made by my noble friend was that it was inexpedient to deal with this question now because there was a Scottish Education Bill about to be introduced. That Bill has now been brought forward, and I have no doubt His Majesty's Government before the end of the session will have passed it, but I say that that very fact is an additional argument in favour of a new and final settlement of the position of this Trust.

The Scottish Education Bill in no way deals with educational endowments. The Secretary for Scotland, in introducing the Bill, especially disclaimed any intention of dealing with endowments in any way whatever. Undoubtedly the Bill will bring about a new state of affairs. The Glasgow School Board, under the Bill, is retained with a larger area. In the case of a fund like this, which must necessarily be a fluctuating fund, it seems to me that in the interests of education

itself it is desirable that a fixed sum should be applied year by year for the purpose of education in Glasgow. It must be remembered that you are departing, to some extent, from the intention of the endowers of this fund by applying any part of it to the education of children in Glasgow generally. The money will be applied for the benefit of the whole of the young people of Glasgow, and of a very much enlarged Glasgow. I argue, then, that it is not too soon to deal with this matter, and, indeed, that the introduction of the Scottish Education Bill is a good reason for a revision and a final settlement of this question, and for fixing a definite sum which shall, year by year, be applied for educational purposes to the best possible effect. I think it is desirable that the methods in which that money is to be applied should be fixed in some way and should be left to be managed and altered from time to time, as may be necessary, by the authorities controlling this particular Trust and the education authority of Glasgow itself. I ask your Lordships to read this Bill a second time and send it to a Committee. There will be several questions that will come before the Committee. The first question the Committee will have to decide will be, Is it desirable that the schools of the Hutchesons' Trust should be abolished and be merged in the general school system of Glasgow? The second question will be, Is it desirable that the sum to be applied annually from this Trust for education in Glasgow should be a fixed sum? The Bill proposes £7,000, and the Committee will have to decide whether it shall be that sum, or whether the amount shall be higher or lower. Finally, the Committee will have to decide whether the methods by which it is proposed to apply the funds are good ones, and, if not, in what way they can be amended. These are all subjects with which a Committee of your Lordships' House are well able to deal, and I trust you will give the Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."
—(*The Lord Tweedmouth.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My noble friend Lord Tweedmouth has gone in some detail into the merits of the Bill,
Lord Tweedmouth.

as perhaps was necessary in view of the fact that I have given notice to move its rejection. I hope your Lordships will excuse me if I do not follow him into those details, but lay before your Lordships in a very few words the reasons for the Amendment which I have placed on the Paper. It is only necessary for me to go back as far as the year 1885. In that year the Commissioners, of whom I think Lord Bal'our of Burleigh was Chairman, made a scheme for Hutchesons' Hospital under the Act of 1882; and, to put it shortly, the result was this: they decided that for the future two-thirds of the income of the hospital was to be applied to education and the remainder to pensions. A body of twenty-one governors was appointed to administer this Trust, and the majority of those governors—namely, I think, fourteen out of the twenty-one—are now approaching this House to secure an alteration of the Trust and the terms of the scheme which they were only appointed to administer. In reality the governors, as such, have nothing more to do with the constitution of the Trust under which they work than any other members of the community. My first objection to the Bill is this, that it is an attempt by a private Bill to alter a public Act of Parliament. I am not going to argue that question now, but it is one which is open to a great deal of argument. The next objection to the Bill is that it proposes to sell the schools of the Trust. Since the Bill was introduced it has been entirely altered. The Bill as presented to this House set out that they had made an agreement with the School Board for Glasgow to take over the schools. For reasons with which it is not necessary to trouble your Lordships, the School Board for Glasgow have changed their mind, and, so far from assenting to this Bill, they are opposing it.

I own that when I first looked into the matter it appeared to me that if the governors wished to alter the Trust they ought to have adopted a course which was laid down in the Act of Parliament and have appealed to the Court of Session. The Court of Session is in Scotland; the majority and the minority of the governors are resident in the neighbourhood; and the matter might have been

inquired into by the Court of Session. But, on looking into the matter further, I must say it does appear that this is not an amendment or an alteration of the scheme, which could be dealt with in that way, but an absolutely new scheme, and therefore I do not think that the argument that they ought not to have applied to Parliament would fairly apply. But, at all events, I think your Lordships will be of opinion that if this Bill is to go to a Committee, the opinion of those governors who are opposed to it ought to be placed before the Committee quite as strongly and on the same terms as those of the governors who are in favour of it. As a matter of fact, so doubtful is the procedure which is proposed by this Bill that the governors have no right whatever to apply the funds of the Trust to the promotion of this Bill. I have looked at the Bill to see how it was proposed to provide for the costs. The Bill is promoted by fourteen of the governors, and they have inserted a clause empowering them to pay their own expenses out of the funds of the Trust, which they were really appointed only to administer, and which they have no special right, any more than anybody else, to propose to alter. If it is right that their views should be placed before the Committee and that their expenses should be paid, I hope the House will be of opinion that the views of those who are opposed to the Bill should also be placed before the Committee and that their expenses should be paid in a similar manner.

I know that your Lordships are always unwilling to give instructions to a Committee, but I think this is a matter which is really of very considerable importance, and in which an exception should be made. If the views of the minority are not placed before the Committee, I do not see how the Committee will be able to judge as to the merits of the opposition. In the Scottish Education Bill, which is now before Parliament, there is a clause dealing with the transfer of schools, under which this transfer might be carried out, provided that the School Board agreed to accept the schools. I do not, however, wish to go into that now. What I would suggest to the House is that the attention of the Committee should be called to this point. I am not aware that the minority

of governors have up to the present time petitioned against the Bill. I only know one of them, Professor Ramsey, and I do not know whether he and the other governors in the minority have or have not petitioned against the Bill, but I think it is very likely they will not be willing to incur personally the cost of opposing the Bill. The result will be that the Committee will not be placed in possession of their views. I suggest that if the costs of the majority of the governors are to be paid out of the funds of the Trust it is only fair that the costs of the minority should be so paid. I do not know what the opinion of my noble friend Lord Balfour of Burleigh may be with regard to a suggestion of that kind, but if he were in favour of its being in some way brought before the Committee then I think that in all the circumstances I should not be inclined to press my opposition to the Bill to the extent of refusing it a Second Reading. I formally move my Amendment until I hear what opinion may be expressed on this point.

Amendment moved—

“To leave out the word ‘now,’ and add at the end of the Motion the words ‘this day six months.’”—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

THE EARL OF KINTORE: My Lords, perhaps it would be convenient that I should state in a word or two the view of His Majesty's Government with regard to this Bill. I hope I am justified in thinking, from the remarks that have just fallen from my noble friend, that it is not his intention to persist in his Amendment for the summary rejection of the Bill by refusing it a Second Reading. The Bill, no doubt, does offer several points for criticism, and it is not one to which it is possible to pledge the Government's support. At the same time, the Government do not wish to go so far as to support its rejection on Second Reading. They think that the better and more convenient course is not to oppose the Second Reading, but, reserving full freedom of action at later stages, to agree to the Second Reading, and send the Bill upstairs to a Committee.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, I think it is probable that, holding the position which I do at the present

time, the House will not unnaturally expect a few words of guidance on this matter from me. Perhaps I ought just to say a word as to the position in which I, personally, am placed, as both the noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of this Bill, and the noble Earl who moved its rejection, have stated that it is in fact a Bill for the alteration of a decision which was come to by a Commission some fifteen or twenty years ago, over which I had the honour to preside. It was, I may mention, the first Chairmanship which I had the pleasure of occupying, and it was given to me by the noble Earl opposite, the Leader of the Opposition, under circumstances which he will, no doubt, very well recollect. When this Bill was presented last year at the Scottish Office in the form of an Order under the Private Bill (Scotland) Procedure Act, I agreed with my noble friend Lord Morley, the Chairman of Committees of your Lordships' House, that, owing to the circumstances in which I was placed, and the manner in which I had been identified with the previous decision, it would be better that it should not go forward under that Act, but should come to Parliament to be decided here, and that the noble Lord the Chairman of Committees should exercise his discretion over the formal stages in regard to it. It is rather by an irony of circumstances, that the very state of things, which I desired to avoid, has now come about, and I find myself, by the action which I then took, in the very position which I did not want to be in.

The noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of the Bill has so fairly and satisfactorily stated the circumstances that I do not think I need say a word about the narrative or the reasons for which this Bill comes before us. As has been stated, the object of the Bill is to effect certain very important changes in the destination of Hutchesons' Fund. It is to end the schools, to alter the division of the funds between the charitable and the educational sides of the Trust, and to alter the allocation of the funds, whatever they may be, which are hereafter to be devoted to educational purposes. The noble Lord who moved the rejection of the Bill seemed to suggest that this ought to have been

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

effected by an appeal to the Court of Session in Scotland.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I beg the noble Lord's pardon. I said I at first thought that, but that on further consideration, owing to the revolutionary nature of the Bill, I could not urge that argument.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: That was exactly the point I was going to make. These changes are so revolutionary that I do not think the Court, under the powers given to it by the statute, would have consented to undertake such a revision. The noble Lord also said it was wrong that the schools should be sold, and seemed to animadvert upon the changes which have been made in the Bill. I do not think there is much in that point, because the School Board was the first to change its position. The School Board was, I think, perfectly justified in changing its position if it liked, because it is a different Board from the one which was in office when this proposal was first brought forward. With regard to the point which my noble friend, Lord Camperdown, made as to the expenses of the minority, I think that is a perfectly fair subject for consideration by the Committee, and I have no doubt that it will be considered by them. I have made inquiry to-day, and I find that the minority of the trustees have presented a petition and will, therefore, be able to put their views before the Committee. I do not think this is the proper time to discuss the merits of this proposal, and I do not propose, therefore, to go into the advantages or disadvantages of it. If I have an opinion, I am bound to say that, at any rate as regards some of the changes, I think they go too far, and I think they are too revolutionary; but I cannot take up the position, after a lapse of nearly twenty years since the present arrangement was made, and after the changes which have been brought about in secondary and higher education in Scotland, that there is no case for some change. Personally, I should deprecate very much the changing of the proportion to be devoted to pensions and to education. But, although my opinion is in that direction, I am not prepared, as Chairman of Committees, to suggest to

Parliament that that is a matter so contrary to the procedure and practice of Parliament that it should not be discussed if the majority of the trustees wish to have discussion upon it. If I have any great regret, it is that a considerable portion of the funds of this charitable institution should be spent in a contest of this kind, and to that extent I regret the action of the majority of the patrons.

I am able to say that if your Lordships consent to give the Bill a Second Reading there is no fear whatever that the points at issue will not be fully discussed upstairs. Seven petitions have been presented against the Bill, and, in all the circumstances, I think we may rely upon it that the matter will be fully discussed before the tribunal to whom I hope your Lordships will send it. Perhaps I ought to say that I have received a paper to-day from the promoters of the Bill to the effect that it is intended to oppose the *locus standi* of some of the bodies who have petitioned against the Bill. I am satisfied that most, if not all, of these bodies are interested in effect in this matter, and I am bound to say that if it should turn out that, according to the Rules of Parliament, narrowly construed, material interests such as these are shut out from a hearing upstairs, my attitude towards the Bill would be very greatly changed. Undoubtedly, great changes are proposed, and it is only right that they should be fully discussed in the light of all the information and in the presence of, and by, those who will be most affected by the ultimate decision come to. On the whole, I think it would be wise not to interfere in this case with the ordinary practice of this House, but to send this Bill to a tribunal upstairs, where, in the light of full information, what I believe will be a just and a fair decision will be come to. On the whole, therefore, I support the Second Reading.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Would the noble Lord state his opinion with regard to help being given to the minority to bring their case forward?

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I think the usual practice is, that the matter should be brought before the Committee. If the Committee thought that a minority

had acted frivolously or without due cause, they would probably not offer their expenses to be paid; but, if they think, as I think it is probable that in this case they will, that substantial interests are affected, and that these highly-respectable and influential gentlemen have not acted frivolously, I should personally express the hope that consideration would be given to the point raised by Lord Camperdown. That is a matter which can safely be left to the good sense of the Committee.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I am sure those who are supporting this Bill will agree with what has just been said by Lord Balfour, and I hope that, in the circumstances, my noble friend will withdraw his Amendment for the rejection of the Bill.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: In view of the statement that has been made that the minority will have an opportunity of stating their views, I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed: the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3138. Denmark (Iceland); No. 3139. Servia.

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 1902 (PART II. CIVIL JUDICIAL STATISTICS).

Statistics relating to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts and other Civil Courts, edited by Sir John Macdonell, C.B., LL.D., a Master of the Supreme Court.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Report of a public inquiry held under Sections 16 and 23 of the Education

Act, 1902, and Section 73 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, by A. T. Lawrence, K.C., at Carmarthen, on the 24th and 25th of March, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [H.L.]

The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended in Committee of the Whole House. (No. 45.)

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL

Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a To-morrow (The Viscount Hutchinson [*E. Donoughmore*].) (No. 46.)

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, in 1894 the Legislature legalised a practice already adopted by a great number of boards of guardians of giving outdoor relief to applicants without taking into consideration money that they received from friendly societies. What this Bill proposes to do is to make that practice universal, but only as regards sick pay, and only as regards sick pay up to 5s. a week. This Bill is well known to many of your Lordships. It has twice passed the House of Commons unopposed, and it has twice, I regret to say, been rejected by your Lordships; but last year it was only rejected by the very narrow majority of fifty-seven to fifty, and I think I am entitled to say that the opposition on that occasion was not either very fierce or very determined. On that occasion my noble and learned friend Lord James of Hereford was unfortunate enough to be opposed by Lord Northbrook, who led the opposition to this Bill, but he merely opposed the Bill on one point. He expressed the opinion that there was not sufficient information to hand as to the working of the Act of 1894. Lord James was unfortunately opposed also by the noble Earl the Leader of the

Opposition on the same ground, but I hope that the Bill will on this occasion be read a second time, as both these noble Earls will, I understand, explain to the House that they do not intend to continue their opposition to the measure.

The attitude of the supporters of the Bill has always been that there is no necessity for more information than we have got. Since the year 1894 we have had experience of the working of the Act of that year, and our experience has been this, that although, no doubt, there have been some differences of opinion between boards of guardians, still, in the main, those boards have availed themselves of the option given them by the Act of 1894. Surely, as my noble and learned friend said last year, uniformity is desirable in the matter of the administration of Poor Law relief in regard to friendly societies. Under the present system, as my noble and learned friend explained, whether a man does, or does not, get any benefit from sick pay from a friendly society depends rather upon geography than upon the justice of his case. It does not only depend on the particular board of guardians that may have to settle this question, but, where the board is equally divided in opinion, it depends on whether or not certain guardians happen to be present at the particular meeting which settles the case. Therefore you may say that whether a man gets the advantage of his thrift in subscribing to a friendly society or not, depends not only on geography, but also on the chance presence or absence of a particular member of a board of guardians. That is to say, at present the matter is a mere lottery. What the friendly societies say is this, that there is no sufficient inducement for a man to subscribe to friendly societies in order that he may obtain sick pay. He does not know whether he will obtain any benefit. He may obtain a benefit, but he may not.

The noble and learned Lord put the case last year of two men talking over the matter. One of them said, "I am going to pay into a friendly society and I shall get sick pay of 5s. a week if I am ill," and the other man replied, "I shall not pay

in, because when I'm ill the board of guardians may take into consideration the fact that I get 5s. a week from a friendly society and give me no more. That is to say, if you pay into the friendly society and I do not, we may both get exactly the same when we are ill." Certain objections have been taken to this Bill. It has been objected to on the ground that it, in point of fact, proposed a revolution in the principle of the Poor Law, and that it is inconsistent with the Statute of Elizabeth, which enacts that the only claim to outdoor relief is destitution. Whether this Bill is or is not consistent with the Act of Elizabeth does not seem to me to be before your Lordships to-day, because, if it was wrong to say that thrift ought to be taken into consideration in granting outdoor relief, that wrong was done by the Act of 1894. Again, if it is said, as it is said, Why do you give special privileges to friendly societies over other forms of thrift? The answer to that is that that preference has already been given by the Act of 1894. Moreover, it appear to me that even on its merits there is a great deal to be said for special privileges being given to friendly societies, for they save an untold amount in the rates through the thrift they inculcate among the poor. If you pass this Bill more people will pay into these friendly societies, and consequently fewer of them will come upon the rates.

I would again emphasise the fact that this is merely a Bill to deal with sick pay which stands on a totally different footing from any other kind of relief granted by the friendly societies. The difference was very well put by Sir Hugh Owen, when he was advising the Government to bring in the Bill of 1894. He said—

"Sick pay is in some degree destined for the restoration of the health of the subscriber."

That is a very special and important reason why you should be specially indulgent in the matter of sick pay. Boards of guardians can give what is necessary, but not more than is necessary, and the difference between what the board of guardians give and the 5s. that the man may get out of his friendly society is this, that the extra 5s. will be just about what he would have to pay for a nurse. The result is that a man who subscribes to a friendly society has

the advantage himself of getting better sooner and more completely, and that is an advantage which is shared not only by himself and his family but by the community generally. This Bill legalises nothing that was not legal before.

In connection with this Bill I have two great grounds for regret. First of all, I regret very much that the Bill was not introduced again by my noble and learned friend opposite, and I regret still more that it was not made a Government measure, as it clearly ought to have been, because the Government have over and over again blessed the Bill. Last year, in the House of Commons, Mr. Walter Long, representing the Local Government Board, said—

"The Bill has been considered by my Department, which is responsible for the Poor Law administration of the country. It has been carefully examined by experts and men of great experience in the administration of the Poor Law, and I have most carefully considered it myself. In addition to that the Bill was most carefully considered by the Cabinet as a whole, and it was decided that it was worthy of the support of this House, and one which we sincerely hope to see accepted, and placed upon the Statute-book."

This year we have got further than the opinion even of the President of the Local Government Board. Speaking on 23rd March, the Prime Minister, referring to this measure, said—

"The Government entirely approve of the Bill and will do all they can to further its progress."

I am told that I have made an error in tactics in introducing this Bill first in the House of Lords. If I have committed that error I am not solely responsible, because I am acting according to the wishes of the friendly societies. And, my Lords, I think there is a good deal to be said for the point of view that the friendly societies take up. They are disappointed—deeply disappointed—that your Lordships should have twice refused to pass a Bill that had practically the unanimous assent of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding that disappointment they desire to treat your Lordships' House with the utmost respect and to be perfectly conciliatory in this matter, and they have deemed it more courteous not to press a Bill again upon your Lordships through the House of Commons. What good would that

do? Your Lordships know the opinion of the House of Commons upon it. It would add nothing to its authority to send it up again through the House of Commons, and the friendly societies think it better to ask your Lordships' House on its own initiative to give the Bill a Second Reading. They are confident that this House will give all the weight that ought to be attached to a Bill that comes up, as this Bill has come up, twice from the House of Commons. It is no use accentuating what your Lordships know perfectly well already. In conclusion, therefore, let me express my very earnest hope that at the third time of asking your Lordships will be pleased to give a Second Reading to this Bill, and will not again bitterly disappoint the hopes of 4,000,000 of the most thrifty and best-conducted working people of this country.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."—(*Lord Monkswell*.)

*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My Lords, on two occasions I ventured to think it my duty to present to your Lordships certain reasons why I thought that further information was necessary before your Lordships agreed to the Bill, the Second Reading of which has just been moved, and I think perhaps it is right that I should state at once what course I propose to take on the present occasion. The noble Lord has indicated to your Lordships that the Prime Minister has distinctly stated in another place that it was his intention to use the whole power of the Government in order to support this Bill. That being so, it would be putting your Lordships to unnecessary inconvenience if I were to bring forward a Motion for its rejection in this House. I know the power of the Government in your Lordships' House, and I think it would be wrong for me to take that course. But in arriving at that conclusion I am bound to say that nothing in the speech of the noble Lord has in any way altered the opinion which I have held regarding the Bill.

I wish also to say a few words in defence of the conduct of your Lordships with regard to this Bill, because that

Lord Monkswell.

conduct has been partly impugned by the noble Lord who has just sat down, and it has been freely attacked outside this House. In the year 1894, as the noble Lord has said, a Bill was introduced into this House by a private Member to legalise the proceedings of boards of guardians in not taking into consideration, in awarding outdoor relief, the receipts of the applicants from friendly societies. That Bill gave a discretionary power to boards of guardians, and when it was introduced the noble Lord who was then Leader of the House—my noble friend the late Earl of Kimberley—said he thought the Bill was wrong in principle, but at the same time it was desirable to pass it in order to legalise a practice which had grown up. The noble Lord, the then Leader of the Opposition—the late Marquess of Salisbury—spoke still more strongly on the matter. Lord Salisbury said on that occasion that, in his opinion, the discretion given to boards of guardians should be absolute. Therefore the Act of 1894 passed your Lordships' House on the distinct understanding that the concession given in respect to members of friendly societies should be discretionary, and should be considered by the guardians when they came to deal with each individual case. That is the position of your Lordships in respect to the Act of 1894. That Act had only been passed one year when there was a very important Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, which made the following recommendation—

"We are of opinion that it would be undesirable to interfere, either by statute or Order, with the discretion now vested in boards of guardians as to the manner in which relief should be given, since it is in our view of essential importance that guardians should have power to deal on its merits with each individual case."

That was in 1895. Notwithstanding that, the Bill was passed on the distinct understanding that the power should be discretionary. Notwithstanding the opinion of that Commission, from that day to this there has been a constant attempt on the part of the noble Lord and others with whom he has acted in this matter to change that principle, and to make it compulsory upon boards of guardians not to consider the friendly society sick pay of any applicant for outdoor relief.

The first compulsory Bill was introduced only two years after the discretionary Bill was passed. For several years those attempts were opposed by the Government.† Suddenly, however, a change took place. In 1901 there was a qualified support of the Bill on the part of the Local Government Board in the House of Commons, and when the Bill came up to this House the matter was considered to be an open question. Noble Lords were not to take it as a Party question, and it was intimated that Members could vote according to their lights. On that occasion there was a majority of two to one against the Bill—the same Bill as that which the noble Lord has now introduced. Last year the Bill again came up to this House and we decided that we would not attempt to throw it out, but we thought we had a right to receive some further information before being asked to pass a Bill of this importance.

I do not think that any of your Lordships will deny that to pass an Act absolutely debarring boards of guardians from considering the merits of individual cases that come before them for relief is a great and substantial change in the principle of the Poor Law. That being so, we desired that a Select Committee might be appointed to hear the reasons that friendly societies had to give for introducing the Bill, and to see whether they could establish the ground they took—namely, that sufficient consideration was not given to members of friendly societies by the different boards of guardians. The division which took place last year on the Bill was considered to be a division on the question whether there should or should not be a Select Committee for that purpose. A small majority was in favour of a Committee, and it became my duty to ask your Lordships to agree to the appointment of a Committee. I regret to remind your Lordships that the friendly societies intimated, through my noble friend Lord Portsmouth, that they would decline to give any evidence before the Committee, even if your Lordships were to appoint it. In those circumstances, I considered that it would have

been futile to ask your Lordships to agree to the appointment of a Committee. That is how the question stands in regard to your Lordships' House, and I do not think anyone can say that your Lordships have treated this question otherwise than with great calmness and with great consideration, and I assert that in no speech that has been made on this Bill, although we doubted its propriety, has a word been said against the great value of friendly societies. I have myself on several occasions in this House and elsewhere expressed myself in favour of those societies. As far as your Lordships' position in the matter is concerned, I think it would be exceedingly unjust to charge your Lordships with any hostility to friendly societies in consequence of the manner in which you have treated the Bill. The noble Lord who moved the Second Reading said that in his opinion it is right to give a preference to friendly societies. That is just one of the questions upon which inquiry is absolutely necessary. Your Lordships are aware of the mass of savings of the people of this country quite apart from friendly societies. I find that the sum of £322,000,000 represents the funds of provident societies and Post Office and other savings banks. If we take £30,000,000 from that for the money in the Post Office Savings Bank, which may be represented as invested by people of the better class, there is a sum of nearly £300,000,000 remaining. Would your Lordships be surprised to know that out of these savings there is only some £38,000,000 in the friendly societies? I doubt whether it is right or just, if this is a proper measure, that those who have savings of other kinds should not have exactly the same privilege as those with savings in the friendly societies.

LORD MONKSWELL: My argument was that that preference had been already given in 1894, and that it was not given for the first time by this Bill.

*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: At any rate this measure raises a question of very great difficulty and importance, and one which in the opinion of those of us who supported the appointment of a Committee should be inquired into. The

† *Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], page 1262.

capital of the friendly societies is probably not a fifth of the whole of the savings of the people of this country, and I say that it is a question for inquiry whether other savings should not be treated in a similar manner. But as the friendly societies declined to give evidence before this Committee we were precluded from receiving the information which, in my opinion, was absolutely necessary before such a measure should be passed. The noble Lord also gave as a reason for this Bill that there should be a uniform practice throughout the country. We have always asked the friendly societies to produce any evidence of cases in which boards of guardians have not given sufficient consideration, since the Act of 1894, to savings invested in friendly societies. Not a single case of hardship of that kind has been brought forward, and we thought that as they had not chosen to produce any such case there ought to be inquiry so that your Lordships might be satisfied that there was some justification for an alteration of such great importance in the administration of the Poor Law. The noble Lord said that friendly societies were of opinion that the present condition of the law deterred persons from becoming members of those societies. He stated that when a man joined a friendly society he wanted to know whether his sick pay would be considered supposing he had the misfortune to apply for parish relief. I have to say, in answer to that statement, that that is not the opinion of the friendly societies. The friendly societies, in their statement which was put before your Lordships last year, distinctly denied that anyone joined a friendly society with the view of coming on the parish for parochial relief. The reason a man joined a friendly society was, they said, that he should not come on the parish. These are the words of the friendly societies in the paper sent to your Lordships in defence of this Bill—

"The persons chiefly affected joined the societies many years ago. The very object they had in joining was to avoid the necessity in their old age of applying to the board of guardians."

they went on to say—

"We are in a position to assert that those who join friendly societies at the present time are actuated by the same motives."

The Earl of Northbrook.

Therefore the idea put forward now, that the administration of the Act of 1894 by boards of guardians can be any deterrent to persons joining friendly societies, appears to be answered by the statement of the friendly societies themselves. I consider that thrift and support out of taxes or rates ought to be separate altogether one from the other, and that is another reason for the view we took last year that this matter should be inquired into. I should not have adduced any arguments against the Bill, it not being my intention to ask your Lordships to refuse it a Second Reading, had it not been for the speech of the noble Lord in introducing it. In one observation of the noble Lord I entirely concur. I refer to his statement that a Bill of this importance should have been introduced by His Majesty's Government and not by a private Member. I can conceive nothing worse than amending the Poor Law in very important parts by Bills brought in by private Members. I venture to submit to His Majesty's Government that this is a matter of great public importance, and one deserving of inquiry. It cannot stand where it is. It will be followed by other Bills of a similar kind. The whole question is one which should be looked into by His Majesty's Government, and while I protest again against the principle of the Bill, I venture to add to that protest an earnest appeal to His Majesty's Government not to leave this important question to private Members, but to deal boldly themselves with a question which vitally affects the interests of the people of this country.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (the Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I will not take up the time of the House by repeating the arguments which have been already used this evening, but I wish to confirm what has already been said during the course of this discussion—namely, that in the view of His Majesty's Government it is desirable that this Bill should be read a second time. If any doubt arises in our minds on this occasion, that doubt is due not so much to the contents of the Bill as to the circumstances in which it has been introduced. I understand that two other Bills dealing

with the same subject, and presumably promoted from the same source, are before the other House of Parliament. The noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of this Bill gave us a very considerate explanation of the reason for which a third Bill was introduced to your Lordships' House this evening. Whether there are other more obscure reasons, possibly of a strategical character, which have led to the course which has been followed, I will not pause to inquire. The subject is perhaps not one into which it would be in accordance with the rules of order that I should enter. As to the Bill itself, it seems to us that the question of principle has been long ago disposed of—I mean by the Bill of 1894; and, indeed, before the date of that Act I understand that it was not unusual for Poor Law guardians to distribute outdoor relief to persons who were in receipt of pay from friendly societies. Under the Act of 1894 a person may receive pay of that description, and to an extent exceeding the amount of 5s. and it may be pay other than sick pay, and nevertheless he may, and, in fact does, receive outdoor relief from the guardians. In our opinion it is desirable that this practice should be regularised. We think it inconvenient that in one union such relief should be freely given and not in another union.

The noble Earl who spoke last, and who has often addressed us with authority on this subject, suggested that the matter was one with which His Majesty's Government might themselves have dealt, and that a Government Bill upon the subject should have been placed before your Lordships. Well, my Lords, Parliament has already three Bills dealing with the matter, and I really think that we might well hesitate to add a fourth to their number; but, in any case, it is quite clear that it would be impossible for us to add to our programme of legislation for this session a Bill of this kind. The Bill is brought forward by private Members, and, believing as we do that its proposals are reasonable, knowing as we do that it is supported by the friendly societies, that it has been carefully examined by the Local Government Board and is approved by them and their advisers, and that it has twice passed the House of Commons virtually without

opposition—knowing all this, we consider it would be desirable that the Bill should be read a second time by your Lordships.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, as my vote and action last year have been referred to by my noble friend, I think I may be allowed to explain my present position with regard to the Bill. I have never been an uncompromising opponent of this measure. Last year was the first occasion on which I voted against its Second Reading, but I fully admit that I have always had very grave doubts whether the Bill was founded on true principles. I agree to a great extent with what my noble friend behind me has said, and with what has been said on former occasions by the late Lord Salisbury and by my respected friend, the late Lord Kimberley, and I should like to explain why it was I took the action I did last year. I came to the House having these doubts, but I had practically made up my mind to vote for the Second Reading. I believed that the Bill ought to have been brought in by His Majesty's Government, because it was a matter of very great principle, and I do not think that the noble Marquess has to-night given sufficient importance to the influence of the Government in this matter when he said that, as there were already three Bills in the hands of private Members, it was not necessary that the Government should introduce another. We all know that when the Government takes up a measure of this sort it has far greater influence in Parliament. I had other doubts on the subject. I felt that this Bill only touched the fringe of the question, that there were many other ways in which a thrifty man put by savings, and that to deal only with subscriptions to friendly societies would not be going far enough. I thought there was also considerable doubt as to how the various Poor Law guardians had dealt with the subject, and, therefore, when my noble friend Lord Northbrook proposed that there should be a Committee, I at once stated that I should support the reference of the Bill to a Committee, where I thought very important information would be gained, and great authority obtained either for or against the measure. That was my position last year, and I was very much

disappointed when Lord Portsmouth informed the House that the friendly societies would not give evidence before a Committee. That, of course, justified Lord Northbrook in not persevering in his proposition, but I was placed in the position of having voted against the Second Reading in the belief that it would be referred to a Committee. Now we come to the present session. It is quite true that two Bills have been proposed in another place. The national conference of friendly societies very clearly stated why they wished the Bill introduced in this House. They thought it was more polite and considerate to your Lordships' feelings not to have it again pressed upon you on the ground that it had been passed a third time in another place. I feel that if your Lordships reject this Bill you will be placed in a position of considerable embarrassment, and of opposition, not only to the unanimous wish, twice expressed, of the House of Commons, but also to the unanimous opinion of the enormous number of members who belong to the friendly societies. I, therefore, think it would be wrong on the part of your Lordships, even if you entertain, as I do, even now, considerable doubt as to the policy that is contained in the Bill, to oppose what appears to be the unanimous vote of the other House and the great desire of the friendly societies. I hope your Lordships will not divide on the Bill but give it a Second Reading unanimously.

* LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: My Lords, after what has fallen from the noble Marquess the Leader of the House and from the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition it may be thought unnecessary for me to add anything, especially as there is to be no division; but I feel that the arguments expressed by my noble friend Lord Northbrook ought not to pass unnoticed. It is quite true that the Act of 1894 only gave a discretionary power to boards of guardians in this matter, but I would point out that in every reform we must proceed progressively. If it is shown that a permissive power, after it has been tried for ten years, is unsatisfactory owing to the power being permissive, surely it is not unreasonable to ask that it should be

made compulsory. It has been asked over and over again in the debates in previous years, and my noble friend Lord Northbrook has repeated the question to-night, Why do you only give this preference to friendly societies? Savings in the Post Office Savings Bank and in building societies and other institutions have been referred to, and it has been asked why they should not all be similarly treated. What I would say to that is, Do not let the best be the enemy of the good. If this privilege ought to be extended, then let it be the care of my noble friend Lord Northbrook and those who think with him to propose its extension and see how far the principle can be applied.

The principle of this Bill is that what friendly societies pay, up to 5s., shall not be taken into consideration by the guardians when outdoor relief is applied for. It must be remembered that the 5s. a week paid by friendly societies is paid weekly, and only in case of sickness, and, therefore, we have a safeguard which is absent in the case of savings banks and other forms of savings. The capital sum of such savings can be withdrawn and may be spent in riotous living, in which case, of course, a man ought not to receive contemporaneous relief from the ratepayers. There is no analogy between the two cases, but if my noble friend can point out, during the progress of the Bill, any condition of things that answers to a friendly society paying a member 5s. a week while sick, I am certain the promoters of the Bill would cheerfully extend the principle they seek to apply to friendly societies. The aim of the Bill is to aid men who wish to be thrifty and careful. Take the case of a labourer in a rural district. He can ill afford to save, and may be tempted to spend his money in drink or in other ways. He asks himself whether he should obtain that which would afford him satisfaction for the moment, or pay the 6d., or whatever it may be, into a friendly society. What is the argument that will be used? He will ask himself, If I pay this into a friendly society, shall I get it back in sick pay if I want it? In one sense he does, but he does not get it back in the full sense, for he is in no better position than his neighbour who does not contribute to the friendly society, because

Earl Spencer.

his neighbour will also receive 5s. from the board of guardians. If your Lordships refuse the principle of this Bill, you will be saying distinctly that you think it just that a man who is thrifty and pays into a friendly society should not be one wit better off than the man who spends his money in the public house and does not make any provision for sickness. Moreover, the advantage which the member of a friendly society would receive would be that he would have more than the bare necessities of life, which is all that the guardians can provide in outdoor relief, and he would therefore feel more self respect and would not regard himself as an absolute pauper. There is this other point, that by giving him this increased advantage in sickness his speedier return to health is secured, with the result that the ratepayers are the earlier relieved of paying outdoor relief. I am sure your Lordships will be doing well in holding out the hand of assistance to these men by accepting the Second Reading of this Bill.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: My Lords, I had not intended to say a single word on this measure. I spoke upon it last year and suggested some objections to it, and I took part in the division by which it was thrown out. I agree in the main with what Lord Northbrook has said, that it would be best that your Lordships should allow the Bill to pass without a division. I should have been silent but for the speech which has just been delivered by my noble and learned friend, a speech which requires an answer, it seems to me, because of the very eloquence and feeling which he threw into it. A great part of the noble and learned Lord's speech was in favour of thrift generally. It was not in favour of the friendly societies only, but of thrift generally, and so far as it was in favour of thrift I am sure every Member of your Lordships' House would agree with it. But the cardinal point of the Poor Law should be kept in mind—the relief of distress; and as soon as that distress is mitigated up to a certain point the action of the Poor Law ought to cease; and the best way is to leave the working classes to carry on their system of self-help which, with the assistance of friendly societies, will be most likely to promote their

welfare. The friendly societies have become one of the glories of our land by keeping themselves entirely free from the action of the Poor Law and Government action, and thereby they have been a manifestation of the power of the working classes to govern themselves. It is not a wise step to weaken one of the fundamental principles of the Poor Law in order to give to friendly societies privileges they do not need. But the speech of my noble and learned friend Lord James will be quoted by the working classes as a direct invitation to put friendly societies before all other forms of thrift.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: I did not say that.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: But my noble and learned friend's whole argument was directed to show the superior advantages of friendly societies over every other form of investment, and it would be a serious thing for your Lordships to endorse any particular investment and indirectly to advise the working classes that this form of investment is superior to all others, Government savings banks included. My noble and learned friend pointed out that if a man spent his money in drink he would be as well off as if he invested it in a friendly society. But it is not necessary for him to spend it in drink if he does not invest it in a friendly society. There are many other forms of investment provided for the working classes of which they have availed themselves to the full extent. I entreat your Lordships, not in reference to this particular Bill, but to the whole of this class of Bills, to fasten upon the question how far this taking into consideration other forms of income when dealing with distress is to be carried. That is the real root of the question. This Bill is the triumph of an instrument often derided, but a most successful instrument—it is the triumph of that which we call the thin end of the wedge. In 1894, power was given to boards of guardians to exercise their discretion. That is sufficient, in the judgment of many, to lead up to the present Bill. My noble friend said we had not shown that it has failed or led to any abuse. On the other hand, we have no evidence

that it has done any good. That was one of the reasons why my noble friend pressed for information last year. My noble friend next pointed to the anomaly that it should depend on the discretion of guardians whether the sick pay received from friendly societies was taken into consideration or not. Surely my noble friend knows that the whole question of outdoor relief implies a large discretion left to the guardians. They do not always give the same amount to every person who applies. They have to act according to their discretion, and it would be as logical to say that every one given outdoor relief should have a fixed sum or otherwise the discretion of the guardians might produce injustice, as to say that, because there is a certain anomaly created by boards of guardians taking different views on this question, therefore it should be made compulsory. We have not seen the last of this question. Other questions of this kind will arise, and, though they may seem small in themselves, may by a wider and wider application weaken the whole structure of the Poor Law, which has cost so much to defend, and the administration of which has on the whole been a great success.

***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY:** My Lords, it may perhaps seem rather treating the House as a debating society to discuss a question on which there is to be no division, but I felt inclined to rise after hearing the speech of my noble and learned friend Lord James, and I wish to follow on one or two slightly different points the remarks of the noble Viscount opposite. I wish first of all to say that I do not believe for one minute that any little advantage derived from a more indulgent administration of the Poor Law has the slightest influence in inducing thrifty people of the working classes to join friendly societies. The history of the growth of friendly societies shows that any benefit to be derived in this way has had absolutely no influence. What is the history of friendly societies? They grew from small beginnings in the eighteenth century; they developed in the nineteenth century; and all those people joined the friendly societies at a time when there was no Poor Law benefit to be derived whatever. No doubt since 1894 there

Viscount Goschen.

has been some advantage, though, as we are told, the advantage varies according to the disposition of boards of guardians; but will anyone say that the great societies have found the number of members joining in any way stimulated by this small hypothetical benefit? It is, of course, easy to understand why there is this practical unanimity in acquiescing in this legislation, for there are behind this movement these very powerful organisations with 4,000,000 adult members, mostly voters. But, apart from that, do noble Lords really believe that they are substantially stimulating the cause of thrift by this legislation? I feel perfectly sure that the best working men do not expect, and would be ashamed to be told that they did expect, to have recourse to the Poor Law. If the Poor Law is used as an engine for stimulating thrift there will be a tendency to drift into all the evils of the old Poor Law. If you are going to have a discriminating system of aid according to the meritorious character of the recipient and not according to his destitution, then it is perfectly clear that you cannot stop at selecting one particular form of thrift which you shall reward. Lord James said there was a marked difference between sick relief, paid week by week, and other forms of thrift represented by savings; but I would like to ask whether there does not come quite as serious a pinch from quite as unavoidable causes as sickness. Do not the great out-of-work benefits which the trades unions grant to their members represent quite as unavoidable a calamity? That money also is doled out week by week, and if it is meritorious to encourage men who make provision against loss of employment by sickness, surely it is quite as meritorious to favour men who make provision for loss of income by being thrown out of work. In this Bill you are only encouraging that class of the community who earn the best wages and are best able to take care of themselves. Practically no women are, in friendly societies, secured against illness. If there is a body of people who really make a noble effort to maintain themselves by their industry it is widows. Are you going by-and-by to give them some special facilities? I feel sure that it is by a rigorous keeping of the Poor

Law to its primary duty, which is the relief of destitution, that we shall best administer to the development of the self-respect, thrift, and energy of the working classes.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

SALE OF INTOXICANTS TO CHILDREN BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1:—

LORD DUNBOYNE moved to omit Clause 1 and to insert a new clause. He said the Amendment had been framed to meet the objection of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack. The clause at present in the Bill made the holder of a licence liable for the act of his servants in selling intoxicating liquors to children, even against his instructions. He admitted that the clause went too far, and he now moved its omission in favour of a new Clause 1, which was not open to the same objections. The new clause would not impose any hardship on the licence-holder. On the contrary, it would be a protection to him, for a servant would be less likely to commit a breach of the law if he felt that he himself was thereby rendered liable to punishment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out Clause 1 and to insert as a new clause: 'Every agent or servant of any licensed person who knowingly sells or delivers any intoxicating liquor to any person contrary to the provisions of the Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1901, shall be liable to the same penalties as are provided by the aforesaid Act in the case of a similar offence committed by such licensed person.'"—
(*Lord Dunboyne.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 47.)

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

NEW ZEALAND AND PREFERENCE.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government if they will communicate to the House the correspondence between the Colonial Office and the New Zealand Government with regard to the Preferential Trade Act. I may inform the noble Duke that in addition to this information a desire has been expressed that he should also let us have copies of Mr. Seddon's Bill as it was introduced and as it finally passed the New Zealand Parliament. I should also like to ask whether it would be at all possible that copies of the debate in the New Zealand Parliament should be circulated to Members of your Lordships' House.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, in reply to the Question of the noble Earl I must remind him of the Conference of Colonial Ministers in the summer of 1902, at which the Ministers decided that they would recommend to their respective Governments that some system of preference should be granted to those trading from this country with our Colonies. In pursuance of that recommendation the New Zealand Government have passed this new measure under the title of the Preferential and Reciprocal Trade Act. The Colonial Office had had no correspondence upon this particular measure with the Governor in New Zealand. The first communication we received from Lord Ranfurly was on 21st November, two or three days after the measure was passed, in which he said that he had much pleasure in informing the Secretary of State that this Bill had been passed by the New Zealand Legislature. The noble Earl will remember that we discussed in your Lordships' House some six weeks ago the different matters and schedules in that Act, and I took the opportunity at that time to point out to the noble Earl that the preference granted to goods going from Great Britain and from our Colonial possessions into New Zealand was considerable compared to the duties on foreign goods entering that colony. Indeed, in the 3rd Schedule, if my memory serves me correctly, the foreigner has to pay 20 per cent. while British goods go in entirely free. I think the noble Earl will not be surprised that in reply

to the telegram received from the Governor of New Zealand the Secretary of State telegraphed in the following terms—

“His Majesty’s Government have received with much satisfaction your telegram of 21st November reporting that the New Zealand Legislature have passed a Bill granting preferential rates of Customs duties to the United Kingdom. They regard this spontaneous concession as a further proof of the steadfast determination of the people of New Zealand to promote the strength and solidarity of the Empire.”

One or two other telegrams passed in connection with this Preferential and Reciprocal Trade Act, and a despatch of some length from the Governor, all of which I will cause to be printed and to be sent to any noble Lord who applies at the office of the House of Lords for them. With regard to the supplementary Question which the noble Earl has put to me, whether we can supply your Lordships with copies of the debates which took place on this measure in the New Zealand Legislature, I do not imagine that there will be any difficulty in getting a copy of those debates. I will do my best to carry out the noble Lord’s wishes and see whether it will not be possible at the same time that these Papers are printed to supply also a copy of the debates.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: There was one Question asked by my noble friend to which the noble Duke has omitted to make any reply. The noble Earl asked whether the Bill as introduced by Mr. Seddon, as well as the Act as actually passed, can be laid before the House. I hope there will be no objection to that.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I will certainly make inquiry as to whether we have the exact Bill as it was introduced into the New Zealand Parliament by the Prime Minister, and will endeavour to comply with the noble Marquess’s request.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I think the noble Duke had better complete his concession to my noble friend and allow these Papers to be circulated. Papers that are placed in the office only to be had when asked for are hardly ever seen. I think the noble Duke should

The Duke of Marlborough.

allow the Papers to be circulated in the ordinary way.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I will certainly consent to that if the noble Lord wishes it. I thought that only a few noble Lords were anxious to see these particular Papers and that it was hardly worth while circulating them to every Member. But I am perfectly prepared to fall in with the view of the noble Lord.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): I should like to ask the noble Duke whether it is not rather a new departure to circulate the debates of other Legislatures. I hope before the noble Duke does circulate these debates he will ascertain whether there is any precedent for such a course.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: There is a very recent precedent for the proceeding which is proposed. His Majesty’s Government have stated that they intended to treat the Transvaal on the footing of a self-governing colony as far as they possibly could, and they have recently laid before Parliament the whole of the debates on the Labour Ordinance. I hope that is a good enough precedent.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Seven o’clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o’clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 21st April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (LORDS) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following

Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Richard Jaeger's Patent. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill. Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill, of session 1902, be referred to the Committee on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill of this session.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Cheshire Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Corporation of Barrow-in-Furness to construct an opening bridge across Walney Channel; to make certain street works; to lay down additional tramways, and to execute works in connection with their water undertaking; and for other purposes." [Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to extend the time for taking certain lands and for the construction of certain authorised works by the Southport and Lytham Tramroad Company, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Southport, to authorise the raising of further capital; and for other purposes." [Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords].

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords]; Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration: from Orkney; Callander; and Breadalbane; to lie upon the Table.

INCOME-TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.

Petition from Croydon, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law: from Middlesborough; Hirnant; Craiglwyn; Cefn-canol; Llawryowm; Birmingham; Machynlleth; Siloh; Cynrybwoch; Esgairgertieg; Horeb; Leeds; Llangyniew; Saron; Somersham; Tonbridge; Welling; Kennington; Ilford; Dumfries; Chipping Norton; Tunbridge Wells; Denbigh; Woolwich; North Kent; Llangadfan (two); Manchester; Goshen; Meifod; Llanidloes; Neuadd; Llanbrynmair; Ysgangeiliog; Llangadfan; Elim; Maengwynedd; Guilden Morden; Neyland; Pembroke; Denbigh; Sketty; Glasgow; Watford; Slough; Aldershot; and Colnbrook; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING).

Petition from Islington, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition of the Scottish Poor Law Medical Officers' Association, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Middlesborough, against; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Kensington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against: from Burton-on-Trent; and Woking; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Kensington, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR ORDINANCE).

Petition from Poplar, for withdrawal; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**BOARD OF EDUCATION.**

Copy presented, of Report of a Public Inquiry held under Sections 16 and 23 of The Education Act, 1902, and Section 73 of The Elementary Education Act, 1870, by A. T. Laurence, Esq., K.C., at Carmarthen on the 24th and 25th March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3140 and 3141 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table, Manual of Procedure in the Public Business of the House of Commons, 1904.

QUESTIONS, AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**New Voluntary School at Haywards Heath.**

MR. JAMES HOPE (Fifehire, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he can state on what grounds the Board have declined, in opposition to the wishes of the district council and a majority of the local ratepayers, to assent to the provision of a new voluntary school at Haywards Heath.

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) I am not prepared to give to the hon. Member more information than is com-

municated to the County Council of East Sussex. A copy of the report of the public inquiry will, in due course, be deposited with the local education authority for inspection. A notice of such deposit will be published.

Inquiry into Education Act at Carmarthen.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the report of the public inquiry held, under the Education Act, 1902, at Carmarthen on the 24th and 25th of March.

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) In view of the special public interest attaching to this report, I am laying it upon the Table of the House to-day.

Boarded-out Children in England and Wales.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the number of children at present boarded out in England and Wales, distinguishing between those boarded out within and those beyond the union.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) The number of children boarded out in England and Wales on the 1st January last was 8,372. Of these 6,581 were boarded within the union, and 1,791 beyond the union.

Tea Imports.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he would state the quantity and value of all grades of tea imported in 1902-3, and the quantity and value of teas imported from our possessions and dependencies.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The imports of tea of all grades in the financial year 1902-3 amounted to 280,062,365 lbs., valued at £8,316,544. Of this 252,400,539 lbs., valued at £7,513,431, represented imports from British possessions and dependencies.

Exchequer Deficit.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state whether the realised deficit of £5,415,000

for the year 1903-4 has been met by a draft on Exchequer balances in which were included £2,880,000 raised by way of loans and £3,000,000 received out of the proceeds of the Transvaal Loan.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

The realised deficit of a past year must always be met in the first instance out of the Exchequer balance until Parliament is able to make other provision for it. In the present case, having to deal with a realised deficit of £5,415,000 for the year 1903-4, I propose to provide for it as follows:—1. To the extent of £2,880,000 it will be permanently withdrawn from the balance, that being the amount by which the balance was abnormally swollen in previous years by borrowings in excess of our requirements at the moment. This £2,880,000 having been raised to meet war charges, it appears proper to employ it to meet the war charges for 1903-4. The money will thus be utilised for the purpose for which it was raised. 2. A sum of £1,000,000 will be provided from the unclaimed dividend account. 3. There then remains a further sum of £1,500,000, which will be replaced from surplus revenue. It is with this object that it is proposed to provide so large a

surplus of estimated revenue over estimated expenditure in the current year. The £3,000,000 received from the Transvaal, as described in the Question, was originally advanced from the Exchequer balance, and was therefore, when received, paid back into the balance. This transaction is complete in itself. It does not in any way affect last year's deficit of £5,415,000, which is provided for as explained above.

National Debt.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what amount of the fixed charge for the Debt of £27,000,000 was, in the year ending 31st March, 1904, applied respectively to interest on the Funded Debt, interest on the Unfunded Debt, charges for terminable annuities, management of the Debt, and New Sinking Fund; what are the corresponding estimated figures for 1904-5; what was the total amount applied in reduction of the capital of the Debt in 1903-4; and what is the total amount estimated to be so applied in 1904-5.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain). Permanent Charge of the Debt—

	1903-4.			1904-5. (Details estimated.)		
	Portion representing repayment of capital.	Portion representing interest and management.	Total.	Portion representing repayment of capital.	Portion representing interest and management.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1. Interest of Funded Debt . .	—	16,390,445	16,390,445	—	15,949,000	15,949,000
2. Terminable Annuities .	5,045,845	1,492,169	6,538,014	5,203,000	1,318,000	6,521,000
3. Interest of Unfunded Debt . .	—	2,422,435	2,422,435	—	2,427,000	2,427,000
4. Management of the Debt . .	—	185,019	185,019	—	186,000	186,000
5. New Sinking Fund .	1,464,087	—	1,464,087	1,917,000	—	1,917,000
Total .	6,509,932	20,490,068	27,000,000	7,120,000	19,880,000	27,000,000

Income of Average Working Class Family.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what is the estimate of the Labour Department of the approximate average income per annum of an average working class family containing one adult male wage earner.

(Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.)

The average annual earnings of the adult male wage earners employed in the principal industrial and agricultural occupations in the United Kingdom in a year of average employment may be estimated approximately at £70 per head. The average income of a working-class family would no doubt considerably exceed this figure, but there are no materials available for making a trustworthy estimate on the basis stated in the Question.

Post Office Night Messengers in Scotland.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will give the number of adult night messengers employed at each office in Scotland, with the number of hours they are on duty each week, the amount of their weekly wages, if they are paid for overtime and Sunday duty; will he state the number of messengers at each office against whom no report has been recorded during the past four years; and would he consider the advisability, by the bestowal of an occasional appointment as sub-office postman, award of good conduct stripes, or a small increase in wages, of encouraging only those night messengers whose character and conduct are reported as being thoroughly satisfactory by their respective postmasters.

(Answered by Lord Stanley.) I am having inquiry made and will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Indian Coinage.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he

will state what was the total of Government of India rupees coined by the Indian Government during each financial year from 1893, when the Indian mints were closed to the public, up to 31st March of the present year; the amount of net profit which the Government of India has received during each financial year from the coinage of the said rupees; does this profit consist chiefly of the appreciation of the rupee in India, as compared with their intrinsic value, consequent on the artificial scarcity of those produced by the prolonged closing of the mints against coinage by the public; what is the amount of deficit or surplus, as the case may be, which has been shown in each year in the financial statement of the Government of India during each of the years above specified; have the net profits on the coinage of Government of India rupees been taken credit for in the Indian financial statement as revenue receipts, and have they consequently been applied to the diminishment of the annual deficits or the increase of the annual surpluses during the period in question; if these profits on coinage have been so taken credit for, what would be the amounts of the deficits or surpluses of the Indian Government for each of the years since 1893 if the said profits on the rupee coinage were deducted.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.)

(1) Rupees coined by the Government of India:—1893–94, 4,14,11,170 Rs.; 1894–95, Nil; 1895–96, Nil; 1896–97, Nil; 1897–8, 48,64,720 Rs.; 1898–99, 41,79,600 Rs.; 1899–1900, 1,30,18,080 Rs.; 1900–01, 17,14,79,318 Rs.; 1901–02, 4,95,20,460 Rs.; 1902–03, 11,27,22,680 Rs.; 1903–04 (first eleven months) about 14,00,00,000 Rs.; (2) The net profit on the rupee coinage from the 1st April, 1893, to the 31st March, 1900, is not shown separately in the accounts. The net profit on the coinage of new rupees since the 1st April, 1900, has been:—1900–01, £3,031,294; 1901–02, £415,100; 1902–3, £264,028; 1903–4, £2,465,700 (Estimated). (3) The profit consists of the

difference between the cost price of rupees and the value (1s. 4d.) at which they circulate. (4) Surpluses and deficits from 1893-4 :—

	Surplus.	Deficit.
	£	£
1893-94 -	—	1,031,332
1894-95 -	462,073	—
1895-96 -	1,202,666	—
1896-97 -	—	1,136,681
1897-98 -	—	3,572,807
1898-99 -	2,640,873	—
1899-1900 -	2,774,623	—
1900-01 -	1,670,204	—
1901-02 -	4,950,243	—
1902-03 -	3,069,549	—
1903-04 -	2,711,200	—
	(Estimated)	

(5) From the 1st April, 1893, to the 31st March, 1900, the net profits on the rupee coinage were regarded as revenue receipts and contributed therefore to increase the surplus or diminish the deficit of the year. From the 1st April, 1900, the net profits on the coinage have been transferred to the Gold Reserve Fund, and no longer affect the surplus or deficit of the year.

Indian Police Commission—Publication of Report.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to a statement made officially on 15th February last by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, at a meeting of the Viceroy's Council, to the effect that the issues involved in the recommendations of the Indian Police Commission were then before the Secretary of State for India, and that the publication of the Report depended on his consideration of the question; and whether he can explain the delay in the consideration of the question.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) I have not seen any report of a statement by Sir D. Ibbetson that the recommendations of the Police Commission were before me for consideration, nor would such a statement have been correct. But he appears to have said, quite accurately, that the publication of the

Report was deferred under my orders and those of my predecessor, until the consideration of the issues involved should be further advanced. As I have already explained on more than one occasion, and as the Viceroy has also stated in the speech which he delivered on the Budget on 30th March, the Report had to be laid before Local Governments for their opinions; and until those opinions have been obtained orders cannot be passed upon the recommendations of the Commission. So far as I am aware, there has been no avoidable delay in the consideration of the subject, and I have pressed the Government of India to expedite their recommendations so far as they are able.

New Army Scheme—Cost of Staffs.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what will be the total cost of the staffs for the eight administrative districts in the Esher scheme, including general officers in chief, major generals' and brigadiers' staff, besides the officers of the general staff.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) A Committee is at present considering the division of the United Kingdom into commands and administrative districts, and for the decentralisation of duties to those commands and districts, and for the provision of the *personnel* necessary for those duties. Until the Report of this Committee has been received, I am unable to answer the Question of the hon. and gallant Member.

Promotion to the Rank of Colonel and Major-General.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the reply of the late Mr. Stanhope, when Secretary of State for War, given to the late General Sir C. Fraser on 1st December, 1890, and afterwards promulgated in successive Royal Warrants, that promotion by selection to fill an appointment from the ranks of colonel and major-general would not be brought into force until the number of general officers was reduced to 100; and to the fact that a Royal Warrant was issued on 5th November, 1899, in contravention of this

undertaking; and will he take steps for giving consideration to those officers whose prospects of promotion and pension were thus destroyed.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) My attention has been drawn to this matter. It must be pointed out that for many years prior to 1901, it had been open to the Commander-in-Chief to specially recommend that any vacancy in the rank of major-general should be filled by selection to the exclusion of all the senior colonels, promotion by seniority being thus practically abolished. Under these circumstances it cannot be admitted that the prospects of the officers referred to were such as would justify their cases being specially dealt with, and it is regretted that it is not possible to extend any exceptional treatment to them.

Import Duties on Agricultural Implements in West Africa.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the rates of import duty on agricultural implements and industrial machines in Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Lagos, respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) Agricultural implements and industrial machinery are exempt from duty in the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. In Lagos an Ordinance has been passed exempting agricultural implements and machinery from the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty which has hitherto existed, and steps are being taken to extend to all industrial machinery the exemption from the same duty which has hitherto been granted only in the case of mining and sawing machinery.

Boer War Compensation.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will lay upon the Table a detailed statement of the moneys expended in repatriation of the Boers after the war, and in compensation for losses sustained by them in or in consequence of the war, and stating the name and address of every person who received any such moneys and on what account the same was received.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I regret that I do not consider that I should be justified in undertaking to have this statement prepared, the compilation of which would involve a great expenditure of time and money.

Birmingham and Southwark Bishoprics Bill—Second Reading.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N. E.): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will endeavour to find a day before Whitsuntide for the Second Reading of the Birmingham and Southwark Bishoprics Bill.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) Without giving any pledge, I may say that I certainly hope this Bill may be read a second time before Whitsuntide.

MR. CHARLES MCARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the notices of opposition to the Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill which appear on the Paper, he will give a few days' notice before moving the Second Reading of this Bill.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) I am always anxious to give ample notice of business which is to be brought before the House; but this Bill is in the second rank of Government measures, and I must not be understood as obliged to give long notice.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

6th V.B. The King's Liverpool Regiment. Lieutenant Creen's Case.

*MR. REA (Gloucester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in connection with the court of inquiry held on the 5th December, 1903, to consider the case of Lieutenant R. Creen of the 6th V.B. The King's Liverpool Regiment, he will give particulars of the information given to Lieutenant Creen, before the holding of the inquiry, as to its scope and the nature of the charges he would have to answer; what were the particulars of the charges which were made against Lieutenant Creen at the inquiry; what is the name of the officer stated

to have been called as a witness by Lieutenant Creen on his behalf; and whether officers of Volunteer battalions have a right to see the accounts of the expenditure of officers' subscriptions; and, if so, what procedure is open to them if such information is refused.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Lieutenant Creen having submitted copies of correspondence on his case to the General Officer Commanding, who in turn submitted them to the War Office, the Secretary of State ordered a court of inquiry to investigate the subject of this correspondence. The actual instructions to the court were "To inquire into the circumstances which led to the Officer Commanding the 8th Regimental District having called on Lieutenant Creen to resign his commission, and to report thereon." From this it is clear that Lieutenant Creen did not require any special information. The officer called as a witness by him was Lieutenant Radford. In accordance with the rules of the corps, a balance sheet of the accounts, other than those dealing with public funds, and which include, among many items, officers' subscriptions, is prepared annually, audited by the finance committee, and posted in the orderly room; but there does not appear to be any rule under which individual officers can demand an inspection of the details of this account.

*MR. REA put a further Question, but Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he knew nothing of the details. The case had been adjudicated upon by a competent court.

Railway Couplings.

MR. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the reports of the Interstate of Commerce Commissioners of the United States of America show that accidents from coupling and uncoupling vehicles on the railroads in the United States since the compulsory adoption of automatic couplings in 1893 have resulted in an aggregate reduction of 62,419 such accidents; and, if so, whether, in view of the fact that similar accidents in this country in the same period have increased

by over 2,000, he will use the power given to the Board of Trade by the Act of 1900, and make experiments with improved couplings with a view to selecting a suitable appliance to be adopted on the British railways which will diminish these accidents.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): In the suggested comparison between this country and the United States of America the hon. Member appears to overlook the fact that the couplings formerly in use in the United States of America were such as to oblige shunters to go between trucks for the purpose of attaching or detaching them, and did not allow a shunting pole to be used from outside as is the practice in this country. The apparent increase of accidents in the United Kingdom is, in the main, due to the change in the instructions for reporting accidents which was made by the Board of Trade in 1896; the number of fatal accidents from the cause referred to does not show an increase over a series of years, despite the large increase of traffic. It cannot, I think, be denied that railway service is less dangerous in this country than in the United States of America. The Department carefully watches the progress of invention of new methods of coupling, and the Inspecting Officers of Railways inspect, and are always ready to inspect, any promising invention. The railway companies have also made practical experiments with couplers and will continue to do so. I gather, however, that no invention has yet been submitted which promises to be suitable for general adoption; and I do not think the time has come when the Board of Trade could with advantage take the task of experimenting and selecting into its own hands.

Irish Land Act Finance.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that when an advance is sanctioned under the Land Act of 1903, the only bank in which the amount advanced can be placed on deposit receipt, pending the Land Commissioners being satisfied with the title to the purchase-money, is the Bank of Ireland; that this bank has refused to give

a special rate for such deposits, and that the rate of interest allowed to depositors by the Bank of Ireland is one-half per cent. less than that given by the other great banks in England and Ireland, he will, by legislation or otherwise, abolish this monopoly of the Bank of Ireland, and give facilities for such lodgments being made with other banks.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The purchase-money paid into the Bank of Ireland pending distribution is not in the first instance placed there on deposit receipt; it must be invested after fourteen days in accordance with rules made by the Land Commission unless the parties themselves ask to have it placed in the Bank of Ireland on deposit receipt. Under the rules of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Ireland, the deposit-receipts of banks other than the Bank of Ireland are not authorised securities for such a purpose. I am not aware that the Bank of Ireland allows a lower rate of interest to depositors generally than the other Irish banks do, though the other Irish banks appear to allow preferential rates in some cases while the Bank of Ireland does not. It would be highly inconvenient that the purchase-money should be paid into a different bank from that which keeps the accounts of the Land Commission and of the National Debt Commissioners; and I cannot undertake to propose any change in the law or practice governing the matter.

Number of people engaged in Agriculture in Scotland.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will state what is the total number of persons engaged in the cultivation of the soil in Scotland.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): The number of persons over ten years of age returned as occupied in agriculture in Scotland at the census of 1901, was 209,711, of whom 169,130 were males, and 40,581 were females.

Board of Agriculture Assistant Inspectors.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether it is intended to subject the assistant inspectors of the Board, who are graduates of a University, ex-officers in the Army and Navy, or who hold a diploma from one of the leading agricultural colleges, to a preliminary examination in dictation, writing, arithmetic, and English composition; and whether he will consider the advisability in the case of the assistant inspectors already appointed, who are either ex-officers, graduates, or the holders of a diploma, of testing their efficiency by examining them in the existing Acts and Orders of the Board of Agriculture which they have to administer.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: It rests solely with the Civil Service Commissioners to decide whether, in view of the possession of qualifications such as those to which the hon. Gentleman refers, they will, in any case, dispense with any further literary examination as a condition precedent to the grant of their certificate. Full particulars regarding any such qualifications will be placed before the Commissioners in each instance.

Shop Hours Bill.

MR. JAMES REID (Greenock): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when he expects to introduce the measure for dealing with shop hours.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT** (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): As my right hon. friend the Prime Minister said in answer to a similar Question yesterday,† the Bill is ready and it is hoped that there will be no long delay in introducing it; but I am unable to mention a date.

Experiments on Dogs.

MR. LOGAN (Leicestershire, Harborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether

†See page 692.

his attention has been directed to Professor Schäfer's experiments on dogs; and whether, seeing that 109 doctors entered a protest against the experiments as being cruel and useless, he proposes to take any action in the matter.

***MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS:** Yes, Sir; the memorial to which the hon. Member refers has received my most careful consideration, together with all the circumstances of the case; but for reasons which I explained in answer to Questions last year I did not feel justified in disallowing the experiments.

Nursing in Workhouses.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the cause of the delay in issuing the new Order relating to nursing in workhouses.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): Since the Report of the Departmental Committee on this subject was made my right hon. friend has received a considerable number of representations on points relating to their recommendations. These representations have now been considered by the Committee, and he hopes shortly to be in a position to deal with the matter by a General Order.

Congo Free State—Trade Regulations.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that Mr. Alidina Visram, the leading British Indian merchant in Uganda, has been stopped by the officials of the Congo Free State from exporting a consignment of goods which he had purchased in that State; and, seeing that such action is a violation of the provisions of the Berlin General Act requiring freedom of trade in the Congo Free State, what steps the Government propose to take in the matter.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): No information on the subject has reached the Foreign Office.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: Will the noble Lord make inquiries?

EARL PERCY: I should have thought the person who complained would have communicated with the Foreign Office.

Bonamargy Ruins.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Ballycastle Rural District Council are desirous of handing over the custody of certain ruins at Bonamargy to the Board of Works; and whether, in accordance with the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1892, he will see this offer is accepted.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): An application to this effect was made by the district council. Section 19 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, enables a county council to become the guardians of a class of ancient monuments or structures, of which the ruins in question appear to be one. It appears to me that the district council should vest these ruins in the county council for preservation under the provisions of the enactment mentioned.

MR. SLOAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman make representations to the county council to do this?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, if the matter comes before me officially; but application to the county council should be made in the first instance by the district council.

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum—Charge against an Attendant.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an attendant named Kenny, of the Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum, inflicted injuries upon an inmate under his charge; and if, in view of the fact that the acting medical superintendent dismissed Kenny, who has since been fined by a magistrate in £5, he can say for what reason have the asylum committee reinstated Kenny.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts are as stated. Kenny was ordered to pay a

fine of £5 or, in default, to undergo two months imprisonment with hard labour. The appointment and dismissal of asylum attendants are vested in the committee without power of intervention on the part of the Executive. The committee, I understand, considered that the fine of £5, together with a caution which it administered to Kenny, was sufficient punishment. Should the committee insist on retaining the services of Kenny the Government will consider how far its action is consistent with the conditions upon which the Capitation Grant in aid of the maintenance of the insane is payable under Section 58 (2) of the Local Government Act, 1898.

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum—Resident Medical Superintendent.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can explain under what circumstances the committee of the Ballinasloe District Lunatic Asylum has appointed the junior medical assistant to be resident medical superintendent and refused the appointment to the acting medical superintendent; if he can say what were the superior qualifications of the junior medical assistant that the acting medical superintendent did not possess; and will he take steps that the appointment be not sanctioned until the merits of each case have been duly considered.

MR. WYNDHAM: The appointment of resident medical superintendent of the asylum is vested by law in the asylum committee, but subject to the concurrence of the Lord-Lieutenant. The papers connected with the appointment in the present case are now before the Lord-Lieutenant.

MR. SLOAN: May I ask whether, in view of the fact that this gentleman had been acting as superintendent of this asylum and was fully qualified, he will consider the advisability of making some representations in his favour to the asylum authorities so that he may not be refused the appointment because he acted injudiciously in the case mentioned in dismissing the attendant.

MR. WYNDHAM: The power of appointment is vested in the asylum

committee, not in the Government. There is a certain power in the Government to veto the appointment, but only in connection with matters of qualification.

MR. SLOAN: Will this case be considered by the Lord-Lieutenant?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, on the grounds that I have indicated.

Down County Court Judge and the Newcastle Voting Register.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the observations of the County Court Judge of Down at the last revision Court on the manner in which the officials had made up the Local Government register of voters for the town of Newcastle, in the county of Down, whereby numbers of the highest ratepayers have been disfranchised; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board will provide that the proposed changes in the local government of the town shall not come into effect until the 1st of January next, when a new register will come into force.

MR. WYNDHAM: The observations of the Judge have not been brought to my notice, but I am endeavouring to obtain a report of them. I would point out, however, that an opportunity was afforded at the revision sessions to remedy any imperfections in the voters' lists. I am afraid the Local Government Board could not properly postpone the proposed constitution of Newcastle as a municipal town in view of the reasons urged by my hon. friend, but I will make inquiry.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) inquired whether the proposed changes had been submitted to the ordinary rules, whether the opinion of the ratepayers had been taken, and whether the inquiry had been held by the Local Government Board.

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot answer that Question without notice.

Sunday Hurling Matches in Ireland.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland the following Question,

of which I have given him private notice: Whether he will take steps to prevent the playing of hurling matches at Blaris, near Lisburn, on Sundays, as Blaris is the centre of a strongly Protestant district where the playing of these matches on Sundays deeply offends the religious feelings of the inhabitants, and on what district, if any, the cost of the extra police drafted into Lisburn on Sunday last will be levied?

MR. WYNDHAM: Whilst members of the Hurling Club are within their legal rights in playing near Lisburn on Sunday or inviting other clubs to Lisburn for the *bona fide* purpose of joining in the game, even though by so doing they should offend the religious susceptibilities of the majority of the inhabitants of the district, yet it is greatly to be regretted that some reasonable and amicable arrangement cannot be arrived at whereby the games might be played in a locality, and under conditions, less calculated to arouse opposition than those which exist in this particular instance. And I am not without hope that by the exercise of a little mutual forbearance, and by the intervention of the leaders of opinion on both sides, good feeling may be restored and the peace of the community maintained. At the same time, it must be distinctly understood that it is the bounden duty of the Executive Government to protect minorities in this as in every other part of Ireland in the legitimate exercise of their constitutional rights, even though such exercise should in this case, as in the case of street preaching, Party processions, and such like, arouse the hostility of the majority of the residents of the district. I ought, however, to add that should the attempt of minorities to exercise these rights be accompanied by a display of force, or by such other circumstances as are calculated to excite terror and alarm, or to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the neighbourhood, they thereby become members of an unlawful assembly and may be dealt with as such. The question of imposing the cost of extra police will receive further consideration. My desire is that all parties should co-operate to end the regrettable events which have, so far as I know, for the first time led to breaches of the peace in Lisburn. The Government will

seek to avoid any action which might render it harder for either side to refrain from giving or taking offence. I have just received a telegram, and I am glad to say that the magistrates have passed the following resolution. "It is with great gratification that we learn that the club have resolved not to have any further games on Sundays in this district. We regard this decision as deserving of commendation, and believe that their action will lead to the preservation of the peace." It is a matter of general congratulation, and I may say I join in that hope of the magistrates that their decision should not be regarded as a matter of triumph to anyone, but as a matter of general congratulation that they should waive their undoubted right in deference to views which they do not share.

Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he continues to entertain the intention to propose a Vote for the Secretary or Staff of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet for which the First Lord of the Treasury is to answer and on which matters concerning both Army and Navy may be discussed; and, if so, when he expects to be able to give notice of such a Vote.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Yes, Sir, I hope there will be an Estimate put down on this subject to enable a discussion to take place, but I cannot at present inform the right hon. Baronet when the date will be.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any decision has yet been arrived at as to the formation of the small secretariat for the Defence Committee, as recommended in Part I. of the War Office (Reconstitution) Committee's Report and further referred to in the covering letter of Part III. in the statement that Part I. contained the principles of the changes advocated, and that the whole of these, with the exception of the formation of the small

secretariat for the Defence Committee, had already become operative.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think I have already by implication answered this Question. It is proposed there shall be a small permanent secretariat.

Birmingham and Southwark Bishopric Bill.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) asked the Prime Minister a Question of which he had given private notice—whether he would endeavour to give a day before Whitsuntide for the Birmingham and Southwark Bishopric Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. I noticed my right hon. friend had a Question on this subject among the unstarred Questions in to-day's Paper. I may at once say I shall certainly hope that the Second Reading of the Bill will be passed long before Whitsuntide, and I shall be greatly disappointed if it is not.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has any information to give me with reference to the business for next week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. I left it a doubtful point yesterday whether the Second Reading of the Aliens Bill would be taken on Monday or Tuesday, it being an open question which of the two days should be devoted to the Budget debate. I am now in a position to announce that I propose to take the Second Reading of the Aliens Bill on Monday, and we shall proceed with the Budget debate on Tuesday.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to request that their Lordships will be pleased to give leave to Sir Henry Graham, K.C.B., the Clerk of the Parliaments, to attend to be examined as a Witness before the Committee of Public Accounts.—(Sir Brampton Gurdon.)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, in respect of the Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill: Mr. Broadhurst; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Batty Langley.

Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILL.

CHARTERED SOCIETIES BILL.

"To provide for the further protection of Chartered Societies," presented by Sir John Rolleston; supported by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Sir James Woodhouse, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Francis Evans, and Mr. Hunter Craig; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 160.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Ordered, That the Committee of Ways and Means have precedence this day of the Business of Supply.—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

INCOME-TAX.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That income-tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): On a point of order, Sir, I understand that there was an agreement come to last night that there should be a general discussion on this

Resolution with regard to the Budget. May we take it that that is so?

*THE CHAIRMAN: Yes; I also understand there was a general agreement come to, and my assent was not withheld. Therefore, I presume that the discussion on the Income-Tax Resolution will be permitted to range over the whole subject of the Budget.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said it seemed to him that there were three points in connection with the Budget, one of which was satisfactory, and the other two, he thought, were unsatisfactory. The satisfactory point was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced his intention of maintaining the Sinking Fund. The unsatisfactory points were, the enormous expenditure for which the Budget provided and the methods by which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to meet the deficiency. Hon. Members particularly objected to the manner in which indirect taxation was being added to, and especially to the proposal to put an additional tax on tea. In making his arrangements for the coming year the Chancellor of the Exchequer had practically two deficiencies to provide for. He had to provide first for a realised deficiency of something like £5,500,000, and he also had to provide for an estimated deficiency in the coming year of £3,500,000, giving together a total deficiency of £9,000,000 for which he had to make provision in the coming year. He proposed to divide the deficiency into two parts. He practically borrowed the whole of the realised deficiency of last year, and he proposed further to meet the expenditure of the coming year by increased taxation. That was perhaps, a matter on which he might be congratulated. He (the speaker) confessed he was not exactly disappointed in finding that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not intend to provide in any way, or, at any rate, only provided to a very small extent, for the realised deficiency of last year. As a matter of fact, the whole of that deficiency of over £5,000,000 had practically been taken from borrowings, and to that extent, of course, it had been added to the Debt, because the balances

were reduced. He confessed it was a serious matter that, in a year in which there was a remission of taxation to the extent of £10,500,000, they should have to go back and borrow a sum of nearly £5,500,000. It was also a serious matter that in the first year in which the Sinking Fund had practically been reconstituted and put on a peace footing they should have to borrow a sum of £5,500,000. That certainly was not a good start for the new Sinking Fund. The right hon. Gentleman, he admitted, proposed to provide for a small portion of the deficiency by carrying over a somewhat larger estimated surplus than was usual. The customary surplus had been exceeded in this case by some £300,000 or £400,000, but he was bound to confess that he thought that in this case the right hon. Gentleman had shown himself somewhat sanguine. He had based his proposal on the supposition that the estimates of revenue for the year would certainly be realised, and he had also acted as though there were not likely to be any Supplementary Estimates during the coming year. The right hon. Gentleman, with the sanguineness of youth, pointed out in his speech several items of our financial and trade position which made them feel that he had put his estimates as high as they ought to be, and at the same time they were driven to the conclusion that he would not obtain the revenue which he had estimated. As regarded the Supplementary Estimates, undoubtedly the right hon. Gentleman had been over-sanguine, because during the last ten years there had not been a single year in which there had not been presented a Supplementary Estimate, and unfortunately these Supplementary Estimates had increased in proportion year by year. The last two years had been productive of the largest Supplementary Estimates ever known, and he feared that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find that his idea that there would be no Supplementary Estimates this year would come to grief. But they were interested more especially in the coming year than in the finances of the past, and he thought it must have come to the country at large as rather a shock that, after two years of peace, and when they might have fairly hoped for a considerable reduction of expenditure, it

had been found necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to come down to the House and ask for additional taxes to the extent of £5,000,000. That proved that our financial position was not so sound as it ought to be.

They would, of course, congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the fact that he had the courage, at all events, to propose sufficient taxation during the coming year to cover his estimated deficit. But then the question arose as to the proportions which should be obtained from direct and indirect taxation respectively. He approved of the proposal in regard to the income-tax, indeed he rather regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not gone further in that direction. He had, too, no particular objection to the increased taxation to be placed upon tobacco, but he was bound to say that they would have to consider very carefully in the course of the forthcoming debates one point in regard to that increase, because the additional duty on foreign cigarettes carried with it a certain whiff of protection. The part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals, however, to which he most strongly objected was that which related to indirect taxation — the proposal to place an additional duty on tea. His objection was that there was too large a proportion of new indirect taxation as compared with new direct taxation, and that the indirect taxation was likely to prove excessively burdensome in the case of the poorest of the poor. In regard to the income-tax they had the remission of last year for which no one was particularly grateful and which had proved a mistake. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had himself admitted that he would not have taken 4d. off the income-tax had he anticipated that there would have been a fall in the revenue. He took off, in fact, a penny too much, and had that penny not been taken off he did not think it was likely that the smaller deficiency which would then have arisen would have been provided for by an addition to the duty on tea. Another point which was rather remarkable in connection with the income-tax was that in spite of the addition of a penny to the tax in the current year the burden on the income-tax payer was estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at

Mr. Sydney Buxton.

less for the coming year than it was for the past year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer last year received £30,800,000 from income-tax, and the amount estimated to be received this year from the income-tax payer was only £30,000,000, despite the fact that a penny was to be added to the tax. In regard to the tea duty the right hon. Gentleman had admitted that practically the whole burden would fall upon the consumer, and bearing in mind the fact that wages at the present moment were falling, that employment was scarcer, and that the general outlook was far from satisfactory, he did not think it was an auspicious time to put additional burdens upon the working classes in this way. He hoped that the Departmental Committee which was sitting in regard to the income-tax would enable those who were entitled to abatements to obtain them with greater facility than now, and that it would lead to an extension of the present system of graduation. With reference to the burden of indirect and direct taxation he had no hesitation in saying that he would have preferred to have seen an extra penny put on the income-tax rather than the additional duty of twopence upon tea. He was bound to say that he did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his present proposals was fairly apportioning the burden between direct and indirect taxation. Last year the duty on corn, representing £2,500,000, was taken off, while a remission of income-tax was made representing £10,500,000, and therefore he thought that indirect taxation this year should certainly have had the lesser addition made to it. Taking the figures for some years past he found that the gross annual burden of indirect taxation had been £61,000,000, while that of direct taxation had been only £57,250,000. The figures for the current year brought up the direct taxation to £59,750,000 and the indirect taxation to £63,500,000. These figures again proved that any change of taxation should have been in the direction of putting the addition on the direct taxation rather than the indirect.

He now came to another aspect of the financial question, and that was the present position of the National Debt and of the Sinking Fund. The

Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken some credit to himself for maintaining the Sinking Fund during the present year, but he confessed that he did not himself see that the right hon. Gentleman had any alternative to doing that. It would have been a monstrous thing to have interfered with the Sinking Fund at the present moment when it had only just been restarted. During last year the reduction of the National Debt by the action of the Sinking Fund had not been so satisfactory as had been anticipated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, in introducing his Budget, said he anticipated that in the course of the twelve months the Debt would be reduced by £26,500,000—that was £6,500,000 through the operation of the Sinking Fund, £14,000,000 from the Transvaal, and £6,000,000 from the China Indemnity. Unfortunately, however, that anticipation had entirely failed. The Debt had been reduced by £8,000,000 only, and of that sum £3,000,000 had come from the Transvaal and £5,000,000 from the Sinking Fund. He feared that at the present rate of progress the sanguine anticipations of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer with respect to the reduction of the National Debt would not be realised. All this showed that the question of the Sinking Fund required reconsideration. They could not expect the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a year when indirect taxation bore £5,000,000 more of the burden than direct taxation, to reduce the Debt; but, taking into consideration the foundation on which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon based his £27,000,000 when Chancellor of the Exchequer, he (Mr. Buxton) thought that when the time arrived when there was a surplus, and reduction could take place, the reduction of the National Debt should have a prominent place in the right hon. Gentleman's consideration. The question of the reduction of the National Debt was very important indeed. The National Debt, before the war, amounted to something like £630,000,000, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer it now, owing to the borrowings for war and other purposes, amounted to £798,000,000, showing an increase now of £168,000,000.

We had also increased our annual capital expenditure from £4,000,000 at the beginning of the war to £10,000,000

now, and the unfortunate thing about that expenditure was that it was not only the first step that cost. One programme involved another, and it was quite clear that more money would have to be borrowed to carry out the new programme. This added to the capital expenditure every year. It might be necessary expenditure, but it was certainly not remunerative, and he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman on a previous occasion should have rather turned upon the local authorities and their borrowings. Corporations might make the old reply, "What faults you find in me try to shun." Of the whole of this £10,000,000 there was only £800,000 which could be called remunerative. Then there came a year when the Sinking Fund could not amount to more than £6,000,000, and the Government were going to borrow no less a sum than £10,000,000, so that at the end of the year we should be £4,000,000 to the bad. A good deal had been said about the weakness of Consols, and what the Sinking Fund was going to do to raise the price of them, but he failed to see what £6,000,000 would do if they were going to put £10,000,000 on the market in order to obtain it. He did not expect the right hon. Gentleman to do anything towards reducing the Debt charges in the present year, but he submitted that it was a matter for the consideration of the Committee. It was a very discreditable thing that we should have these enormous annual borrowings for capital expenditure. In the old days the ordinary increase and elasticity of the revenue was sufficient for the ordinary expenditure. Since 1895 there had been an extraordinary elasticity of revenue, something like £26,000,000 a year, and yet that was not sufficient to meet the expenditure of the year. Not only had that amount been taken from revenue, but a sum of £168,000,000 added to the Debt. He was rather sceptical as to whether there would be any saving on the Navy Votes, though that might be the case with regard to the War Office. He was one of those who thought there ought to be a reduction in the current year's Estimates.

There was one other serious point with regard to the expenditure. For the first time for many years a Chancellor of the Exchequer had risen in this House and

made certain suggestions without saying a single word as to economy. Much as he marvelled at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the other night, he did expect to hear something about economy, but not a single observation did the right hon. Gentleman make with regard to it. The efforts made last year in that direction were not great, but such as they were they did tend to reduce the National Debt.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said that he had heard the Budget statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with grave concern. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted a realised deficiency of £5,500,000 and a prospective deficiency of nearly £4,000,000, and yet he had ventured to propose new taxation only to the extent of £4,500,000. Of last year's deficiency £1,500,000 was left entirely unprovided for. But that was not all. In the Sinking Fund we had an unostentatious means of paying off debt, but in that ingenious device represented by the Army and Navy Works Acts, we had a surreptitious means of putting on debt and of increasing the nation's liabilities without the attention of Parliament being specifically drawn to the fact. In spite of the fact that the Sinking Fund was not to be touched, at the end of the year the country would be deeper in debt than it was now. Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer say how much debt would be paid off under the operation of the Sinking Fund; and how much fresh debt would be incurred under the Naval and Military Works Acts? The House ought to seek some prompt, real, and earnest remedy for the very grave and serious position in which the finances of the country now were. What expedient had the Government for making the national income and expenditure balance? He was glad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not gone through the commonplace form of urging general economy. Year after year for forty years he had heard speeches recommending generally public economy, but he had never known any of those speeches to do the slightest good. It was no use recommending economy without pointing to some specific part of the public service in which economy might be effected. He would

therefore refrain from any general recommendation of economy, and endeavour to direct attention to a particular branch of the public service where he believed economy was possible.

No great reduction could be made in any department of the Civil Service. Small economies could doubtless be effected, but nothing could there be done which would really affect the financial position of the country. The only branch of the Civil Service in which there was a large sum to operate upon was the Education Department, and although he had always said that a great deal of the money voted for education was wasted, what was wanted was not that the amount should be curtailed, but that it should be expended in a more efficient and useful manner. The only branches remaining were the Navy and the Army. Naval expenditure had always been popular, and he did not believe it was practical politics to attempt any great reduction therein. Possibly the Naval Department had been corrupted to some extent by the large expenditure on the Army during the late war, and in consequence had been more than ordinarily extravagant, so that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by putting pressure on the Naval Department, might be able to secure a reduction of a million or two. But it would be nothing substantial. The one Department of the State in which a real reduction could be made was the Army. We maintained a very extravagant force on a very extravagant scale. We had a volunteer professional Army, and we carried on the citizen defensive Army on the same expensive scale. As compared with other European nations we enjoyed a singular advantage in the matter of preparation for war, in that we had a great British Army kept in India, and a large number of professional soldiers maintained in this country to replace those in India, all at the expense of the Indian revenue. Those men in case of emergency could be diverted from India to any other part of the world. Why should not they be treated as our striking force, and the civilian defensive Army be organised on a cheaper and more economical system? By that means a really substantial reduction in Army expenditure might be secured. By such

Mr. Sydney Buxton.

a revolution in the kind of Army we maintained several millions of money might be saved and the finances of the country brought into a condition of solvency. The time had come when whatever Government was in power must seriously address itself to this question. Expenditure had gone up by leaps and bounds. The burdens imposed were as great as the people could conveniently bear. The increased tea duty would weigh very heavily on many poor people. The income-tax to some meant only the reduction of luxuries, but to a great number the extra penny would touch the actual necessities of life. The Committee ought not, with a light heart, to impose these taxes, which could be borne only by the exercise of much patriotism and patience, without, as representatives of the people, setting themselves earnestly to work for the purpose of ascertaining the particular branches in which great reductions could be made. The Government could confidently rely on the support of all sections of the House in any attempt to lessen the expenditure of the country.

***MR. RITCHIE** (Croydon): I am sure everyone will agree with my right hon. friend as to the desirability of the Government directing their attention to the reduction of our enormously swollen Estimates. But the hon. Member for Poplar made an extraordinary observation. He upbraided the Chancellor of the Exchequer for not having indulged in the usual sermon on the subject of economy. I should be sorry if it became the practice for Chancellors of the Exchequer, in placing their estimates before the country, to refrain from expressing their own views as to the character and amount of the expenditure, because, although it may not have any immediate effect, I cannot help thinking that a forcible expression of opinion of that kind must have some influence upon those who are responsible for the Estimates. But what the hon. Member said was that it was the interest of the right hon. Gentleman to maintain expenditure. I have my own opinion as to some of the views held by my right hon. friend, but I should be attributing to him very unworthy motives if I suggested that he had any idea of bringing those

views into practice by means of unnecessary increases of expenditure.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he did not intend to cast any reflection in that sense, and he was sorry if his remarks had been so understood.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): My interest in preventing waste is quite as great as that not only of any other Chancellor of the Exchequer, but of any Member in this House.

***MR. RITCHIE**: I am sure any such declaration on the part of my right hon. friend is quite unnecessary. He would be unworthy of his high position if it were otherwise. Whatever views he may have on fiscal reform, I am satisfied that the main object of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to reduce as far as he reasonably and properly can the burdens of the country. When my right hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University promised to point out a certain direction in which economy might be effected, I expected something novel, but I was disappointed. He simply stated what is obvious to all, viz., that the main branch of expenditure in which economy ought to and can be effected is that connected with the Army. The economies in other Departments are extremely small as compared with what can be obtained in the expenditure upon the Army. We are obliged at a time of war to increase our forces, but somehow or other it seems impossible, after the emergency is over, to reduce the number of our Army to what it was before. No one expects that this reduction can take place immediately, but I have great hopes, from what has been said on the Front Ministerial Bench, that hon. Members will not be disappointed in the hope and expectation that reductions will be made, and speedily made, in the expenditure upon the Army.

The hon. Member for Poplar made some criticisms, which I have no doubt he will expect me to deal with. He has spoken about the inadequacy of the Sinking Fund. I justify the proposals which I made, as I justified them on more than one occasion last year, when

I said that if my expectations were realised, not only would there be a large and substantial Sinking Fund at the end of the last financial year, but in the course of about five years we should have a Sinking Fund enormously greater than ever we did before in proportion to the Debt. As far as my expectation on the 31st of March last is concerned, I do not think it has failed of realisation. The amount I anticipated was £6,600,000, and it actually stands at £6,510,000. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about fresh borrowings?] I am not talking about borrowings. The hon. Member opposite was talking about what my expectations were; and the particular point that I take up is the fact that my estimate on the 31st of March has been realised, with the exception of £90,000. That difference is accounted for by the fact that we did not obtain our first contribution from the Transvaal Loan. Is there an hon. Member who would suggest, or attempt to justify, the launching of a £10,000,000 loan in the existing state of the money market? We have got something more than the mere obtaining of this money to consider. We have to consider, also, the position which the Transvaal would have occupied in the money market by endeavouring to borrow under the state of things which existed up to quite recently. It would have been most unfortunate if we had been compelled, in order to obtain this money, to go to the market and obtain upon very bad terms the first loan of the Transvaal. That would have been a very bad commencement for the new colony of the Transvaal. Remember what took place between my Budget estimate and the beginning of this year. Consols, which at the time of my Budget were 90, in January last had fallen to 86 and have fallen lower since, although they are much better now. It would have been simply monstrous and ruinous on our part to have attempted to obtain the first contribution from the Transvaal, having regard to the unfortunate change in the money market. It is a mere question of deferring, and I hope, having regard to the greatly improved state of the money market, that the time is not far distant when that loan will be raised, and we shall receive

Mr. Ritchie.

payment. It is a mere question of a few months here or there, and although the result is that we have been deprived of a certain small amount of interest, I am satisfied that all those who understand finance will agree that it would have been folly to put pressure upon the Transvaal to issue that loan. The hon. Member said we had obtained only £3,000,000 instead of the £4,000,000 from the Transvaal which I anticipated. I hope my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not lose sight of that extra million, but bring pressure to bear upon the Transvaal Government to secure it. With regard to future prospects, it is true that I said if my proposals for the Sinking Fund were adopted and maintained they were sufficient to pay off the National Debt in fifty years, but I never said that the Debt would be paid off. I never anticipated any such millennium. While we are bound to maintain a very large Sinking Fund in proper proportion to the amount of the Debt, we ought not, at a time of high taxation, to make undue calls on the taxpayer in order to obtain an unnecessarily large Sinking Fund. Let us maintain the Sinking Fund at a proportion sufficiently large. The proportion which would be secured on my plan is much greater than any Sinking Fund has attained before, and I have no doubt that the provision I have made is one which is ample.

The hon. Member opposite was very severe upon us in regard to indirect taxation, and asserted in strong and definite language that the indirect taxpayer was being called upon for larger contributions than he ought to make to the taxation, and a much larger contribution than he had made before the war. Let us see how that is. I have no doubt that the hon. Gentleman has added the coal tax to indirect taxation.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: Certainly.

*Mr. RITCHIE: I maintain that he ought not to have done anything of the kind. If the coal tax has had any effect at all upon the price of coal it has lowered it to the consumer in this country, because if the coal tax reduced our

exports the home supply would be proportionately increased. Therefore if the coal tax has had any effect upon the taxpayer it is not the effect which the hon. Gentleman has stated. [An Hon. MEMBER: It is indirect taxation.] Are we to understand that the hon. Gentleman does not mean the burden of indirect taxation upon the consumer? The whole argument has been the effect upon the indirect taxpayer, and therefore I exclude the coal tax. I assert that it has always been the case that in regard to expenditure for war purposes the burden falls more heavily upon direct taxation. The income-tax is the first tax which is increased and drawn upon for war expenditure, and it has always been considered as a reserve for war purposes. It is indeed, and has always been so considered, a special implement of war. It has been argued that the indirect taxpayer should not be left in a worse position than he was before the war. Let us compare the Budget estimates on this question rather than the produce of the estimates. I will compare the Budget estimates of 1899-1900 with 1903-4, which include the Budget estimates before the war and after. In 1899-1900 the amount of indirect taxation was £52,597,000, being 52·1 per cent.; the amount of direct taxation in the same year being £48,366,000, or equal to 47·9 per cent. In 1903-4 indirect taxation was £66,090,000, or 50·9 per cent., and direct taxation £63,730,000, or 49·1 per cent. Therefore the direct taxpayer before the war paid 47·9 per cent. and after the war 49·1 per cent., being 1·2 per cent more after the war than before the war. Now let us see how the indirect taxpayer stands. Before the war he paid 52·1, and after the war he has to pay 50·9 per cent., being 1·2 per cent. less. The total yield within the war period of indirect taxation was £14,000,000 less, and the direct taxation yielded a like sum more than in the period of the 1899-1900 Budget. The figures, therefore, of 1902-3 indicate that on direct taxation the taxpayer is entitled to special relief to a very considerable extent yet in order to bring it down to the level at which the proportionate relief of direct and indirect taxation ought to begin to operate. So far

as the criticisms of the hon. Gentleman opposite is concerned, I think he will find, if he examines into the figures, that they were hardly justified by what had taken place, and that the indirect taxpayer is now in a more favourable position compared with the direct taxpayer than he was before the war.

Some rather severe criticisms were made on the estimates for last year, and I think it is only due to those who advised me in the matter of the estimates which they submitted to me, and which I submitted to the House, to say that they were based on thoroughly sound and careful considerations. I hope the Committee will pardon me if I, for a few moments, detain them on that particular subject. It is only fair to those who have always been so extremely careful, and, as a rule, so very correct, that I should make the statement I have now to make. The Customs estimates for the year, as everyone knows, are based first of all on the payments into the Exchequer of the previous year. In 1902-3 there were certain circumstances which greatly affected our calculations for the following year. The revenue for 1902-3 was affected by anticipations and backwardisations to the extent, it was estimated, of no less than £1,600,000, and there was also an allowance which had to be made for pre-Budget contracts for coal amounting to £100,000. The natural growth of the Customs revenue, instead of being taken for the year 1903-4 at the percentage of growth at which it was usually taken, 2½ per cent., was only taken at the moderate percentage of 1½ per cent. And so with regard to the Excise. The revenue from spirits came in very freely up to 31st December, 1902. It was adversely affected in the March quarter by delay in the clearances in the hope that the war 6d. might be taken off, and this, in the opinion of the Excise authorities, justified an increase in the spirit duty of £450,000. Beer had shown an increase for 1901-2 in three out of the four quarters of the year. It was only deficient in the September quarter, and that was attributed to the cold summer of 1902. This justified an increase of £150,000. The estimate for the death duties last year was £555,000 less than for the year 1902-3, and the reason for the reduction in the estimate was that

there had been a special effort made in 1902-3 to get in outstanding duties. The death duties would unquestionably have realised the sum anticipated if it had not been for the very large fall in Consols, which dropped from 90 to 85-6, and in other securities. Stamps were estimated for at a small increase of £200,000. In my opinion that estimate was absolutely justified. We hoped there would be some revival in trade, but that hope was not realised. So that a consideration of all the circumstances, most of which took place in the last half of the financial year rather than throughout the whole of the year, could not have been foreseen and allowed for in the estimates. I said, on my responsibility, that I do not think either the Customs or the Inland Revenue authorities, on whose advice the Chancellor of the Exchequer must mainly depend, are to blame for being too sanguine. The after effects of the war might have had more allowance made for them, but it is very easy for us to be wise after the event. I am sure that, in bearing testimony to the extraordinary correctness, as a rule, of the estimates which are made by both the Customs and Excise authorities, I am only saying that with which every one who has any knowledge of the manner in which these estimates are framed will agree, that it is not wonderful that occasionally a miscalculation is made and that it is quite extraordinary that the calculations are so good as they are, as a rule. I am sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in presenting to the Committee the proposals he has made, has acted upon sound and wise principles.

*SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) said he had on previous occasions urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to place an additional tax on cigars, and he welcomed the proposal now made to tax cigarettes. He sincerely wished, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had not confined the tax to foreign cigarettes, not only on account of the flavour of protection which was thus given to it, but because the whole House wished to stop the pernicious practice of small boys smoking cheap cigarettes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had suggested that these cigarettes already paid duty on the

Mr. Ritchie.

tobacco. He himself had very great doubt whether cigarettes which were sold at ten a penny paid any duty on tobacco at all. He did not believe that they were made of proper tobacco, but of cigar ends which were picked up in the streets. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would remember that the tobacco revenue was a very delicate one, and that there was a point at which smuggling began. He could not make any objection to the extra penny on income-tax, because he was one of those who last year thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimates were over-sanguine and that the penny ought never to have been taken off. He very much regretted that an additional duty had been laid on tea. As he believed tea was almost invariably sold in bond, he could not conceive that it passed the wit of the Inland Revenue to devise some means by which an *ad valorem* duty might be placed on this commodity. That would do away with one of the great objections to the tax. He commended the suggestion to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for having included in his statement a reference to the expenditure in connection with loans for works. He believed that system was initiated in the time of Lord Palmerston and that it was a very evil form of finance. They had already been told that what had been paid off the Sinking Fund had been counterbalanced by large loans. He hoped the Public Accounts Committee would have an opportunity of calling attention to this matter, and that the House would give it careful consideration, because he thought these loans were dealt with in a way which was altogether illusory, and that they deceived themselves as to paying off debt, while they deceived the country as to the total expenditure of the nation. He believed the proper way to pay off debt was to take for that purpose the surpluses over expenditure. When he was a young man at the Treasury the Chancellor of the Exchequer always estimated income at the minimum, and, that being so, he generally got a surplus, which was applied to the reduction of debt.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had said with reference to

the Transvaal payment that it was a mere question of deferring it. He could not allow for a moment that it was a matter of deferring it. If the Transvaal had paid it this year they would have been able to use it very advantageously in paying off debt. This was a question of taking money out of our pocket and putting it into the pocket of the Transvaal, but as he never expected that we should receive a halfpenny of that money it did not make much difference one way or the other. It had always been said that if there were a great European war we would come out of it all right, because we held the purse. But that no longer held true. He found that since the year 1900 rates and taxes together had increased 50 per cent. He knew that country people were taxed and rated so high that they had hardly any income left. It followed that while it was impossible to raise more from taxation, more money could not be raised by way of loan except on almost impossible terms. It was no use for hon. Members to talk of economy in the abstract, while each was, on almost every subject, in favour of more expenditure affecting his own constituency. Hon. Members insisted that public servants should have £1 a week wages, while probably they were paying their own men only 15s. a week. He hoped that if the reaction in favour of economy spoken of by the right hon. Member for West Bristol were to come, it would come early.

MR. ELLIOT (Durham) said they had all listened the other day to a singularly lucid statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer—nothing could have been more lucid. Yet most credit was due to the right hon. Gentleman,* he thought, not for the financial genius he showed, but for the morality. He praised the right hon. Gentleman's morals even more highly than he praised his financial genius; for, after all, when the income-tax stood at 11d. there was no great difficulty in adding a 1d. and making it 1s., and when the tea duty stood at 6d., it required no singular ingenuity to add 2d. and ask the House of Commons to agree to an 8d. tax. Nothing could be simpler, and he was one of those who thought the Budget was all the better for

being simple. What they wanted was not so much ingenuity as simple, straightforward honesty. The right hon. Gentleman had no doubt a difficult situation to deal with, and it was his duty to explain why it was the bill the country had to pay was such a heavy one, and why the revenue was so much smaller than was anticipated. The right hon. Gentleman did his best, but he felt that the speech was remarkable not alone for what it contained but for what it omitted. In the Budget Bill they found the collective fiscal mind of the Government at the present moment, and it had been usual for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he introduced a Budget Bill, to give some sort of oration as to the fiscal position in which the country found itself and as to remedies—to advise the country, in fact, as to the position in which it stood, and as to the direction in which the country ought to look to better its position. He found nothing of the kind either in the Bill or in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the Bill they had the right to look for the fiscal conclusions of the Government, and in the introductory speech they had the right to look for the reasons upon which those conclusions were based. Well, the Bill was a good free-trade Bill; it resembled in that respect the Bill of last year. The hon. Gentleman opposite had said, not inappropriately, that with regard to the tobacco duties there was a certain whiff of protection, but that whiff was so slight that the sternest of them could hardly be excited, it was a very small thin edge of the wedge. But was it right, when they considered the fiscal proposals of the Government and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to exclude altogether from their attention views which had been put before the country of another kind?

There was the corn tax, for instance. There was a reference to that tax in the right hon. Gentleman's speech, but it was a very passing allusion. That tax had been advocated lately, and had been made the basis of a great agitation throughout the country; it had been supported by one statesman of pre-eminent power and standing; it had had the most cordial and hearty support of the hon. Member for Sleaford; and it was notorious that the policy of

renewing the corn tax had been adopted by Conservative caucus after caucus, and by a large number of Members on that side of the House. Well, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said nothing about the corn duty, and the Resolutions which were to be the foundation of the Budget Bill said nothing. The corn duty had gone and it had gone for ever. Whatever might have been thought possible when it was suggested as a mere registration duty, and fixed at a low sum which should not be altered—and he thought something was to be said for it then—it now occupied a new position in the eyes of the country, because it was the acknowledged first step which was to lead to a system of barefaced protection. His right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford, who was a keen and zealous supporter of the views which had been pressed forward in the country, and which supporters of the Government had professed their willingness to support, would, he hoped, frankly state the disappointment he and his friends must feel at the fact that neither in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor in the Resolutions, was there an atom of support given to the proposals which had been advocated so powerfully throughout the country. The position was a most extraordinary one. That House, after all, was the place where fiscal proposals were best understood, considered, and debated, and it was the proper arena, if protectionism was to be resorted to, to increase the profits of our home producers.

He marked with interest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in tracing the causes of the diminished revenue, while he rightly referred to unfortunate seasons and to the depression in the City and its effect on stamps, death duties, and so forth, did not refer to that cause which in the country had been advanced as one of the principal causes of our sufferings—namely, the unlimited extent to which commodities had been poured into this country untaxed, which, it was said was ruining our native industries. Again, in that respect the free-traders had scored. It seemed that to arguments which were used in the country over and over again, although repeatedly shown up, the atmosphere of the House of Commons was somewhat uncongenial. Indeed, it

Mr. Elliot.

was not an atmosphere, apparently, in which a protectionist found it very easy to breathe. The atmosphere was not likely to be any different six months or a year hence. The country was looking into these questions for itself, the different classes were looking into them, including the great working class. It was easy to understand that particular industries or trades might thrive by the exclusion of competition, but that was only the first and superficial view which struck the mind, and the public mind had now got beyond that. They were looking to the question how far, not this or that employment, but the community as a whole would be injured or benefited by these proposals to tax our imports. These arguments had been used again and again in this country, and that being so, he would like to hear these views expounded in the House of Commons.

* **THE CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Gentleman is not now discussing any of the matters contained in any of the Resolutions before the Committee. He is dealing with proposals that may or may not be contained in the Budget a year or two years hence. That opens up a very wide question, and I do not know how I am to restrict debate to the present general financial position of the country if the hon. Gentleman is going to roam at large over the possible fiscal system of the future.

MR. ELLIOT said the introduction of the Budget had always been an occasion on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer not only took stock of the existing financial position of the country, but looked forward into the future. That was why he ventured to deal with the fiscal question. He thought, therefore, the Budget and the Budget speech were most important because they disclosed what was in truth the fiscal mind of His Majesty's Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had done well in very difficult circumstances, and had taken the right course in making his Budget simple and straightforward. Nothing was to be gained by making general complaint of extravagance. There was a good deal of language used

in the House which seemed to indicate that a man felt he was a true economist by complaining when the time came for him to pay the bill. Years ago economy had real and staunch allies in the House of Commons. But his experience at the Treasury, short as it had been, strongly enforced the opinion which he had already held that the House of Commons was itself the cause of extravagance. Members who talked most about the necessity for economy were the very men who proposed or supported popular schemes for increasing the wages of Government servants or feeding school children out of public funds. These were admirable objects, and had a great deal to recommend them, but the continual enforcing of claims of this kind did not tend to economy. It seemed to be generally agreed that there should be a reduction in Army expenditure. That expenditure was undoubtedly very large, and he should be delighted if a sufficient and efficient Army were to be obtained at a decreased cost. But it was not so long ago since we had found that our Army was not at all too large or too powerful, and as he was not one of those economists who when the boot pinched said that the dangers of the South African War were unexampled and were not likely to arise again, he hoped that if what was called the standing strength of the Army were reduced it would still remain an Army capable of a rapid and wide increase of strength in times of emergency. He congratulated the Government mainly upon this, that at a period of great trouble, when fiscal doubts and difficulties were seething among politicians, they had come forward with an honest, straightforward free-trade Budget.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) said he was simply astonished that afternoon to hear the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon as to the proportion of the remission of taxation between the direct taxpayer and the indirect taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman made a speech at Croydon recently, in which he showed the direct opposite, and urged that the indirect taxpayer, by the remission, was something like £7,000,000 to the bad as against the direct taxpayer. With regard to the Committee appointed to deal

with further adjustments and exemptions from income-tax, the ex-Chancellor made a promise last year that there should be a Committee appointed to inquire amongst other things as to further abatements of taxation on incomes under £400, £500, and £700. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer was making his speech the other day, he understood that that would be a part of the reference to the Committee which he was about to appoint. But the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer also made a further remark of great importance to that class of the community who paid income-tax on their little incomes in the form of dividend deduction, made before the money reached them. People with an income of £10 or £20 a year from that source had sums deducted from their cheques, and they had no ready and direct means of obtaining the repayment.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said this matter was mentioned by him the other day as one of the points included in the reference made to the Committee.

MR. BROADHURST was very pleased that this was so. As a further suggestion he said he would like to see some scheme initiated by which any person who was clearly entitled to that restitution should be able to obtain a form at the nearest post office, which would be easily intelligible to the meanest understanding, and to swear before the nearest magistrates the truth of his declaration, and post it in a supplied envelope direct to the Inland Revenue Commissioners, and thus get the money back speedily, and without much trouble. The present system was most cumbrous and technical, and there were very few but professional people who could really master the difficulties of filling in the forms before the regular declaration could be made for the return of the money. He understood the Chancellor to state that there was no precautionary measure against the issue of loans applied for by a local authority. On inquiry the right hon. Gentleman would find that precautions in this respect did exist. The Local Government Board made special inquiries and ascertained the feeling of the rate-payers of the locality before they gave their sanction. But he could not see why large places, such as Manchester, Glasgow

and Birmingham were to be exempt from the suggested precautions.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I said I was considering whether the granting of loans by the Public Works Loan Board that was using the credit of the State might not be further restricted—not restricted to the big towns, but to the smaller places which had less means of their own to secure credit.

Mr. BROADHURST considered the large authorities were in as much danger in this matter as the smaller authorities. Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, could go into the open market and raise their own loans.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is what I want them to do.

Mr. BROADHURST said it was impossible for a town of 25,000 people to go into the market and raise a loan, and yet these small places stood as much in need of aid from the Public Works Loan Commissioners as large places. The money these small places spent generally went in procuring a better water supply and open spaces, and this was for the welfare and betterment of the State because it improved the health of the people and increased their wage-earning capacity. He thought he read in the Chancellor's warning, an indirect attack upon municipal trading, which was such a bugbear to a certain class of professional people. If municipal trading was to be attacked let it be done openly, and let it apply in equal proportion to all communities, whether large or small. He thought the taxation on cigars and cigarettes would be received with considerable favour. He presented a petition some time since to the Chancellor asking him to deal with cigars as he had done. He did not endorse the prayer of the petition, but it was signed largely and influentially, and he certainly could not undertake to vote against the Chancellor's proposals. But he doubted whether the tax on stripped leaf tobacco was wise. He had received a telegram from an expert in the tobacco trade in Leicester pointing out that the sixpenny Havana cigar paid only 15 per cent. duty on its cost, whereas shag tobacco paid 600 per cent. Obviously,

Mr. Broadhurst.

this was unjust to the labourer who smoked shag tobacco. Some years ago the hon. Member for West Bristol promised to consider some scheme for taxing tobacco and tea *ad valorem* and certainly it was an unjust tax when levied on weight, as it was now. The argument that applied to the taxation of the better class of tobacco equally applied to tea. Although the case presented by the Irish representatives might be quite true, he doubted whether there were not thousands of agricultural labourers in this country and casual workers in our streets who relied upon tea as an article of consumption and an encouragement to appetite, as did the Irish labourers. Tea and tobacco should be taxed according to their value, and if that were done, a considerable cause of justifiable complaint with regard to those two taxes would be removed. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after this Budget had been passed, would go thoroughly into these subjects, and that next year he would bring his genius and originality to bear upon them.

*Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis), as an earnest student of finance, congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer both on the manner and on the matter of his speech. The Budget had the great merit of being simple—probably the old man who smoked, and the old woman who drank tea, would say it was not only simple but brutal. But it was simple, and also orthodox. There was no trace of scientific taxation about it, for the little matter of the tobacco stem was so trifling as to be unworthy of attention. The right hon. Gentleman had had a difficult task to perform, for he had a realised deficit to meet from last year. He might remind his right hon. friend the Member for Croydon that last year he warned him that he was over-estimating his revenue. So it had turned out, though it might be urged in excuse that it was becoming increasingly difficult to estimate revenue with the accuracy of former years—in the first place because the revenue was larger and the margin of error therefore greater, and, in the second place, because there were certain dangerously high taxes which in case of a fall in consumption

or in price of securities meant very large differences. The difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been further added to by the practice of introducing large Supplementary Estimates in which this Government had been a great and regular offender. Those Supplementary Estimates for the expired year were no less than £7,800,000, although by good luck they had been relieved to the extent of £3,500,000—relieved, not really but only as regards the nominal sum voted by the accidental excess of the Appropriations in aid. There was no way by which a realised deficit could be dealt with, except that of taking it out of the balances or of adding it to Debt. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to have adopted both methods. As far as he understood the position, there was a balance from overborrowing for the late war of £2,888,000, which enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to advance £3,000,000 to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. But that was borrowed money, and when repaid by the colonies it still remained borrowed money, and being overborrowed should find its way back to the Debt. The right hon. Gentleman further proposed to replete his balances by £1,000,000 derived from unclaimed dividends. With regard to the remaining £1,500,000 of deficit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expected to get £730,000 surplus on his Budget, and the remaining £770,000 he left unprovided for. Now the £3,000,000 was admittedly Debt money, and he contended that so also was the £1,000,000 from unclaimed dividends. The nature of the Funded Debt was that the State bound itself to pay nothing except the interest; they were not bound to return the principal to the creditor; all they undertook was to pay him a perpetual annuity of a certain amount. Therefore, if by negligence or death the Exchequer were relieved from the payments of interest, that relief was a relief of, and should go as part of, the Debt. He submitted therefore, that if £1,000,000 were taken from unclaimed dividends—a perfectly fair thing to do—a corresponding amount of debt should be extinguished; the Exchequer had no right to treat that money as revenue. As to whether or not the whole of the diminution in Treasury balances was debt he was not so sure.

In a sense, if one's balance at the bank increased one's debt diminished, because there was a larger asset against it, and *vice versa*. But only in a sense. A Treasury balance was a most strange, evanescent, and uncertain thing; it had no certain foundation; it received additions from the most diverse sources; it was depleted for the most diverse purposes; it was always varying; and sometimes, quite accidentally, and, so to speak, momentarily, as at this moment, it was £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 short of what it should be. Therefore, he thought it was hardly sound finance to say that every addition to the balance represented a diminution of the debt, or that every diminution of the balance meant an increase of the debt. It could not be denied, however, that £4,000,000 of the £5,500,000 of realised deficit were provided for by intercepting moneys due to the Debt, and therefore by what was practically an increase of the Debt, that £730,000 of it was provided for by expectation of the present year's revenue, and that a sum of £770,000 was left unprovided for in any way whatever. Moreover, he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that the balances were really too low at present. In 1898 they amounted to £10,900,000, in 1899 to £9,000,000, in 1900 to £3,500,000, in 1901 to £5,500,000, in 1902 to £8,500,000, and in 1903 to £6,600,000, but now they were only £4,200,000. Therefore, considering the large increase of revenue and expenditure and the consequent larger area over which the balances had to be used, the amount was too low.

Then there was the prospective deficit. The Exchequer expenditure of £142,800,000, with which the Chancellor naturally dealt, was not the whole of the expenditure. There was in addition the expenditure for local taxation intercepted and not paid into the Exchequer, or out of it, amounting to £10,000,000, and another £10,000,000 for Appropriations in aid, both of which items were really expenditure. The real total expenditure was therefore in all £162,800,000. But he would take the right hon. Gentleman's figure of £142,800,000. That left him with an estimated deficit for 1904–5 of £3,800,000. He congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on

having resisted the temptation to suspend the Sinking Fund, though he held that that was not enough, and that it ought to be increased. And now as to the new taxes. The addition of a penny to the income-tax was one for which almost everybody must have been prepared. The income-tax payer was a patient, burden-bearing creature, who would not say anything, so there would be no trouble on that score. It was true that he wrote letters, but they need not be answered. He had mentioned the income-tax mainly for the purpose of protesting against a shocking doctrine and fallacy suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who had suggested that the income-tax might be graduated. Graduation was impossible, and both the right hon. Gentleman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew it. One enormous advantage of the tax was that, with regard to the greater part of it, it practically levied itself, because it was deducted from all dividends before they were paid. But a graduated income-tax could not be so levied. For that would involve different rates for different incomes instead of all deductions being made at one rate as at present. It would be impossible to continue the present system of deduction if before the tax was levied the income of the investor had to be ascertained. He was prepared, moreover, to contend that it would be grossly unjust to graduate the income-tax, if for no other reason than this, that the estate duties were professedly and avowedly put on because of the impracticability of such a proposal. The graduation was brought in at the man's death, because it could not be arranged during his life. Further, such graduation would be contrary to public policy. In his opinion the income-tax should be generalised, and it could then be reduced. At present, in consequence of exemptions and abatements, less than one-half of the incomes of the country were rated. If all were taxed the income-tax rate might be halved and produce the same revenue. The exemption for, or abatement on, some incomes meant shifting the burden on to the others. He did not believe any taxpayers in the country wished that; he believed the poor as well as the rich were ready to pay their fair share. It was merely a

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

question of devising a convenient method of levy to reconcile all to it. Moreover, a generalised income-tax would enable us to relieve those who paid it of other and far heavier burdens. For the income-tax cost very little to levy, whereas other taxes cost a great deal, and the cost of levy had to be added to the tax and paid by the taxpayer. The increase of 30 per cent. on the tea duty brought that duty up to over 100 per cent. *ad valorem*, and that would no doubt fall hardly on the old woman who drank tea. He thought tobacco was a more risky venture on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he was not sure that before he had done with this Budget he might not find it advisable to modify the proposals he had made with regard to it. He must here ask a question as to a matter which seemed to have escaped attention. The Resolution proposed dealt only with the permanent duty imposed by the Act of 1898, but there were temporary duties imposed by the Finance Act of 1900. Did the right hon. Gentleman intend to leave the additional duties he had imposed as temporary and annual duties, or did he propose to make them permanent. If he intended to make them permanent he should object, because he had the strongest objections to putting in the hands of the Government as permanent duties those duties which had hitherto been only temporary. The average value of cigars per lb. brought into this country was 11½d., and a duty of 6s. on that amounted to 600 per cent. Therefore, whenever an average man smoked an average cigar, he would in future have practically to give six cigars to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was dangerously high, and must act as an encouragement to the smuggler. Smuggling was still regarded by many as a sport, and to this day many called it by its old smuggling name of free trade. After a political meeting in the New Forest near the Beaulieu River, an ancient labourer said to him, "I'm glad you are for free trade, sir. I have been for free trade all my life—many's the cargo of tubs of French brandy I've run up this very river."

And now as to the Debt and the Sinking Fund. The right hon. Gentleman the

Member for Croydon said truly that the whole of the amount by which the Debt was reduced this year was £6,500,000, which very nearly approached to his estimate of £6,600,000, but he forgot that the only part he was responsible for, or could claim any merit for, was that which was represented by the new Sinking Fund, and that was less than £1,500,000. That was the only part in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had had any share. The present fixed charge was £27,000,000, which meant about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the dead weight debt of £760,000,000, but that was not enough, and it should be at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or £28,500,000, or even 4 per cent., which would make the fixed charge over £30,000,000. Out of this fixed charge they had to pay, before they got their new Sinking Fund, out of the fixed charge of £27,000,000, the interest on the permanent debt, the floating debt, the terminable annuities and the management of the Debt, and that left but little for the new Sinking Fund. The Debt was so increased, and was so much increasing, and the expenditure and liabilities of the State were also increasing so fast, that he earnestly pressed upon the Committee the necessity of reconsidering the fixed charge which was originally £28,000,000, but which had been pared down by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer to £27,000,000. He hoped they would shortly increase that charge to at least £28,000,000.

Then there were what were called charges on capital account, but really there was no such thing as capital account. These so-called capital charges were debt-unfunded or floating debt and having their own sinking fund, but still debt. It meant that whenever they wanted to buy telephones or telegraphs, to set up a railway in Uganda, new railway works, or even to build a land registry office they set up a new debt. In 1895 that debt only amounted to £3,000,000, but last year it had increased to £32,000,000. This year another £10,000,000 was to be added, and it would now reach £42,000,000. That was an enormous sum practically added to the National Debt, added, he admitted, under more favourable circumstances which

would extinguish this portion in a comparatively short period, but nevertheless it was a very serious addition to the public Debt. He was sorry the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to avow that he intended to make so large an addition as £10,000,000 to what he considered was a particularly obnoxious form of debt. It pledged them to the particular works for which it was raised. It was true that there was a statement put before them every year, but if they once agreed to the Bills which embodied these £42,000,000 they could not touch the subject again or reduce the expenditure, or even get proper accounts, and that was why he said that this was a most obnoxious form of debt.

Now he came to the moral, and he urged the Committee not to agree to any more of these Bills. When the House once sanctioned expenditure, either by these Bills or by voting Estimates, the mischief was done. After that, complaint was idle. It was no use blaming the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was only the victim, who must find the money. All they could then do was to criticise his method of dealing with the Sinking Fund or his method of raising the money, but it was absurd to complain as though the right hon. Gentleman himself was responsible. The Prime Minister was responsible, his policy was responsible, above all, the House itself was responsible. Their financial position was gradually becoming more serious. There was the public Debt, and this other debt of £42,000,000, and there were other liabilities coming upon them in the near future, besides the local debt. All this meant increased taxation, and increased local rates which were becoming almost unbearable. He sympathised with his hon. friend who said it was useless to make speeches on financial purity, and then when the Estimates came up to vote for them. There was only one way in which the House could assert itself, and that was by voting against Loans for Works, by voting against Vote A for the Army, which was the Vote for the men, and by voting against the men for the Navy and the shipbuilding programme when the House thought this course was justifiable. If the House

did not think that this course was justifiable, it was useless to complain of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he called upon them to pay the bills. This House had largely lost control of the Estimates through the new Rules, the effect of which was that the Government did not mind how long they took over a set of Estimates, because they knew that what were left undiscussed would be voted automatically under the guillotine. The result was that there was no longer that wholesome method by which he used to make secret bargains with the Chancellor of the Exchequer to let him have certain Votes if he would grant him certain privileges. They were now bound hand and foot to the Government of the day, and very often under the guillotine some Votes which urgently required discussion and the control of the House were closed.

He had made certain suggestions with a view in some degree to restore the control of the House over the Estimates, and which would be, he thought, of public advantage. One of those suggestions was that there should be an Estimates Committee; another, that a day should be appointed for discussion of the Public Accounts Committee Report. Something was needed. The most audacious schemes were afoot. It had been seriously suggested that there should be placed at the disposal of the Government of the day, whoever they might be, £10,000,000 for the Army, and £10,000,000 for the Navy, to be spent without any reference whatever to Parliament. A more revolutionary proposal he had never heard of, nor one more certain to lead in the direction of a military despotism. His right hon. friend below the Gangway had given the House some extremely good advice with regard to the Estimates on which reductions could be made. The right hon. Gentleman thought that the expenditure on the Army might be reduced. He himself was convinced from conversations he had had with experts that many millions might be saved on the Army. He was thoroughly convinced that £2,000,000 could be saved on the Navy, and he would be very much surprised if a similar amount could not be saved on the Civil Service. He asked the Committee to be prepared to go into these

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

details, to attend when the Estimates were being discussed, and not to leave the discussion of them to a few in an almost empty House. If they thought a case was made out against any particular expenditure they should not be afraid to vote for a reduction. Strict, detailed, jealous economy was necessary. Parsimony had now become a duty, *Magnum est vectigal parsimonia*. Some Members of the Committee might think that to reduce Estimates presented by the Government was to vote a want of confidence in the Government. No doubt there had been squeamish Governments, who, if their Estimates were reduced by the Committee, would take that as implying want of confidence, and would resign. But this Government were not so tender as that. They accepted a reduction of £100 on a Vote the other day, and if other reductions were carried he had no doubt they would accept them. Whether or not, the time had come when the House should begin to redeem its own faults. The departmental representatives seemed to get more extravagant as they went along, and the only way to check expenditure was for Members to come to the House, examine the Estimates, debate them, move reductions, and carry them if they were justified. Once that course was taken it would be a warning to the Government to keep down the Estimates—and they would do it.

*MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) said he was sure that if the Government carried out the recommendations of the previous speaker there would be in many Departments of State great reductions. The hon. Member particularly called their attention to the Works Acts of which he complained. During the last few sessions those Works Acts had been introduced so late in the session that it was impossible to have full discussions on them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had been commended because in his Budget speech he did not preach economy. Well, the objection they took on the Opposition side of the House was that the Government neither preached nor practised economy. The only solution suggested was that they should broaden the basis of taxation, and not that they should adopt greater economy. Only a few days before the Chancellor asked what they were prepared to give

up on the Army? The Government had already given up much on the Army, and he hoped it would give up a great deal more. By giving up the Army Corps hon. Members hoped they were giving up much on the Army. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked, "Think of reducing the naval expenditure!" Everyone knew that what, on the Opposition side, they had complained of was that the Admiralty had not given them a definite statement as to the standard to which they were working. The expenditure must be relative, just as naval strength was relative; but that seemed to be lost sight of by those who had brought forward the Estimates. If they had dropped one battleship out of the Estimates it would have diminished the expenditure next year, and the year following, not only as to the cost of the battleship but of the additional expenses which must cluster around all additions to the Fleet. He thought this year's programme should not have been greater than that of last year, but that the pace should have been slackened rather than hastened.

He would turn to the Budget itself. The hon. Member for King's Lynn in explaining the way in which the deficit of last year had been disposed of had, he thought, misapprehended the way in which the £5,500,000 had been met. His reading of the case was that the £5,500,000 had been met first by £2,880,000 from previously issued loans, and also by the £3,000,000 returned from South Africa. He would turn particularly to the extent to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Budget Debt and Funded Debt had been wiped off during last year. He said in his statement that £5,449,000 had been wiped off during the past twelve months; but the amount spent on capital works was £7,300,000. They found that so far from having reduced the total Debt by £5,000,000 they were something like £1,000,000 to the bad. They must make allowances for the amount wiped off in the Annuities. He thought they might assume roughly that the amount wiped off, in respect of the Works Acts on capital account, amounted to something like £1,000,000. So, on the whole, so far as the total debt of the country

went, they were at least £1,000,000 to the bad. Various calculations were made in Committee from time to time with regard to our total debt, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer naturally put the best construction on the position. But would he kindly clear up a point on which there was some obscurity. He stated in the course of his speech that our liability in respect of sums borrowed for works of permanent improvement had increased in the course of the year by £4,298,000. He desired to ask him whether that was an increase over and above the net amount arrived at after the deduction had been made for capital returned in respect of the Works Acts?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is the net amount by which the liability has been reduced. Perhaps the hon. Member will put a Question.

***MR. RUNCIMAN** said he would put two Questions now. By how much did the right hon. Gentleman expect the total Debt to decrease in the coming year, excluding the operation of the special Acts? By how much did he expect that the operations of these Acts would increase our liabilities during the coming year? It was only by getting clear answers to these questions that they would be likely to arrive at any accurate estimate as to what the liabilities would be in 1904-5. One could not review the financial position of the country without seeing that at present the Sinking Fund was entirely illusory. We were now in a little worse position than last year. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had given his version of the anticipations of last year in dealing with the Sinking Fund, which certainly explained, although it did not excuse the estimates then made. The right hon. Gentleman looked forward with pleasure to the time when £9,000,000 would be our Sinking Fund. We were nominally £1,500,000 short of that still, and he was afraid that we should be still that amount short of it five years hence. The £10,000,000, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer expected from the mine-owners, and which was to save us £300,000 a year, had not yet arrived, and no man knew when the two further instalments of £10,000,000 each would be received. By the time the £30,000,000 were repaid,

we should have a Sinking Fund of close on £9,000,000, which, he took it, was the standard up of which we ought to work. In the period 1883-1887 the national income was £1,400,000,000 per annum. In the period 1898-1902 it was just under £2,000,000,000. But the national expenditure had increased by 40 per cent. not over a period of twenty years, but of eight years. The total expenditure in 1903-4 was £146,961,000. To that had to be added expenditure under the Works Act £7,305,000, less £1,100,000, repayment of capital charged in Votes—or in all £6,205,000, giving the actual total expenditure for the year £153,166,000. Of that amount, only £141,266,000 was paid for by taxation, and something approaching £12,000,000 of last year's expenditure was paid for by loans. With regard to direct and indirect taxation, what he would like to see would be a system of taxation which would press less hardly upon those of smaller incomes, whether they came within the purview of the Income-Tax Commissioners or not. That was certainly a principle which was not borne out by the new taxation. As to tea, the taxation on that commodity had already shown a very marked effect on its consumption. The consumption per head of the population in 1900 was 6·07 lbs.; in 1901, 6·16 lbs.; in 1902, 6·06 lbs.; and in this last year 6·02 lbs.; and if the tendency to diminution continued, the new taxation would largely reduce [the productiveness of the duty. Remembering that the national income had increased in twenty years by just under 40 per cent., and the national expenditure had increased by 40 per cent., not over a period of twenty years, but of eight years, no one who considered the enormous amount which was taken out of the national income at the present time could view the great increase in taxation with anything but alarm. The only one cure for this state of things was not any broadening of the basis of taxation or attempting to adopt illusory methods of tapping the foreigner, but the reduction of an expenditure which at present passed the bounds of prudence.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The discussion in which we have been engaged has roamed over a large number of points, but has been mainly confined to the

Mr. Runciman.

broader aspects of national finance. It is true that some hon. Members have alluded in passing to individual proposals in connection with taxation, just as the hon. Member who has resumed his seat spoke about the tea duty. I will only say in passing, in reference to the tea duty, that I cannot imagine a more deceptive method of dealing with statistics, or one more fatal to the truth, than to take the clearances of a dutiable article like tea in an individual year such as those which we have just gone through, when there have been great disturbances owing to anticipations of an increased duty or of a decreased duty and treat them as if they were the measure of the actual consumption of tea.

*MR. RUNCIMAN said that what he alluded to was the general tendency to decline since the new taxation was placed on tea.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: And what I was alluding to was the figures which the hon. Gentleman used in order to prove that. I do not wish to go into that at the present time. I think it would be more desirable that we should discuss that when we come to the tea duty rather than to interpolate details into a general discussion. I only venture to say that the method he has employed is extremely deceptive, and that if he will take the averages over a series of years he will find that it does not accurately represent the gross consumption of tea. The hon. Member for Poplar, who opened the discussion, joined issue at once with the proposals which I have laid before the House, and was frank enough to state to the Committee what he would have done if he had been in my place. What was the hon. Gentleman's proposal? It was that all the deficit was to be put on the income-tax payer, except the tobacco duty, to which the hon. Member was good enough to promise his support. Let me say a word or two on this question of direct and indirect taxation. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down was perfectly right in saying that there is no scientific basis for the division of our taxation into exactly such and such a percentage of direct and such and such a percentage of indirect taxation. We have been accustomed to compare the

growth of direct and indirect taxation. Upon the whole they have grown hand in hand, though direct taxation has steadily increased over a series of years at a faster rate than indirect taxation. The hon. Member for Poplar would have me this year place the whole burden of the new taxation upon the direct taxpayer. How hard it is for any of us to be consistent on fiscal questions. Let me remind the Committee of what the hon. Gentleman himself said only a year ago. "We are all agreed on this side of the House," he said, "that, when you have a war expenditure of this sort, and more especially an increased peace expenditure, we must extend and alter our system of taxation, and must raise a certain proportion of that taxation not only from direct, but from indirect taxation." It would not be consistent with that very sound declaration to place the whole of this burden on the income-tax payer.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he entirely agreed with what the right hon. Gentleman said, that they must put the burden on both; but his argument was that, when remissions took place, there had been too great a relief given to direct as compared with indirect taxation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not follow the hon. Member's calculation. What are the proper proportions between direct and indirect taxation? The actual percentage, I have calculated, if and after my proposals for this year are approved by the House, will be 48·2 for direct taxation and 51·8 for indirect taxation. That is for the whole of the taxation.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): Does that include the coal duty?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Coal is not included; it never has been in these calculations, for reasons which must be obvious to the hon. Gentleman. Now, it is a curious coincidence, and I frankly admit that it is nothing more, that those are the exact proportions which prevailed in the year before the war broke out. Instead, therefore, of having altered the incidence of taxation to the detriment of the indirect taxpayer, we stand now

exactly where we did in the year before the war broke out. I say frankly it is a pure coincidence. I did not first work out the percentages for 1898-99 and then devise taxation so as exactly to produce those percentages; I took the taxes which I thought were most suitable for raising money, and for raising it most fairly and with the least inconvenience to the public, and it so happens that I have produced exactly the same result as we had in 1898-99.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): Does that include the Post Office?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Does the hon. Gentleman call Post Office revenue direct or indirect taxation? It may be interesting to the Committee to go one step further and see how this taxation is raised. Of our total tax revenue, including the local taxation revenue, but excluding the coal tax, we raised from taxes on transactions i.e., stamps, Post Office services, and licences—21·5 per cent.; we raised from taxes on alcohol and tobacco 34·5 per cent.; we raised from taxes on other articles of consumption, such as sugar and tea, 10·4 per cent.; and we raised from the direct taxes, estate duty, house duty, land tax, and income-tax, 33·6 per cent. If you look at those articles of consumption which can alone be called absolute necessities of life—that is to say, excluding alcohol and tobacco—it will be seen that the proportion of our revenue raised from them is only 10·4 of the whole, and that is the whole of the taxation which necessarily falls upon consumers, to which consumers of the poorer class necessarily contribute. Of course many of them contribute both to the beer or spirit duties and to the tobacco duties, but that is a contribution which they can make greater or less by the sacrifice of comforts or luxuries; it is not a contribution which they are unable to avoid except by the sacrifice of something in the nature of a necessity. The total taxation when divided works out for direct taxes at £1 9s. per head of the population, and for indirect taxes £1 11s. 2d., a sum which is made up of £1 3s. 11d. for alcohol and tobacco and 7s. 3d. for all other indirect taxes. The increase

both of direct and indirect taxation in the year is exactly 5s. 4d. per head. Of course this is a very large expenditure to have to provide for, and I have been criticised in some quarters for not having indulged in what I may almost call the usual warnings to the Committee about the magnitude of our expenditure. Well, I think I am sufficiently excused for not doing that by those hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House who have pointed to the fact that these warnings addressed by Chancellors of the Exchequer to the House have generally been accompanied by a great increase in their demands. I shall certainly study economy; but I do not think I shall advance economy by a general lecture to the House upon the subject. But, after all, I would venture to urge the Committee, even at the risk of incurring the censure of the hon. Member for Poplar, who is prompt to see underground motives in regard to my conduct, not to magnify unreasonably the burden which we have to bear. It is a very heavy burden; we are raising a huge sum; but, after all, as the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down very truly said, what you have to consider is not merely the increase in the burden, but how much stronger our shoulders have grown to bear it.

Let me compare the expenditure now with the expenditure of forty years ago, in the halcyon days of the early sixties, when there were no fiscal heresies, when economy was in the ascendant, when Estimates were modest, and armaments had not reached the huge figures to which they have since mounted. Our expenditure has been more than doubled since that time—I am dealing with the expenditure as given in the Return which is known to the House as Sir Henry Fowler's Return, and the population has increased by about 45 per cent. What has happened in the meantime to the national income? The national income has about doubled also, and the ratio of expenditure to national income is therefore no higher now than it was forty years ago. Of course calculations of income are to some extent a matter of guesswork, and are open to a great deal of criticism. I have roughly calculated it, as a good many inquirers have done before, from Income-Tax Re-

turns. I have excluded from the income-tax the revenue from Government securities, partly because, in the first place, that is not an increase of the total national wealth—it would be to take from one pocket and put into another—and partly because by so doing I have excluded, at any rate, a very large proportion of capital which is owned abroad, and the income of which goes abroad, and does not enter into our national wealth. In 1864–5 the gross assessment to income-tax was £338,000,000, and the calculation of the national wealth has been reckoned as probably somewhere about twice the amount of property assessed to income-tax, so that the national income would then have been about £700,000,000. The gross assessment of income-tax now, after the deduction which I have already explained, is £870,000,000, and taking roughly double that figure I may put the total income of the country at £1,750,000,000. If those figures are, as I believe, roughly approximate to the truth, then our wealth has increased something like 150 per cent., while our expenditure has increased in the same period about 125 per cent. The increase of our wealth has therefore been greater than the increase of our expenditure. In 1864–5 our expenditure was 8·6 of the aggregate income of the country, while in the present year I calculate it at 7·8 of the aggregate income of the country. And it must be remembered that, while we have a larger population from which to draw our revenue, we have more people to care for, a larger Empire to protect, and that many of the objects to which the resources of the Government are necessarily devoted are far more costly to-day than they were forty years ago. Ships, guns, the *matériel* of war are far more expensive now than in those days, wages are also far more expensive now; and though this may be a very cheap country to live in, as is often alleged, it is not a cheap country to govern. If the cost of living grows less the cost of the government which the country desires grows greater.

After all, do we stand alone in the matter of increased expenditure? Turn to the Budgets of foreign countries and you will find the growth

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

almost universal. It is, of course, extremely difficult to compare the expenditure of different States, because they divide their expenditure differently, what is local expenditure in one country being central expenditure in another, and *vice versa*. But it is a well-known fact that the expenditure of all the Great Powers has enormously increased for very much the same reason that our expenditure has increased. It is notorious that in private life it is difficult to reduce your expenses if those among whom you reside live at a higher or faster rate. It is the same with nations. We cannot indulge in economy when other nations are spending more and more on their armies. And, after all, our Army expenditure has not been so great. In 1864-65 it was 3·4 per cent. of our gross income. To-day it is only 3·7 per cent. There are increases in other national expenditure which are much more remarkable. The expenditure on education, for instance, in 1864-65 was £942,000. This year it is £14,577,000, an increase of 1,500 per cent. [OPPOSITION cheers.] I do not suggest that it is not money well spent; but I do say it is a little illogical that hon. Gentlemen who applaud this increase, who possibly would double it to-morrow, should complain of the increase in our national expenditure without allowing for the fact that if we spend more now than we spent in 1864-65 it is because we have larger ideals and because in 1864-65 national interests were grossly neglected. Again, we spend a great deal more in relief of local burdens. In 1864-65 we contributed from the Imperial Exchequer £1,745,000 for this purpose. Now we contribute £14,440,000. Hon. Gentlemen are in favour of restricting expenditure in the abstract, but they have no sympathy with economy in a Chancellor of the Exchequer when they want relief from local taxation that appeals to their interest or support. We have to look, not merely to the growth of expenditure but to the nature of the expenditure, to the services on which it is employed, and to the relative growth of expenditure in other countries, and, let me add, in private commercial concerns also. Is not railway management a great deal more expensive now than it was forty years ago? And, of course, all the causes which have raised the

cost of railway work in this country have also affected us, who are the greatest employers of labour. Another thing I would point out is that if you set against our increased burden of taxation our increased capacity to bear it, you will find that, heavy as we feel that burden now to be, it is relatively no greater than the burden of those who lived in the halcyon days of the sixties, when hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to think all things went well.

Questions have been asked me with regard to the deficit of last year and with regard to the National Debt. If, in considering the question of the deficit of last year, hon. Gentlemen opposite had put out of their minds the £3,000,000 that was a loan to the Transvaal, and that was repaid by the Transvaal, they would have saved themselves from the confusion which was apparent in their speeches. That transaction was complete in itself. It does not affect the deficit of last year, or the way in which I propose to deal with it. The deficit was £5,400,000. It so happened that the Exchequer balances were abnormally swollen by a sum of £2,288,000, which was raised by loan during the war for the purposes of the war up to 31st March of last year. The money was not required for the purposes of the war, and so it lay in the balances and helped to swell those balances. In the course of last year we had to meet considerable war charges; those war charges formed part of the deficit, and to meet them I propose to use the balances to the extent of £2,288,000, or, in other words, I propose to apply that sum to the purposes of the war, for which it was originally raised. I propose to provide for another £1,000,000 from unclaimed dividends account. There remains a sum of £1,500,000. To meet it, I budget for a surplus in the current year in excess of anything that should have been if there had not been that realised deficit. I estimate the surplus at £730,000, and after having provided for such contingencies as may arise in the course of the year, I hope to make further provision for the restoration of the balances out of the resources of the year.

MR. RUNCIMAN asked whether the surplus estimated by the right hon.

Gentleman allowed for Supplementary Estimates.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Of course, out of the surplus any contingencies not provided for in the original Estimates must be met. I now come to the Sinking Fund. The hon. Member for Poplar estimated the Sinking Fund for the current year at £6,000,000. I do not know how he got that figure. I estimate it at £7,119,000. The question has been raised as to whether that is a sufficient provision to make for the Sinking Fund. Undoubtedly, there is a great deal to be said for making a better provision if we were in more affluent circumstances. But I do not think anyone will contend that in a time like the present I should further increase taxation in order to add to the Sinking Fund, and, assuming I get nothing in the course of the year from the Transvaal, if the Sinking Fund realises my anticipation it will be '92 per cent. of the National Debt. Now let me quote the figures of the highest years in recent times. In 1877-78 it was '64, in 1888-89 it was '71, in 1898-99 it was 1'19. It will be seen that the provision we are now making is higher than in any of those years except one, when it reached the very high figure of 1'19. I think that is certainly not an unfair provision to make in a year like the present, and I do not think we are open to severe strictures for not having increased it. It is perfectly true that besides this Sinking Fund, which is devoted to the repayment of the "dead-weight" debt, we have another debt, raised by terminable annuities, for military and naval works, public buildings, telephones, and so on. My right hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University said that if we were a company we should be in an insolvent condition. I think that a company which tried to provide the whole of its capital expenditure on works out of revenue would very soon find itself unable to carry out its intentions. It seems to me to be a reasonable and proper thing, when we are making expenditure which has a capital value and will have a value for many years to come, that we should not necessarily burden the current year with the whole of the charge, but should spread it over a

Mr. Runciman.

period of years, provided that the period is reasonable and that we take care to have such a sinking fund as will redeem the debt well within the life of the works for which it has been incurred. That is what we do. To speak of that debt as being on all fours with the "dead-weight" debt is really misleading. It is a debt for which we have something tangible; which carries its own sinking fund with it, and which, within the limited period Parliament has laid down, will be redeemed by the action of its own sinking fund—which is in addition to, and wholly outside, the fixed Debt charge of the ordinary Sinking Fund. I have not given the specific figures for which the hon. Member for Dewsbury asked. I interrupted his speech to suggest that he should place a Question on the Paper. I think he misunderstood my intention. I intended no discourtesy, but I have not the exact figures which he wants. If he will put a Question on the Paper I should be happy to supply the information at the earliest moment. I think that is all I need say at the present stage of the discussion. I will reserve for subsequent stages the consideration of the individual duties, and I hope that on this particular Resolution, as to which there is very little disagreement, the Committee will come to a decision before adjournment for dinner.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said that so far as the income-tax was concerned, the Committee could, undoubtedly, meet the view just expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but inasmuch as the general policy of the Budget was by agreement open for discussion on this Resolution, it was only appropriate that the debate should be continued. The right hon. Gentleman appeared as though he, too, had been on the "illimitable veldt," for there was hardly any limit to the conceptions he had formed of the enormous increase of the national wealth and income during the last forty years. Again and again, in the course of the last few months, they had been told the doleful tale of national depression and ruin, and now the Chancellor of the Exchequer came forward with this magnificent picture of inexhaustible national resources which could be ladled out by

the hundred millions for extravagant naval and military expenditure. At any rate he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on having emancipated himself from the gloomy, heart-breaking visions put forward at Glasgow, Cardiff, and other places during the recess. In one of his ablest and most interesting speeches, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol in 1898 went back for a period of twenty years, analysing the main sources of revenue and their natural growth, and showed that while the natural increment of those national resources amounted to from 15 to 19 per cent., the increase in national expenditure was no less than 68 per cent. He was inclined to place more reliance on the investigations of that right hon. Gentleman than on the illimitable visions of the growth of national prosperity put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The chief interest of the present discussion was not so much in canvassing the comparatively unimportant details of the various expedients by which a bad national balance sheet was made to look like a good one, as in analysing the motives of the policy underlying the Budget as a whole. The essential point was that we were now in the second year of peace, but were farther off than ever from getting either expenditure or revenue placed on a peace footing. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, who would not be the last free-trade conservative Chancellor to keep up the traditions of Peel and Northcote, made an honest attempt to follow the example set after the Crimean War by alleviating to some extent the burdens of the people. Why was all hope of a continuation of that policy denied? Why was increased taxation imposed? It was obviously because of the deliberate intention of the Government to continue the expansion of naval and military expenditure on an unexampled scale. Practical schemes of economy and retrenchment had been put forward in this House and in *The Times* newspaper, but the Government had continued in their policy of measureless extravagance. Another cause was that the extravagant and illusory dreams of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for

West Birmingham of the enormous prosperity to be developed in the Transvaal had been exposed, revealing the sordid reality of a wrecked and ruined South Africa, where Englishmen had no future as farmers or miners, and were not even welcomed to share in such labour as was available. There had also been the withdrawal of the £30,000,000 solemnly promised by the Johannesburg ring of financiers towards the war charges. The right hon. Gentleman said that he was not responsible for the increase of expenditure and he confined his responsibility to the purchase of the Chilean warships. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, must be treated not as an individual but as part of the Government, because in accepting office he accepted responsibility for the policy of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman had in his speeches avowed in the most unmistakable terms his approval of this policy of enormous and continuous expenditure in this country.

“He had listened with some surprise to the comments applied to this Budget as a free-trade Budget, but he thought they were light-hearted and somewhat feather-headed compliments to the Government. This Budget was a protectionist Budget both in spirit and intention, because the whole policy on which it was based was to move towards protection. The tactics were the same as the protectionist policy in the United States of America. This Budget in some of its details was frankly protectionist—he referred more particularly to the tobacco duties. The Government had increased the duties on imported cigars and cigarettes, and why had they not placed an equivalent Excise duty on cigars and cigarettes manufactured in this country? Such a duty ought to have been imposed if only upon social and physiological grounds, because there was no greater evil at the present time than the growth of the habit of cigarette-smoking amongst schoolboys and in the street everywhere. The right hon. Gentleman might have kept in mind the searching and sagacious words of Lord Salisbury in which he said—

“The real cause of the increased protective duties is the establishment of those gigantic military forces which constitute a permanent drain on the resources of industry, a permanent

danger to the interests of commerce, and which impose upon Governments the necessity of finding money in some way which shall not too heavily goad the interests and susceptibilities of their peoples."

Some interesting questions had occupied the public mind during the last few months, and some people had begun to wonder whether there really was the astuteness and strategy behind the proceedings of the Tariff Reform League which some of their friends claimed. It was not, in his opinion, attributing to them a very high degree of sagacity or astuteness if he thought they could not be so simple as not to have learned a few lessons from the great trusts in America. The tactics of the engineers of Protection in America had always been to make it more and more difficult to cut down expenditure and to make it more and more inevitable that expenditure should expand in geometric proportion. And their second string was to make the ordinary orthodox measures of taxation in the attempt to fill the ravening, insatiable maw of new demands more and more odious and detestable, so that at last the taxpayer and the consumer might be deluded into giving themselves over to those who, in the aspect of friends, said, "Give us protective duties and all your burdens will disappear." He regarded the whole of this policy of a wanton increase of expenditure in the second year of peace as pointing towards a policy of protection in the future. Some people had been declaring that a general election might take place shortly, and that a free-trade Ministry would come into power. If there was a Liberal Ministry in power he would take no share in either putting or keeping them there if they attempted to meet this question of national expenditure in a spirit of flabby temporising with the great issue now before the country. No Liberal Ministry was worth putting into power which would not fearlessly lay the axe of retrenchment at the root of this upas tree of wanton expenditure which was dragging the country to ruin without hesitation and fear of temporary unpopularity. They had to show the fearless courage of the surgeon who went right to the root of the malady and did not shrink from any operation which he considered absolutely necessary.

Mr. Channing.

There were some other comments he should like to make upon this Budget beyond the broad issue which he had challenged. He had heard with deep regret the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that he thought the only remedy for the sufferings of the poorer class of income-tax payers was to wait till the rate of the income-tax could be reduced, and that he could not consider, as other Chancellors had considered, the question of further abatements and exemptions. During a portion of this debate he had heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon say, to his great surprise, that he thought the indirect taxpayer was better off now than he was before the war. He ventured to say that the history of Conservative and Unionist finance, ever since the Unionist Party came into power, had been a record of the progressive transfer of burdens from the rich to the poor and from direct to indirect taxation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol talked about "widening the basis of taxation," and he did not forget that phrase until last year when the corn duty had become so unpopular that it was thought advisable to remove it. The blot on last year's Budget was that the relief given went to direct taxation and wholly inadequate relief was given to indirect taxation. He would only say now that he was quite ready to contend and demonstrate that the position of the indirect taxpayer before the war was relatively much worse than that of the direct taxpayer. Assuming that the contention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was true, what was the position? The income-tax payer had a war tax of 7d. in the £. To find the results of the indirect war taxes on the workers he had obtained a very large number of budgets from families in his own Division by the help of co-operators and others, and taking seventy of those budgets he found that the war taxes imposed upon those people by the corn tax, the extra tea duty, and the sugar duty in 1902 amounted to from 6½d. to 9d. in the £. If they went back to the Board of Trade figures in the returns of working men's expenditure in 1889, they would find that the burden of those taxes upon the family budgets given in that return represented over 8d. in the £. The great blot in the

Budget of last year was that while 4d. was taken off the rich man's income-tax, the wage earner was relieved only of his corn tax, which meant from about 1d., on the artisan with 30s., up to 2½d. in the £ on the poorest agricultural labourer. Those were figures which could not be challenged, and which anybody could verify. The present Budget placed on the rich 1d. on the income-tax, but the burdens which it added to the poor were over 3d. in the £. They took off last year, practically, four times more of the burdens from the rich than they took from the poor, and this year they placed three times the burden on the poor that they placed on the rich, in order to meet this policy of extravagance. In conclusion he wished to say that this policy of transferring burdens from the rich to the poor and from direct to indirect taxation was the motive and the very essence of a protectionist policy. A very serious responsibility rested upon the present Government for continuing this vast expenditure in time of peace which had brought upon them so many additional burdens. This policy was a discredit to the Government, and he for one unhesitatingly declared that this policy was being pursued for the purpose of those who favoured protection in this country.

*MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) said he noticed that there was an assumption which ran through all the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite that if they had a deficiency in one year they ought to make it good out of the revenue of the next year. He did not understand how that doctrine was to be maintained. It was quite opposed to the practice of hon. Members in their private affairs. He was rather surprised at the moderation of his right hon. friend, and why he had not taken more off borrowed money. There should not be very much objection to doing that so long as the right hon. Gentleman took precautions for new revenue, or for economy in the future. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had done both. He fully admitted that there was every need for vigilance, but at the same time he did protest against the unduly pessimistic view taken of the financial position of the country by some hon. Members. The hon. Gentleman the

Member for Exeter in his speech two days ago, said with regard to our credit that it was worse now than it had been for twenty years. That really was not the fact. Just before the conversion of Consols in 1837 the highest point they touched was 103½. They were then 3 per cents. Having been converted to 2½ per cents the equivalent price was about eighty-six. If they studied the Funds they would find that Consols were higher now, and presumably our credit was better than it had been at any time up to the conversion of Consols by Lord Goschen. He was rather surprised at the argument used by his hon. friend the Member for Exeter when he said that our credit was relatively worse than that of foreign nations. Some hon. Members had pointed with apprehension to the growth of the general prosperity of foreign nations, which had come about very largely at our expense, but they had been told that this was only natural and inevitable and that we should not grudge them their increased prosperity. It was said that foreign countries started from a lower level and that we must not expect to maintain our relative superiority. If that was true of trade in general it was equally true of credit, and he took the argument as one which came strangely from the hon. Member for Exeter, who held such orthodox views on the question of fiscal policy. He thought the hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire in referring to our credit made some very misleading comparisons. It could not be denied that Consols had fallen from 114 in 1897 to 86, which was lately their price, but surely the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not regard the price of Consols in 1897 as in any way normal. He himself would say that it was not desirable that Consols should stand at such a price as in 1897. Consols at such a price made the establishment of the Sinking Fund absolutely mischievous, and interfered greatly with the working of the Post Office Savings Bank, causing an actual loss on the working of that institution. Then when they talked of the credit of the country they must also look at it from the point of view of trustees and beneficiaries. Let them take the case of a man who made his will in 1870. Suppose he died and his

estate had to be realised and divided in 1897. The position was infinitely worse of those who had to invest under the new conditions than the testator could possibly have imagined. The price the hon. and learned Gentleman took represented an absolutely abnormal position which never occurred before, and he did not think it was ever likely to occur again. The hon. and learned Gentleman in referring to the great growth of national income and expenditure instanced the year 1874. Here, again, he was not making a fair comparison, because undoubtedly the circumstances in that year were quite abnormal, and could not be expected to recur. The great statistician, Sir Robert Giffen, maintained that that was a period when armaments in this and other countries were much lighter and when trade and commerce were buoyant. It was not a true comparison to compare our present position with the very unusual conditions which then prevailed. Sir Robert Giffen went on to say—

"Hence, it follows that the old way of discussion about national expenditure must be changed. Having been placed by good fortune outside the pale of common humanity for many years, we have now come inside the pale and can no longer play tricks and neglect the Army and Navy if we please. The question, what Army and Navy we should have, must be discussed on its merits, and other branches of Government expenditure in a like manner. Yet nothing is contrary to the ways and habits of our politicians. The recent increase of expenditure is submitted to with an accompaniment of groans, merely because it has increased, and without any reference at all to the reasons for it."

In another letter, written two years ago, he expressed the conviction that it was necessary for national purposes to spend, roughly speaking, even in these times, not less than £40,000,000 for the Army and Navy. That might be an extravagant assumption, but Sir Robert went on to prove that even that expenditure would not be greater in proportion than our expenditure forty years ago. He was exceedingly glad that the general preaching of economy of which they heard so much two days ago was not repeated to the same degree to day. It was perfectly useless to talk about economy unless they could point to some items on which they could make economies. He listened with great interest to the speech of the right hon.

Mr. J. F. Hope.

Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, but if his proposal was to come about, it was necessarily bound up with compulsion for home service, and he was afraid Cambridge University was one of the few constituencies to which no Member would go to advocate that as a serious part of his political programme. It was easy to quote examples of the inconsistency of hon Members. If the Shipowners' Light Due Bill which was before the House last session had been passed it would have cost the country £500,000 per annum. He did not find on that occasion that any of the great exponents of economy took the trouble to come and vote against that Bill. There was a proposal made by some hon. Members that the cost of training colleges should be put entirely on the National Exchequer. Except in the one concrete proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, he had not yet found any statement of what they could safely economise upon. He admitted that there had possibly been undue expenditure on the military and naval services from the fact that the exact function of each in the defence of the Empire had not been assigned, and that the two services had not been properly correlated. That, he hoped, would be put right by the labours of the Committee of National Defence, and he also hoped, as a result of these services working more harmoniously together, to see some reduction in each without any loss of efficiency.

In regard to the question of the naval works and the military works which were objected to as obscuring the simplicity of our Budgets, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that obviously we could not put these on one year; and one reason was the antiquated and pedantic system of surrender of balances. He wished that that system of surrender of balances could be done away with altogether, and then we should see from year to year how we stood; and the objections taken to the military and naval works as obscuring the Budget would be removed. This was actually done in Germany. He confessed he did not like the new tea duty. He had voted for it with the greatest reluctance, but he saw that in the present situation

of the country and with the present fiscal system there was no help for it. He regarded this tea duty as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the present fiscal system. Here was an article of practically universal consumption and we taxed it 100 per cent. and we were thought by financial purists like the late Chancellor of the Exchequer to be doing nothing wrong from the fiscal point of view. But if one took some other article which was made at home and put $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on it, one was denounced as a fiscal heretic. He wished the income-tax could be graduated, but he gathered that it was impossible to do that, because we must take the income at its source. But if we could not do that, he thought we might, and ought, to have a further graduation in the death duties. He thought they ought to be increased [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh," and OPPOSITION cheers], but not upon realty. He would not relieve realty, but he would graduate the death duties severely against large accumulations of personalty. It might be that in practice because of evasions we could not do this, but as a matter of principle, he did think that the millionaire estate got off very cheaply by paying 8 per cent.; and that a larger sum ought to be surrendered to the State in return for the protection in which that millionaire had basked.

There was another source of taxation which he thought undoubtedly ought to be tapped. It would be a very easy thing, without hitting the consumer or increasing the cost of the necessities of life, to raise £8,000,000 or £10,000,000 a year by very low duties on imported goods coming into this country, and he was quite sure something of this kind must follow, because the means of raising revenue under the present system was becoming archaic. As to the income-tax, he did not believe that people who had got over £5,000 a year cared much whether it was 9d. or a shilling—[Cries of "Oh, oh"!]. But undoubtedly it was a very hard and heavy burden upon small taxpayers, and he was convinced we could not make it press much more heavily upon them. He had said two years ago that a change in our fiscal system was desirable from the point of view of trade and revenue, and that the latter point should come first. He was

of the same opinion to-day, and he hoped, before another two years had passed, to see a larger revenue drawn from foreign services, which would add greatly to the wealth and strength of the country and would impose no burden on our poorer consumers.

* MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said that the increase of the national expenditure last year compared to the previous year had been computed at £9,000,000, and now it was found that that had been underestimated by £3,000,000. An alarming financial condition had therefore arisen. The expenditure for the next financial year was only going to be reduced by £1,500,000. In a time of peace the normal national expenditure was to be £10,500,000 more than two years ago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made light of the burdens which were seriously hindering the commercial development of the country. They were told that we were bearing these burdens without any strain. But the right hon. Gentleman had forgotten that Consols—the premier security of the world—had gone down in recent years from 112 to 85. That showed conclusively that the creation of £160,000,000 of additional Consols had had its effect on the market; and that the financial resources of the country were by no means inexhaustible. Last year the expenditure was underestimated by £3,000,000; and the revenue overestimated by £2,750,000. Last year he ventured, during the debate on the Budget, to express the fear that the then Chancellor of the Exchequer had been much too sanguine in his estimates of revenue from Customs and Excise; and he was only too sorry that, having regard to that time and the evidence which was before those who were engaged in commerce that we had a cycle of depression before us, his prophesy had been too well-founded, and that the revenue was £2,750,000 less than the estimate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had very properly drawn attention to the large increase of expenditure and outstanding liabilities in the matter of local indebtedness. The Imperial expenditure during the next year, including grants in aid, and capital expenditure for military and naval

works, was £164,000,000; but in addition to that they were confronted with £110,000,000 of local expenditure, or a gigantic total of nearly £275,000,000.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— EVENING SITTING. —

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

INCOME-TAX.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Income-Tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON, continuing his speech, said the Imperial and Local expenditure of this country had risen in recent years to £275,000,000, and it must necessarily constitute a most serious strain on our financial resources. The expenditure for 1903-4 amounted to nearly £147,000,000. The revenue, in spite of an income-tax of 11d. in the £ in a time of peace, in spite of the great addition that had been made to taxation otherwise by the increased taxation on sugar and tea, etc.,—in spite of all the increase in taxation, there was a deficit in that year of no less than £5,500,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had appropriated the repaid temporary Tansvaal loan of £3,000,000 and £1,000,000 from the unclaimed dividends which reduced the deficit to £1,500,000; but they must take into consideration the deficit of that year in conjunction with the estimated deficit for the year following, 1904-5, which together would amount to £9,200,000, although £4,000,000 had been

Mr. Joseph Walton.

provided for; that left a balance of £1,500,000 for the year 1903-4 unprovided for. In the financial statement, which had recently been issued, the Exchequer balances on the 31st of March, 1903, were stated to be £6,637,000, but they had been reduced this year to £4,264,000. He would point out that they would have been reduced to £2,264,000 but for the fact of the temporary borrowing of £2,000,000 on the credit of ways and means. The expenditure for the year 1904-5 was estimated at £132,880,000, while the revenue was estimated at £129,060,000, leaving a deficit of £3,820,000.

Whilst they had had a most interesting statement from the right hon. Gentleman on the question of direct and indirect taxation, he thought some further defence was needed as to the way in which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to provide for this deficit. The Committee could not forget that in the year 1902 the then Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the fifteenth penny was added to the income-tax to balance direct and indirect taxation. Owing to the extraordinary financial needs of the country during the course of the unfortunate South African War, additional taxation to an enormous amount was imposed, half of which was direct and half indirect taxation. Last year out of £45,000,000 of additional taxation, £10,500,000 was in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give in remission of taxation, when instead of giving relief of taxation on the same basis as it had been imposed, four-fifths was given for the relief of the direct tax-payers, while only one-fifth was given for the benefit of the indirect tax-payers by the abolition of the corn tax. The question of the equitable incidence of taxation was a most complex one, but it was one which demanded, more than ever, the attention of the House and the nation. They must not overlook, in the interest of Imperial taxation, the incidence of local taxation. Out of 6s. or 7s. a week that a working-man paid for his rooms, one-third went for rates. If the man earned 30s. a week all the year round, 10 per cent. went for local rates. He also contributed to Imperial taxation in the form of indirect taxation another

10 per cent., making his contribution to Imperial and local taxation 20 per cent. of his entire income. That was a very heavy burden. He had paid his contribution towards the war in the increased price of his tea and his sugar, which were essentially war taxes, and when the war was over, the expenditure of the country ought to have resumed its normal condition. The working-man had a right to expect that these war taxes would be remitted, instead of which he had to face a Budget showing an additional tax of 2d. in the lb. on tea. The tobacco tax was not called into question on the Liberal side of the House, except so far as it was regarded as a protective tax. With regard to the tax on tea, he held very strongly, that it ought not to have been imposed, inasmuch as only one-fifth of the remission of taxation last year was given to the indirect taxpayers. He hoped that the additional tax upon tea had not been given in order to secure an extra amount with which to bargain in the future in any matter of the re-arrangement of our fiscal system. He personally entirely disbelieved any insinuation of that kind which might be made against the right hon. Gentleman, but inasmuch as they had heard of proposals to remit taxation on tea in exchange for the imposition of taxation on bread and meat, it naturally occurred to him that the greater the tax on tea the larger would be the amount in hand with which to bargain if the other policy prevailed.

Speaking of the question of expenditure, and the urgent necessity that existed for retrenchment, he would like to point out that the total expenditure on the Army and Navy in 1891 was £33,000,000, for the year 1904-5, the estimated total expenditure was £66,000,000—double the expenditure of 1891. It had swollen until it amounted to £1 12s. per head of the population of this country. That was a most alarming increase, and it was the duty of the Committee to examine closely into this expenditure and consider whether this enormous strain should be placed on the resources of the country, and also to see that the country got value for its money. The Estimates for 1904-5 for the Army were £29,000,000.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol in 1902, speaking at Bristol, said—

“The money we spend on our Army might be reduced if the War Office laid out the money it got to the best possible advantage, which nobody outside the War Office believes it does.”

The declarations coming from a Gentleman of the experience, knowledge, and standing of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol that a very large reduction in the expenditure of the Army might take place without impairing its efficiency carried great weight. The Army Estimate; this year showed a reduction of £5,000,000, the Navy Estimates an increase of £2,400,000. We ought not to shut our eyes to the experiences which were now being gained in the Far East, and for his part he believed it was a huge mistake to spend millions of money on enormous battleships when the experience of the present war showed that by a skilfully laid mine or torpedo—or perhaps in the not distant future a submarine—a battleship could be sent to the bottom in five minutes with all its crew. He asked, would it not be better rather than spend this enormous amount on huge battleships to be content with smaller vessels with heavy guns and heavily armoured which we could produce more quickly at a very much less cost. Every man in this House was convinced of the necessity of retaining the command of the sea, but the experience of the war in the Far East seemed to him to indicate that we were at the present moment proceeding on unnecessarily expensive lines, and that a more effective defence would be provided in the way in which he indicated at a very much less cost to the taxpayers. The enormous expenditure of £66,000,000 for the Army and Navy was, he pointed out, for the defence of the British Empire. Outside the United Kingdom, what contribution was made by the other parts of the Empire? The 5,000,000 of population of Canada enjoyed all the benefit of this huge expenditure, and it contributed nothing towards it. Some steps should be taken by the Government to come to some equitable arrangement, not only with Canada, but with the other self-governing Colonies, so that we might obtain from them—in the not remote

future—some reasonable contribution to the enormous cost of Imperial Defence. Of the contribution of the Transvaal of £30,000,000 towards the cost of the war, the first instalment of £10,000,000 was considerably in arrear, and the Committee was entitled to some information as to the position of that contribution of South Africa. He did not believe for a moment that the Transvaal could not find this money, having regard to the price of the shares of some of the mines, which were many times their face value, and taking into consideration the immense fortunes which had been made out there in connection with transport during the war. He had never been able to understand why Natal and Cape Colony should not also have contributed to the cost of the war, which was undertaken, in fact, to repel the invasion by the Boers of those colonies. He certainly thought they should contribute a reasonable portion of the cost.

With regard to our National Debt we had not only now to consider the question of our Imperial debt, but also our local debt. Our indebtedness to-day on Imperial account amounted to £794,500,000, and upon local account to £412,000,000. £35,000,000 went to South Africa, and our responsibilities in connection with Irish land might amount to £100,000,000. These items totalled up brought our national responsibilities to no less than £1,350,000,000. A figure perfectly appalling. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was well advised to draw attention to the question of local expenditure, but he would point out that local expenditure was largely reproductive. Local expenditure amounted to £412,000,000, and, as he had said, that was largely reproductive. Let them compare that with the £230,000,000 wasted on the South African War. There was expenditure it was worth while to make, and there was expenditure that was only waste and folly. It was the unnecessary expenditure which the Committee had to restrict within the smallest possible limits. It was high time that we had a national balance-sheet showing the national assets on the one side, and the national responsibilities on the other, both Imperial and local. He saw with regret that the Select Committee for inquiring into the question of

Mr. Joseph Walton.

the income-tax, which the right hon. Member for Croydon, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, promised to appoint, was now to be replaced by a Departmental Committee, whose decision would not command the same weight. He, however, thought there ought to be referred to that Committee the questions of the rearrangement of the whole machinery and management of the collection and administration of this tax and of the method of assessment. The present mode of assessment was absolutely antiquated. Some method should be adopted which should be of universal application, and there should also be a readier means of obtaining back money which had been paid in excess. He regretted there had been no announcement of the abolition of the coal tax. That was a question that could be raised on the Finance Bill. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would include other important branches of the subject in the departmental inquiry, not excluding a graduated system of income-tax.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY - GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he had seen his way to tread in the ordinary path of finance, and that he had not strayed in the more devious paths which had been indicated by the late autumn campaign. He was glad he had omitted, in introducing the new taxes, a tax on sugar. They had been told that owing to the stocks of sugar in hand the price had not been hitherto very much raised, but when the stocks were exhausted he felt perfectly certain that the cost of sugar in this country would be raised, at a cost to the people of this country every year of at least £12,000,000 to £15,000,000. Referring to the observation of the hon. Member for the Brightside Division of Sheffield that he would not object to seeing the death duties on personalty raised, he looked upon an increase of the duty on personalty more seriously than upon an increase of the duty on realty, because it would mean that the doctor, struggling all his life to provide for his family, and the lawyer, would have their hard-earned savings taxed, while the drone who lived in the mansion close by, and had never done a hard day's work in his life, would

look forward to seeing his property go down intact or without any increased duty. The least objectionable of the new taxes was the income-tax, but, nevertheless, a high income-tax, among other drawbacks, automatically reduced the stamp duty, because it narrowed the spending capacity of the community and contracted capital which had been taken towards self-reproduction. Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the income-tax in 1859 and with regard to indirect taxation, said—

“I am deeply convinced that the facility of recurring to and maintaining income-tax has been the source of that extravagance in government which dates from the Russian War.”

That was the year Mr. Gladstone had prophesied the termination of the income-tax; it was then 4d. higher than it was in 1853. We were at a similar lapse after the Boer war, and the income-tax was no higher now in proportion from what it was in 1859, and from what it was in 1855, in the ratio between before the late war and the present time.

With regard to the national credit and the National Debt, Lord Goschen, when he propounded his scheme for the conversion of the National Debt, certainly achieved a great success for a great many years, but he doubted whether he achieved much for the national credit. Our borrowing powers were not the same as those which we had before the conversion. For while the ostensible rate at which we could borrow was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., that was not the actual rate, because there were compulsory powers exercised on certain people who had to buy Consols and could invest in no other security, and therefore that could not be looked upon as the actual standard of our national credit. The flotation of the late Irish loan yielded £3 3s. per cent., and the Transvaal loan £3 2s. per cent., and the actual credit of the nation was not exactly what it was in Lord Goschen's time.

The long and short of it was that the sweet simplicity of the three per cents. had been exchanged for the vicarious irregularity of the two and a halves.

The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Waterford told them the other day that the total contribution

by Ireland would be about £400,000, and out of that sum £300,000 would represent the tea duty. That would leave only £100,000 for the income-tax and the increase of the tobacco duty. Those figures showed that the income of Ireland, according to its taxable capacity, was a very small one, and it appeared as if that income would further decrease if the Land Act worked as well as they hoped it would work. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not look in the future for a great revenue from the income-tax in Ireland. He (Mr. Ormsby-Gore) had never been able to ignore the fact that the financial relations between England and Ireland were very unsatisfactory. The Report of the Royal Commission by a large majority set forth that one-twentieth was the most Ireland could be expected to contribute to the Imperial revenue. At the present time taxes were levied in Ireland in a most unsatisfactory manner. Ireland obtained remissions in the dog tax, the carriage tax, the inhabited house duty, and armorial bearings. He would like to see a level struck in these four duties between England and Ireland and have Ireland taxed precisely the same as England. Probably the only tax that would weigh heavily in the event of such a change would be the dog tax, and, having regard to the horde of straggling curs that were usually to be found in Irish villages, an increase in the tax must prove very beneficial by clearing off some of those pests. He hoped no hardship would be inflicted on Ireland by this moderate Budget.

* MR. STUART SAMUEL (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel) congratulated the hon. Member for preferring a rise in the income-tax to one in the price of tea, as those opinions were very seldom expressed on that side of the House. It was somewhat significant of the manner in which finance was regarded that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been the recipient of so many congratulations because he had not touched the Sinking Fund. Those congratulations reminded him of the young lady who was commended for being unaffected. But young ladies had no business to be affected nor had a Chancellor of the Exchequer any business to touch the Sinking Fund;

that was an operation that always tended to lower this country's credit in the eyes of the world. He was sorry not to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer make some reference to economy. They always regarded the holder of that high office as a kind of watchdog and a guardian of the public purse, but he had sought in vain for any reference to economy in the right hon. Gentleman's speeches. They heard a great deal about widening the basis of taxation, but very little about narrowing the scale of expenditure, and he certainly should have expected the right hon. Gentleman to have given them some hope or suggestion that he would be in favour of reducing the present gigantic expenditure. In these days it was only from ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer that they could expect to hear words of caution and advice with regard to the necessity for reducing expenditure. It was a remarkable thing that no sooner did a Chancellor of the Exchequer quit office than he became actuated by a desire for economy, and it was more disappointing to find a new Chancellor of the Exchequer assuming office in times of enormous expenditure without expressing himself in favour of reducing it. Reference had been made to the low price of Consols. No doubt the price of our premier security was unduly low, but that was due to the policy of the Government during recent years in admitting a large number of colonial and other stocks to compete with Consols as securities, in which trustees are allowed to invest the funds entrusted to them. He would suggest that the Government should modify their policy in that respect, and also that relating to the borrowing powers of Corporations of towns having under 100,000 inhabitants. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had given them some very interesting figures concerning the prosperity of the country. If these were evidences that the country was bleeding to death he would be sorry to see any interruption of the process. It appeared to his mind that what the Government had to beware of at the present time was interfering with that prosperity by imposing undue taxation. He alluded more particularly to the increased tax on tea, as, to his mind, that would greatly inter-

fere with the demand for that article and, speaking as representative of a working class constituency which was somewhat well known for its sobriety, he was afraid this increase would prove a great hardship. He sincerely hoped that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to consider the matter again he would raise the income-tax rather than impose further duties on the food of the poor.

*MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.) said he quite admitted that upon the present occasion they had not heard very much in favour of economy, and that instead they had been favoured with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's rosy views concerning the prosperity and wealth of the country. He desired to give one or two reasons why he was an earnest supporter of the present Budget. He regarded it as an honest Budget, a free-trade Budget, and a Budget calculated to bring home to the mind of every taxpayer the necessity for economy in the expenditure on the Army and Navy. The heavy income-tax and the taxes on tobacco and tea might not be acceptable to the general public, but he thought that if any combination would prove effective in persuading electors that the expenditure of the country must be reduced, it was this combination. If they desired to enforce economy, this was the time for them to point a moral and adorn a tale. He regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not followed the example of his predecessors in commenting severely on the size of the expenditure, because he could not help thinking that it was to the Chancellor of the Exchequer they looked for such advice and admonitions. They all knew how perfectly helpless were the private Members of that House to secure economy of expenditure. It was true that private Members had some power of increasing the Estimates, but when it came to criticising the Estimates, they were very much at the mercy of Ministers. No Estimates could be criticised by hon. Members properly, unless they had far more information placed at their disposal than could be given in the course of a debate. They ought to be given a previous opportunity of examining

Mr. Stuart Samuel.

officials as to the details of the Estimates, which they were called upon to discuss and approve. It was for that reason that he much regretted that the practical proposals made by the Committee on National Expenditure were in danger of being set aside. However wealthy and prosperous the country might be, the increase of the aggregate expenditure shown during the last ten years was most serious. He would not say anything about the war expenditure, but apart from that the rise in the ordinary expenditure had been so enormous that no country could permanently stand it, and no method of reducing that expenditure to reasonable bounds ought to be neglected. He feared nothing would be done in that direction without more motive power from outside, and for that reason he welcomed the present Budget. A heavy income-tax alone was not sufficient to move public opinion in the direction of economy. The Opposition condemned the increase of indirect taxation, but if they desired to strengthen public opinion among the masses in favour of economy they ought not to oppose such an addition to indirect taxation as was needed to produce an honest Budget. This Budget was an honest one. It showed how burdensome our expenditure was, not only to the middle classes, but to the working classes, and it ought to have the support of those who desired to see expenditure kept within reasonable bounds.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that more motive power was required from the constituencies, but if that power were supplied the right hon. Gentleman and many of his friends would probably be removed from the House, because the unfortunate position in which the country now found itself was entirely due to the fact that nearly all the Members on the other side, and many of those on his own side of the House, committed the nation to an unjust, unnecessary, and extravagant war, of which the results were now being reaped. Expenditure depended upon policy, and a little cheese-paring here and there in the Estimates was useless as a means for replacing the country in the position it

formerly occupied. What was required was a return to the traditional policy of the Liberal Party; there would then be no ground for the constant cries for economy. The remarks of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to the extension of trustee securities to the loans of local authorities appeared to be based on an erroneous view of the duties of the State and of trustees. The investments of trustees ought to be governed, not by the interests of the State, but solely by the question of the security of the trust. Trust funds usually belonged to widows and orphans, and to prevent their being invested in lucrative securities in order that the price of Consols might be kept up was altogether unreasonable. Some further defence was required of the methods adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for dealing with the deficit. The right hon. Gentleman had urged that the Transvaal Loan should not be taken into account at all. It was true that it had nothing to do with the deficit, but it had a great deal to do with the methods adopted for dealing with that deficit. Nobody would deny that it was a bad and vicious system to borrow money in times of peace to pay current expenditure, but that was what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was really doing. This money was first of all borrowed from the public, it found its way into the balances, it was loaned to the Transvaal, when repaid it was returned to the balances, and then, instead of going back to the pockets of the public, it was used for current expenditure. The defence of the use of the £2,288,000 from the balances was equally objectionable. That money was borrowed for the South African War, and if it was not used for that war it ought to have been returned to the lenders. There was no justification for using it in operations against the Mullah or the Dalai Lama without the consent of those from whom it was borrowed. The meaning of these expedients was really that in time of peace, two years after the conclusion of the war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had borrowed £5,000,000 for the purposes of current expenditure.

The present debate had been remarkable in two or three respects.

The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had committed himself to the view that there ought to be a graduation of the income-tax. That was a most significant and hopeful sign for the future. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had held graduation to be impossible. It was doubtless difficult, but there was considerable difference between a difficulty and an impossibility. As to deducting the tax from dividends before they were paid to investors, the practice would doubtless be to deduct the highest limit, leaving it to the investor to claim a return of the overcharge on the production of the necessary vouchers, just as was done in the case of the present abatements. The system would probably be a little complex and difficult, but the complexity and difficulty would not fall on the Legislature or the revenue authorities, and it was no argument against the adoption of the proposal. As to the contention that the principle of graduation was indirectly applied in the death duties, that might have been in the minds of certain Members when the scheme was put forward, but the present Committee were by no means bound by such a consideration; they had to judge of matters on their own merits in the light of the present day. If the principle of graduation which was formerly regarded as revolutionary did not now frighten even a Conservative ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer why should it not be extended to the income-tax? In the matter of the other duties, it was recognised that they were war duties, and that the industries concerned would have a right to expect their removal in time of peace. The only question was as to which class of taxpayer had the prior claim to consideration. The tea and sugar duties, if they had not an equal claim with the income-tax to reduction, at any rate had a right to expect that in time of war they would not be increased, and if the income-tax, which stood at 1s. 3d. during the war, was now to be reduced to 1s., on what principle of justice could the tea duty, which stood at 6d. during the war, be justified now at 8d.?

He congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the earlier portion of his speech that afternoon. It was a sound, cogent, and effective free-trade

Mr. Bryn Roberts.

argument. It was not so intended, but it was all the stronger on that account. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that, although expenditure had almost doubled since the "sixties," yet so great had been the free-trade benefits enjoyed by the country that the national income had actually increased in greater ratio. That was as strong a free-trade argument as could be adduced. But it was not an equally strong argument for expenditure. The increase in income had been gradual and progressive throughout the whole of the period, whereas the increase in expenditure was confined practically to the last ten years. It did not necessarily follow that a man, because his income had increased, ought to spend more money. The more money a man made the more he ought to put by for the benefit of those dependent upon him. It was the same with the nation. Very little was heard nowadays about leaving money "to fructify in the pockets of the taxpayers." There was nothing to prevent the continuation of the policy which held the field up to 1893. It was because we had departed from the policy of non-interference with other countries, of minding our own business, and keeping our fingers from picking and stealing the territories of other nations, that we were in our present deplorable condition. Nobody could contend that the country was in a safer position than ten years ago, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure which had been incurred. As a matter of fact, the position was more precarious than before, because the confidence of the world at large in the honour, integrity, and justice of Great Britain had been shaken, with the result that other nations felt bound to take measures to protect themselves against us.

*MR. MARTIN (Worcestershire, Droitwich) expressed the belief that if Mr. Goschen, when he had plenty of money in hand, and the credit of the country was rising, instead of reducing the interest on the National Debt from 3 per cent. to 2½ per cent., had increased the interest to 4 per cent., he would have done more to benefit future generations than was now the case. The duration of the loans would have been reduced to such an extent that a serious diminution

in the amount would now be apparent. Instead of having a perpetual $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annuity, we should have had an annuity limited in its duration, and the National Debt would have been reduced by possibly £200,000,000 or £300,000,000. A further obvious advantage was that the Sinking Fund would have been removed from the possibility of all interference on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He hoped the Chancellors of the Exchequer in future years, when they had more propitious Budgets to unfold and more money in hand, would bear these points in mind, and endeavour to reduce the amount of these perpetual annuities. It was ridiculous that the people of the twentieth century should be paying interest on loans incurred for wars and other events of 200 years ago. There ought surely to be some limit on the burdens placed on posterity, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear in mind the suggestions he had made.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) said he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer deserved great credit for the manner in which he had placed his proposals before the House. He thought there was one item which might have been avoided, and that was the additional tax upon tea. Taxation upon tea must always come home very heavily to the working classes, and more particularly to the poor peasants in Ireland. The way in which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to levy the tobacco duties, so as to enable the workmen in this country to be able to compete with the workmen in foreign countries, was a good proposal. He wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman a method of taxation which would have taken the bitter sting out of the tax upon tea. He very much regretted that the shilling duty upon corn had not been reimposed. Whether this was owing to the fact that the Government were afraid of the false cries raised against the re-imposition of the duty on corn he did not know, but he defied anybody to show that bread was not cheaper with the shilling duty on

corn than it was to-day. They had tried this shilling duty on corn, and it had not made the slightest difference in the price of bread. The Government ought to have had pluck enough to have put on that shilling duty again. Another suggestion he had to make was the imposition of a tax over and above the 4d. that now stood on German and other foreign spirits. He could not but wish that the right hon. Gentleman would do with a little less duty on tea and make up the sum by taxing the German solution of wood-shavings, sawdust, and sulphuric acid which was imported into this country. This stuff was supposed to be made into methylated spirits, but large quantities of it were made up either as Scotch or Irish whisky, which the unfortunate people drank. In this matter he was pleading the cause of the poorest people in a very poor country. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give more consideration to what he had said about the great burden he was putting upon the Irish peasantry by this increase in the taxation upon tea. He wished the Committee to remember that 75 per cent. of the taxation of Ireland was indirect taxation and came out of the pockets and the stomachs of the people, and no taxation which was raised in that way could be considered satisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman had shown that as far as he dared he would protect the workmen, and he congratulated him. He believed the greater part of the House shared the right hon. Gentleman's opinions on the fiscal question. An enormous change of opinion had come over the country in the last six months. A few years ago if anyone had dared to say a word against free imports the roof would have been taken off his head in five minutes, yet now surprise was affected because the country had not been carried by storm in six months. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do something to stop this nefarious trade in spirits, which was so detrimental to the agriculturists of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. and gallant Member has, as it were, invited me to follow him on to some very controversial ground, and, like some other hon. Gentlemen, has been anxious, I think, to tempt me away from the Budget to the discussion of questions not now before the House. I have laid before the House proposals which are in perfect harmony with the established fiscal system in this country. I have not concealed my views from the Committee, and I think they are pretty well known. The Committee know also what are the pledges of the Government, and that it is in the spirit of those pledges that I have framed my Budget proposals. I therefore respectfully decline to depart from the subject of the proposals which I have laid before the Committee into an abstract discussion of our fiscal policy, which is out of place in this debate, and would only prolong it, very much to the detriment of the business of the Committee, without usefully serving any of the ends desired on one side or the other. I earnestly appeal to the Committee to conclude the discussion of this Resolution; I shall not attempt to force the judgment of the Committee, but it is generally understood that the general discussion which has been provided by the Income-Tax Resolution shall be finished to-night. The hon. Member for Barnsley has asked me whether I can give any further information as to the issue of the Transvaal war contribution loan. I am not in a position to make any more definite statement on that subject than I have already made. The issue of that loan must be dependent on two circumstances. It must be dependent on the prosperity of the Transvaal and upon the state of the money market. Anybody in my position would,

I think, feel that it was absolutely impossible to go to the money market and attempt to raise a loan of this kind under the circumstances which prevailed both in the Transvaal and the money market here during the months which have elapsed this year. or until there was some improvement. How rapid the improvement may be I would not like to prophesy. All I can say is that until things have improved neither my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary nor myself, for we must act together in the matter, can attempt the issue of that loan.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON: The obligation of the guarantors is not in any way affected by the delay.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The obligation of the guarantors to guarantee the first £10,000,000 is no way affected by the delay. Observations have been made on the subject of the large expenditure of the country, and it has been suggested that I am inclined to deal lightly with these heavy burdens, and that I am not as anxious for sound and wise economy as the Committee would desire. That is not so. I recognise that our burdens are heavy, and I do not wish to minimise them. Moreover, I am very anxious to reduce expenditure where reduction can be made with safety, but I do not think, as I have already said, that any admonitions from me would be any more effective than they were from my predecessors of far longer standing in this House and who spoke with greater authority than I can speak. All I have asked the Committee to do this afternoon is to bear in mind the facts of the case and not to exaggerate them. If one wants a cure, the first

thing to do is to ascertain exactly what the evil is, and one's case is not strengthened by representing the evil as much greater than it really is. My right hon. friend the Member for East Somerset has complained that the private Member has under the present Supply Rules no adequate opportunity of urging economy. I differ as to that altogether. I know that my experience in the House does not compare with his, but I sat in the House for some years before the new Supply Rules were passed, and I know how we took two or three Votes on Account in the course of a session. We wrangled for a day over each one and then we were closed at the end of the day. A Vote on Account was put down in the ordinary Vote of Supply, and the whole day was often spent discussing such matters as the Royal Palaces and the various works executed under the First Commissioner of Works. A more profitless discussion in Supply it would be impossible to imagine than the discussion in those days, and I do not think what happened upon those occasions produced a favourable impression upon any kind of business people who happened to be in the public gallery of the House at the time. Whereas formerly much valuable time was wasted in profitless discussion on unimportant matters, now those Votes are put down which the Government find, after inquiry, the Opposition are most anxious to criticise. I think the discussion of Supply is now far more effective than it was when it was taken in a fagged and tired House in August, when most Members had gone away under the doctor's order or under some more serious necessity.

Some criticisms have been made in regard to the comparative ineffec-

tiveness of the present opportunities afforded for criticism in Committee of Supply, but I think criticisms in regard to the extravagance of the House come rather oddly from my right hon. friend the Member for East Somerset. He did succeed in obtaining a private Member's evening before Easter for the discussion of a Motion, and what was the Resolution he chose? After listening to his speech one would have thought that he would have selected the growth of expenditure or the extravagance of some particular Department, or that he would have submitted a Resolution with a view to limiting the outgoings of the Exchequer and controlling our reckless expenditure. But not a bit of it. The Motion which my right hon. friend put down was a Motion calling upon the Government to find more money for the training of elementary school teachers out of Exchequer funds. We already find the largest proportion of the expenditure, and yet the right hon. Gentleman used his opportunity to urge that we should provide more. Such expenditure may or may not have been desirable, but I think it is a little hard that the right hon. Gentleman should come down here and criticise the growth of our expenditure in view of the fact that when he had a whole evening to do what he liked with he utilised it in urging increased expenditure upon the Government. Some hon. Members talk very dolefully about the fall in our credit. But our credit is now better than the credit of any other nation, and it is better than it was twenty years ago. In 1884 the yield of Consols was £2 9s. per cent.; this year on 31st March it was £2 17s. 9d. per cent., and since then it has risen. We have been in office for eighteen years

with a very small break, and we have been, according to the hon. Gentleman, extravagant, wasteful of the resources of the nation, and burdening its industry and commerce, and when the hon. Gentleman wants to prove that our credit is depressed, he takes the figure at which Consols stood four years ago, after fourteen years of reckless extravagance by this Government. He took a date when Consols stood higher than ever before. I thank the hon. Gentleman for recalling to me how great had been the rise in the value of Consols, and of the credit which is due to the Party of which I have the honour to belong as a Member.

We have agreed to take the general discussion on this Resolution, which is the Income-Tax Resolution. The hon. Member for West Clare has raised a point of a very important but of a highly technical character, which will be dealt with more appropriately when the spirit duty comes up for consideration. In the course of the discussion a desire has been expressed in various quarters of the House, that both the differentiation and graduation of the income-tax should be referred for consideration to the proposed Committee. In my opinion neither is practicable, and neither is desirable; and, holding these views, the Government would be misleading the country if they referred the questions as open questions to the Committee. In 1853 Mr. Gladstone, in the course of his great speech on the income-tax, declared that the differentiation of the income-tax would mean the destruction of the country's greatest finance instrument. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth also gave the same opinion only a few years ago. A great deal is said about differentiating between fixed incomes and incomes

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

due to personal exertions. But how many prosperous concerns are there which have lost those who managed them and have not merely failed to return any income but have lost the capital of the undertaking? Take the case, however, of a man earning £10,000 a year due to his own exertions. He is to be assessed at a lower rate. But the widow, with a family of young children, with £500 a year is to be taxed at the full rate, subject to the ordinary abatements, because the income comes from investments. I think, on the other hand, that this is the person who is more deserving of further consideration, if possible, than the wealthy professional man with his large income. It is also suggested that the tax should be graduated. I believe for myself—and I have strong authority for the opinion, which is not confined to this side of the House—that you cannot graduate the income-tax as long as you maintain what is the great safeguard of the income-tax—namely, the assessment of a large portion of the income at its source. If that is given up, the income-tax is ruined as a great engine for procuring revenue, and if you superimpose on an assessment at the source a further assessment in the case of wealthy people for the purpose of graduation, this will enormously increase the cost, will entail wholly new machinery, will become excessively inquisitorial, and will offend powerful interests. I do not think the House could devise a more ingenious way of making the income-tax unpopular, ultimately involving its total repeal. Suppose that there was an income-tax of 1s. in the £. Up to what amount would you graduate? Suppose you graduate up to 2s., and

that incomes above £5,000 should be subject to this further graduation. If you take a lower figure you will have to inquire into the incomes of so many persons that the difficulties of collection to which I have alluded would become absolutely insuperable and intolerable. Suppose, however, the maximum to be 2s. I have made some inquiries of the Inland Revenue, and the authorities there think that it is a fair assumption to make, that if you start with incomes of £5,000 and graduate the tax from 1s. up to 2s., the average tax on those higher incomes might be taken at 1s. 6d. They put the total amount of income which would be subject to graduation at one-fifth of the total income subject to income-tax. The tax would then yield £3,000,000 in addition. On that they advise me that you must deduct £750,000, not for evasions, but for legitimate avoidance of duty on income which might be removed abroad, but which at present is subject to income-tax in this country. That is sufficient to show what a very delicate matter you are touching when you attempt to put these exceptional taxes on particular classes of income-tax payers. Therefore, allowing nothing for deliberate evasion, nothing for the greater inducements to understate income, nothing for the general alarm which would certainly be caused by any such proposal, and nothing for the increased cost of collection, which would be heavy, the possible gain is reduced to £1,500,000. That will not allow you to give much relief to other classes. Examined in detail, so great are the practical difficulties of this scheme, and so small are the possible advantages, that the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, reaffirmed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth and the right hon.

Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, must continue to hold the field. I think I have dealt with all the new points that have been raised since I last spoke—I hope not in an unnecessarily controversial spirit and not in a manner which will prolong discussion. It has been a business-like discussion, and I would express the hope that it will not be carried beyond twelve o'clock to-night.

*MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) asked the right hon. Gentleman if he could give some idea when they were to have the £30,000,000 from the Transvaal. He suggested that the gentlemen who guaranteed the loan should issue it at once and underwrite it. At present we had a large deficit, and if they would guarantee the 4 per cent. loan as they had promised it would be of enormous benefit to this country to have the money, but if they waited until the country was very prosperous again they would be able to guarantee a 4 per cent. loan and make a large profit themselves, but it would not be of the same service to this country. The late Colonial Secretary spoke of the patriotism of those gentlemen but he did not think that would be very apparent to the ordinary individual. Supposing that Consols were in anything like the position they were in before, those gentlemen who were being extolled for their patriotism would really be putting money into their pockets by guaranteeing this transaction. His hon. friend was dissatisfied with the late Chancellor for taking off the shilling duty on corn. If anybody went to Chicago and bought corn he would pay the same price for it, whether there was a shilling duty here or not. Then who paid the duty? Of course the importer in the first instance, and eventually the consumer.

They could not properly compare the price of Consols now with the price eighteen years ago. They must take the time when the late Colonial Secretary was the predominant influence in the Government. It was during those years, and through that influence, that the credit of the country had so seriously fallen.

MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.) said a question of great importance had been touched upon in the course of the debate, and he wished to refer to it because it had a bearing on the question of the housing of the working classes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his admirable speech referred to the increase in the indebtedness of local authorities, and suggested that it was the duty of Parliament to take steps to check that growing indebtedness. The course which the right hon. Gentleman suggested for adoption was to raise the rate of interest on the money which was advanced by the Public Works Loans Commissioners from $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. first to $3\frac{1}{4}$ and then to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Such an increase would be a serious hindrance to the construction of dwellings for the working classes, whether by local authorities or private companies. He understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to discriminate with regard to the purposes for which loans were asked, and he hoped that discrimination would be exercised in favour of loans for building purposes.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said he agreed that there were difficulties which made differentiation between earned and unearned incomes for the purpose of income-tax almost impossible, but he suggested that when the income-tax was

Mr. Cawley.

raised, as it had been in recent years, by 50 per cent., there should be a proportionate increase of the death duties. That would put an addition to the burden of direct taxation upon inherited wealth, and to that extent would relieve the man whose income was derived from his own ability and industry. Taking last year and the current year together, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had to provide for a deficit of £10,000,000. Of that sum, £4,500,000 had been met by additional taxation, but, unless the right hon. Gentleman could show how he had met the remaining £5,500,000, he thought they must conclude that it had come out of borrowed money taken from the Exchequer balances. If that were the case, the right hon. Gentleman hardly deserved the compliments poured upon him for not touching the Sinking Fund, because he had done practically the same thing. This deficit of £10,000,000 exactly corresponded with the sum which the mine-owners of the Transvaal failed to produce in January last. If that £10,000,000 had been forthcoming, it would not have been necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to call upon the consumers in this country to bear additional taxation.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said he wished to appeal to the Committee to allow the general debate to close.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) raised, as a new and novel point, the taxation of deer-stalking in Scotland.

And, it being Midnight, the CHAIRMAN proceeded to interrupt the business. 

Whereupon Sir FREDERICK BANBURY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee proceeded to a division, and the Chairman stated that he thought the Ayes had it; and, on his decision being challenged, it appeared to him that the division was frivolously claimed, and he accordingly called upon the Members who supported and who challenged his decision successively to rise in their places, and he declared the Ayes had it, six Members only who challenged his decision having stood up.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) remaining seated, and with his hat on, said he wished to call attention to the fact that when a division

was taken on a new Question the House should be cleared and the bells rung.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I am putting the Question now.

Mr. DALZIEL said that the previous Question had been put and decided, and a new Question was now being put from the Chair. Some hon. Members might have left in connection with the previous decision, and they would have received no intimation that a new Question was being put.

*THE CHAIRMAN said he was about to clear the House of strangers, so that the bell might be rung, when the hon. Member interrupted him.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 214; Noes, 16. (Division List No. 90.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cawley, Frederick

Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worc.)
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Croasley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dobbie, Joseph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton

Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Forster, Henry William
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson,
Gardner, Ernest
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert John
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (Salop)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby- (Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cams.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq. of, L'n'd'nerry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harnsworth, R. Leicester
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Holder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson

Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. Somers't E
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Hault, Joseph
 Jobier, Hon. J. Henry Cecil
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kerr, John
 Kimber, Henry
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, Jn. Grant (Yorks., N. R.)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
 Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdona, John Cumming
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.)
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. W.
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G

Milvain, Thomas
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Nussey, Thomas Wilans
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretzman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Rigg, Richard
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rose, Charles Day
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)

Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Shackleton, David James
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarka.)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Ure, Alexander
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walker, Col. William Hall
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts)
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland-Hood and
 Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Edwards, Frank
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)

Levy, Maurice
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)

Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Weir and Mr. Dalziel

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair
 to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon
 Monday next; Committee to sit again
 upon Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 22nd April, 1904.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Ravensworth sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Great Central and Midland Joint Railways. The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Richard Jaeger's Patent (Petition for Bill). Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Tuesday next.

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 26th of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed for Thursday next.

Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 22nd of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed.

Buxton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not

proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 19th of February and the 22nd of March discharged, and Bill committed.

King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Mid-Cheshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Oaken-gates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz.: D. Manchester, L. Zouche of Haryngworth, L. Clifford of Chudleigh (Chairman), L. Ravensworth, L. Rosmead; agreed to, and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next at eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 48). A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bath Rural District, Brynmawr, Chippenham, Eastleigh and Bishopstoke, Hanwell, Southgate Urban District, Tamworth, Walton-le-Dale, Watford, and Widnes (Amendment); and

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 49). A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead (Extension), Bishop Auckland (Amendment), Huddersfield (Extension to Golcar), Maidenhead (Extensions), Milford-on-Sea, Newquay, Penzance, Ramsgate, Sunderland Districts, and Tavistock.

Were presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Wolverton); read 1st; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).**

No. 3140. Turkey (Constantinople and District).

No. 3141. Tunis.

No. 3142. Russia (Poland and Lithuania).

No. 3143. Siam (Chiengmai).

WELLINGTON COLLEGE.

Report of the Governors for the year ended the 31st December, 1903; with accounts.

TRADE.

Annual statement of the trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, 1903, compared with the four preceding years. Volume I. (Summaries, Abstract and Detailed Tables of Imports and Exports).

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Report to the Board of Trade by the Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence with reference to their proceedings.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (RAILWAY RATES AND FACILITIES).

Correspondence between the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Railway Companies in Great Britain as to the carriage of agricultural produce and requisites; with appendices.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF WALSALL).

Order, made by the council of the borough of Walsall, altering certain polling districts in the borough.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Order in Council, of 21st April, 1904, approving bye-laws made by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board with respect to the contribution to be made towards the pilotage funds of the Liverpool districts by the masters and mates of vessels holding pilotage certificates.

RAILWAY COMPANIES' POWERS ACT, 1864.

Draft certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the London and South-Western Railway Company to raise additional capital.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

IMPORTATION OF DOGS.

THE EARL OF LYTTON: My Lords, I rise, in accordance with the notice standing in my name, to call attention to the Importation of Dogs Order made by the Board of Agriculture, whereby owners of dogs are separated from their dogs for a period of six months after their importation; and to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether, in view of the fact that no case of rabies has occurred in any dog imported since the present Order has been in force, he will not revert to the practice of allowing owners of dogs to quarantine them on their own premises under such regulations as will prevent the re-introduction of rabies into this country.

It will be generally acknowledged, I think, that the noble Earl's predecessor was most energetic and successful in his efforts to stamp out hydrophobia in this country. At the same time a very strong feeling exists throughout the whole country that some, at any rate, of the regulations which he enforced were unnecessarily harsh even for carrying out the objects he had in view; and perhaps the one which caused the greatest amount of irritation, and even of very genuine suffering, was that regulation which required that all imported dogs should be removed from their owners and kept in quarantine for six months. I suppose that most of your Lordships who are owners of dogs do not very much object when going abroad to leaving them behind, or, if they are taken, can put up with temporary separation from them on returning; or possibly you are in the habit of evading the law, for I understand that at the present moment quite a number of dogs are taken out of this country and brought in again without being detected; but there is a class on whom this regulation falls with very great severity—I refer to people

who are obliged to leave the country on account of their health, and are so sentimentally attached to their dogs that they cannot bear to be separated from them, even for a few weeks. In cases where these people are in a critical state of health the effect of enforcing this regulation is very serious indeed.

I am sure that if anybody had suggested to the noble Earl's predecessor that the effect of his policy would be to kill more people of a broken heart than were saved from bites by dogs suffering from rabies, he would have scouted the idea; but I do not think the noble Earl will deny that in several cases sensitive people have been really killed by this Order. I cannot help feeling that the object in view might equally well be carried out in a less harsh manner. For instance, if all imported dogs could be detained at the homes of their owners under capable supervision and with constant inspection by veterinary surgeons, all necessary costs being paid, of course, by the owners of the dogs, I think all danger to the public and inconvenience to the owners might be avoided. I hope, therefore, that the noble Earl, in his reply, will hold out some hope that he can mitigate to a certain degree this very harsh regulation, and I am sure if he can show any consideration for the feelings of the class to whom I have referred, his words will be received with great satisfaction throughout the country.

***THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (The Earl of Onslow):** My Lords, the noble Earl prefaced his Question by the statement that no case of rabies has occurred in any dog imported since the present Order has been in force. That is perfectly true, but inasmuch as rabies is a disease which is extremely common on the Continent of Europe, it is only a question of the number of dogs which may be imported, before we shall with absolute certainty happen on one which will develop rabies. The whole object of the policy of the Board of Agriculture has been to stamp out a disease which I think your Lordships will agree is one of the most horrible that can afflict mankind. Mr. Walter Long, one of my predecessors, incurred a considerable amount of public

odium by his application of the Muzzling Order, but that Order succeeded completely. At the present moment, and for some years past, there has been no case of rabies or hydrophobia in this country, and, notwithstanding the inconvenience which the dog-owning public suffered from these Orders, the result has justified that temporary inconvenience.

I would venture to remind your Lordships of what has been the course of the regulations made by the Board of Agriculture. In the year 1900, under the Muzzling Orders, rabies had disappeared not only from London, and all the great towns in the North of England, but practically from the whole country and it had become possible to remove the restriction of the muzzle. To prevent reintroduction of infection from abroad imported dogs were therefore ordered to be isolated upon the premises of their owners for a certain period, but it was proved that in many cases it was impossible for those premises to be made suitable for the purpose. In the following year, 1901, it was found that 40 per cent., and at times as many as 60 per cent., of the dogs imported into this country had to be sent to the premises of veterinary surgeons, and the Board therefore determined that as it could now remove the Muzzling Order from the whole of Great Britain, and as it was now safe to permit the importation of dogs from Ireland, which up to then had been prohibited, it was necessary, in order to keep disease out of this country, to make a universal regulation that dogs on arrival from abroad should be sent for detention to the premises of veterinary surgeons.

One of the reasons why it was necessary to do that was that people who were allowed to keep the dogs on their own premises refused to believe that the regulations they were called upon to observe were seriously intended. In the street in which I reside there lives a lady who frankly admitted that the moment she received the regulations she threw them into the wastepaper basket. She did not attempt to confine the dog on her premises, but, to use her expression, it "led its own free life in the streets." I know that a resident in another house in

the same street smuggled a dog in without its going through the precautionary probation which is prescribed for all imported dogs. As soon as the Order of 1901 was imposed we found that things began to work smoothly. Dogs were sent to the veterinary surgeons' premises, they were carefully taken care of there, and at the end of three months pet dogs—the quarantine period being six months—were released, if they had been under the care of their owners during the time they were abroad. I have often heard it said that dogs of the kind to which my noble friend alluded are taken such great care of by their owners that it is quite impossible for them to come in contact with a dog suffering from rabies, but I happen to know a lady who went regularly to the South of France whose dog contracted rabies from another dog whilst on her premises, she herself being bitten and having to go to the Pasteur Institute in Paris to be treated.

There are two dangers to which we are exposed, the danger that dogs may be smuggled into this country (and there is a considerable amount of smuggling). Dogs are brought into this country dressed up as babies, or under chloroform, concealed in trunks. The second danger is that there are constantly arriving numbers of foreign vessels in our ports. It is computed that 9,000 dogs come in every year on board these ships. I cannot pretend that I think the restrictions imposed are as completely carried out as I would wish them to be. There are cases of hardship. In fact, a gentleman called upon me the other day and told me that I had killed his wife through this regulation; while only two or three days ago an unfortunate lady, who, accompanied by a little dog, went on board a Newhaven-Dieppe steamer to see her son off, neglected to leave the ship before it steamed out, with the result that she was conveyed across, and as we were unable to make any exception in her case, her dog, on its return, has had to be separated from its mistress and sent to quarantine.

I hope and believe that the existing practice of requiring quarantine for imported dogs on the premises of a veterinary surgeon will continue in the majority of cases; but under the new

The Earl of Onslow.

rules it is provided that after a dog is sent to a veterinary surgeon for identification and examination, that proper precautions may be taken, the owner may obtain an Order for removal upon signing an undertaking to abide by regulations laid down by the Board of Agriculture. The dog, being in the custody of the owner, will, for the prescribed period, be required to bear a distinctive badge, or harness, bearing the inscription "in quarantine for rabies." If the dog strays from the custody of the owner, it can thus be identified. The harness will be sealed with a seal which can only be removed by a veterinary surgeon, who will be appointed by the Board, and who will pay frequent periodical visits to see that the Orders are complied with. The dog will never at any period of the quarantine be allowed to be without the harness upon it. It will, I admit, be a source of trouble and expense on the part of those who import dogs, and if this is objected to the dog may, as under existing regulations, be left under the care of a veterinary surgeon. I hope there will not be many who will avail themselves of the new rule, which is a concession in the interest of a few persons who feel there is hardship in a long separation of the animal from its owner. If these concessions are in any way abused, if the regulations are not in every way observed, the rules will be at once rescinded, and there will be a return to the Order at present in existence. If there is any indication on the part of an individual of a desire to evade the Orders, the dog will at once be taken back to the veterinary surgeon, and a similar licence will at all future times be refused to that person.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, the Amendments which this Bill effects are fully explained in the Memorandum attached to it, and therefore it is unnecessary for me to go into them. I will content

myself by saying that I sincerely believe these Amendments will prove for the benefit of the Army, and I hope your Lordships will give the Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be read 2^a."—
(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [H.L.]

Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 22nd April, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) BILL (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—London County Council (Money) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill. To be read the third time upon Monday next.

Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill [Lords]. To be

read a second time upon Tuesday next (Evening Sitting).

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5). Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Bradford (Yorkshire), Ealing, Eaton Bray (Rural), Glastonbury, Rhyl, and the Fylde Water Board District ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Walter Long.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. "To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Bradford (Yorkshire), Ealing, Eaton Bray (Rural), Glastonbury, Rhyl, and the Fylde Water Board District," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 161.]

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).

Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group F of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Donegal Railway Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Ipswich Dock Commission Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table.

Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without

Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time.

New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time.

Commons (Regulation of Oxshott Heath, in the parish of Cobham, Surrey, and Regulation of Merrow Downs, in the parish of Merrow, Surrey). Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence relative thereto, brought up, and read. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 137.]

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Barnard Castle Gas Company." [Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords.]]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to incorporate the Preston and Blackburn Tramways Company, and to empower that Company to make and maintain a tramway and other works; and for other purposes." [Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords.]]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Corporation of Chesterfield to construct and work tramways; to execute further street works and improvements; to extend their area for the supply of electricity; to make further provision for the improvement, local government, and health of the borough of Chesterfield; and for other purposes." [Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [Lords.]]

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords]; Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords]; Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP No. 7).

Mr. KEARLEY reported from the Committee on Group No. 7 of Railway Bills;

That the parties promoting the Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill had stated that the evidence of George Edmund Shanahan, assistant secretary to the Board of Public Works, Ireland, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said George Edmund Shanahan do attend the said Committee on Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Ordered, That George Edmund Shanahan do attend the Committee on Group No. 7 of Railway Bills on Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

PETITIONS.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.

Petition from Islington, against (praying to be heard by counsel); referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

INCOME TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.

Two Petitions from London, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Chester; Laurieston; Ipswich; Leamington; Glasgow; Kingsland; Allonby; Carlisle; Barrow-on-Soar; Crossgar; Prees; Seaham Harbour; Glossop (two); Leek; Penybont; Cricklewood; Church; and Norwich: to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Hanley, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Swansea; Great Grimsby; Loughborough; and Harlesden; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS.

Petition from Reading, for repeal; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**WELLINGTON COLLEGE.**

Copy presented, of Report of the Governors of Wellington College for the year ending 31st December, 1903, with Accounts [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF WALSALL).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Walsall, altering certain Polling Districts in the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 21st April, 1904, approving Bye-Laws made by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, with respect to the contribution to be made towards the pilotage funds of the Liverpool district by the masters and mates of vessels holding pilotage certificates [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE (FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS).

Copy presented, of Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions for 1903. Volume I. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade by the Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence with reference to their Proceedings [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAYS (CERTIFICATES) (LONDON AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY).

Copy presented, of Draft Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the London and South Western Railway Company to raise additional Capital [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAY RATES AND FACILITIES.

Copy presented, of Correspondence between the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Railway Companies in

Great Britain as to the Carriage of Agricultural Produce and Requisites; with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

FLEETS (GREAT BRITAIN AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 28th March; *Sir Charles Dilke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 136.]

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.****Pay of Customs—Watchers.**

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the amount of annual saving to the revenue caused by the institution of the Customs watcher in lieu of the outdoor officer; and whether he will keep this in view while their memorial is under consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The watchers only perform part of the work formerly allotted to outdoor officers, and the saving caused by creating the new class cannot therefore be stated. In any case, however, it has no bearing upon the question of the adequacy of the pay of the watchers.

Poor Prisoners Defence Act—Rules.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the rules under the Poor Prisoners Defence Act, 1903, the draft of which was laid upon the Table on the 11th of February last, have been made; and, if not, what is the cause of the delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) These rules will be made by the Attorney-General; but I may, perhaps, explain that, according to the provisions of the Act, the rules cannot be finally settled until they have lain in

draft before each House of Parliament for not less than forty days upon which such House has sat.

Postal Arrangements at Rathdangan, County Wicklow.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the present postal arrangements at Rathdangan, county Wicklow, admit of only one delivery of letters weekly in the districts of Slievenamdre, Blackrock, Barnamelia, and Carrignameil; and, if so, will he say whether he could make arrangements to have a daily or a three days a week delivery in these places; and whether he could extend the time of keeping open the Rathdangan post office on Sundays from ten to twelve o'clock, instead of from eleven to noon, the latter being the present practice of the Rathdangan office.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) Inquiry shall be made in regard to the postal arrangements of the places near Rathdangan referred to by the hon. Member, and the result shall be communicated to him.

Post Office—Money found on Public Counters.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a sorting clerk at Glasgow found a sum of money on the public counter in the Stock Exchange branch post office; that the clerk handed the money to the postmaster in trust for the owner; that, after the lapse of a year, the owner not having claimed it, one-third of the money was given to the clerk who had found it, the postmaster informing him that the remaining two-thirds was retained by the Department; and, if so, whether he can state to what fund or purpose the two-thirds portion has been credited.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The facts of the case to which the hon. Member refers are correctly described in his Question. The regular procedure in such cases was followed, and two-thirds of the money found has been credited to Appropriations in aid of the Post Office Vote.

Carriage of Goods—Liability of Shipping Companies.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the result to merchants and traders of the operation of the clauses habitually inserted by shipping companies having the command of great lines of communications in their bills of lading and other shipping documents, whereby such companies shall be relieved from liability for loss or damage arising from such companies' negligence in handling goods carried by them; and, if so, if he would take into consideration the desirability of initiating legislation in this country on the lines of the statute passed by the Congress of the United States, and known as the Harter Act, whereby such clauses are declared null and void, and whereby any person contravening the said statute is liable to a penalty of 2,000 dollars.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) My attention has frequently been called to the insertion in bills of lading of clauses relieving shipowners in certain cases from liability in respect of goods carried on board their vessels. The question of such provisions being inserted in bills of lading seems to me to be one which should be settled between the parties interested, and I am not prepared to introduce legislation in the direction suggested.

Consumption of British and Foreign-made Cigarettes.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can estimate the consumption of cigarettes of British manufacture during the last financial year; and whether he can state the amount imported of foreign manufacture in the same period.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The quantity of foreign manufactured cigarettes imported into the United Kingdom in the financial year 1903-4 was 510,965 lbs. There are no means of estimating the consumption of cigarettes of British manufacture.

Yield of Taxes.

MR. TOULMIN (Bury, Lancashire): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state the details of the yield of indirect and direct taxes for the financial years 1893-4, 1898-9, and 1903-4; and if he will also state the yield of each tax

in the financial year 1903-4, if levied at the rate at which the respective taxes were levied in the financial year 1898-9.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

The figures asked for in the first part of the Question are as follows:—

	Revenue from Taxes.		Proportion per cent.	
	Indirect.	Direct.	Indirect.	Direct.
1893-4 . .	£ 45,790,000	£ 36,944,000	55·3	44·7
1898-9 . .	51,816,000	48,224,000	51·8	48·2
*1903-4 . .	64,233,000	62,862,000	50·5	49·5

It is impossible to state what would have been the yield of the different taxes levied in 1903-4 if they had been levied at the same rates as in 1898-9.

Tram Car Licences in Dublin.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will say whether in the proceeds of the carriage revenue in the Dublin metropolitan revenue for the year ending 31st March last, the tram licence duty is included in the amount of £1,040 for stage carriage licences.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Yes, Sir.

Army Regulations in Canada.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the fact stated by the Minister of Militia and Defence in the Dominion House of Commons on 17th March that the King's Regulations are part of the law of Canada, and to his proposals in the Militia Bill to replace that provision by Section 79, to the effect that the Army Act for the time being in force in the United Kingdom shall apply to all members of the Canadian Militia, not only on service but under drill or on ranges, or in armouries, or at parades even as spectators, he will offer to

provide the Dominion with annually printed copies of the Act at the charge of the Dominion.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*)

The Colonial Office send annually copies of all Imperial Acts to Canada as well as to all other colonies. Should additional copies of the Army Act be required, no doubt arrangements could be made for supplying them.

TRADE UNIONS AND TRADES DISPUTES BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

***MR. PAULTON** (Durham, Bishop Auckland), in moving the Second Reading, said he made no excuse for bringing the subject before the House. It was one of considerable importance to his constituents, a large mining and industrial community, whose industrial welfare was largely bound up in the strength and soundness of their trade union organisations. The position of those organisations had become so critical that the state of the law urgently demanded the attention of Parliament. Last year the Bill was opposed on the ground that a Royal Commission was not sitting; this year the primary objection would probably be taken that it was premature to deal with the subject because a Royal Commission was sitting. The political arena was blockaded with Royal Commissions;

* Based on Exchequer receipts, and excluding coal.

they were as thick as submarine mines at Port Arthur; and the ship of State could not move in any direction without knocking against one or other of them. There was always the hope that an explosion would shatter any project of legislation. Several Reports had been waited for and heard. A good many explosions had occurred amongst the vessels which the Government decked out so gaily at the general elections of 1895 and 1900. Old-age pensions had been blown sky-high; local taxation, temperance, Port of London, and other important matters were stranded on the mud banks; and even agriculture lay a helpless prey to undersized flat fish. If the Government had desired that this particular Royal Commission should carry due weight, they would have done well to appoint upon it some more direct representation of those most immediately concerned. But nobody believed that the Commission was appointed for the purpose of enabling the Government to deal with the subject by legislation. It was appointed as the result of a debate last year, and the suggestion of a Royal Commission possibly enabled certain Members to escape from the difficulty in which they found themselves. The position was sufficiently serious. The law on the questions of picketing and conspiracy was in a state of chaos, and the *status* of trade unions had been so profoundly affected by recent interpretations of the Courts that their very existence was threatened, if not endangered.

The object of the Bill was to restore the law to what Parliament deliberately intended it to be in 1875, and what it was understood to be prior to the decisions to which he had referred. The Bill laid down in plain and simple language the broad principle on which it was desired that the present law should be defined and amended, and it was with the broad principle alone the House was concerned on the Second Reading. As regarded picketing, he held that it was unwise and dangerous to disable workmen from using peaceful methods of conducting a strike effectively. It was a short-sighted and a one-sided policy to allow law to prohibit or hinder peaceful persuasion, as men were thereby almost incited to defy an unjust law and to

resort to methods of terrorism. He hated terrorism and desired to remove every inducement to make use of it. The law should be made equal as between man and man, employer and employed; and then workmen would be the first to support the enforcement of penalties and punishment upon those who broke it. In the present state of the law, no lawyer could define what would or would not constitute conspiracy. It almost appeared to be anything that a Judge disliked. There was nothing in the Bill to absolve a person from the consequences of a criminal act, or to prevent the police from dealing with disorderly conduct on the part either of individuals or of a crowd. Doubtless the judgment in the "*Quinn v. Leatham*" case would be quoted to the effect that many men might coerce where one could not, but to make numbers the test would strike at the very root of the right of combination. Trade unionists held the law to be unfair in that it afforded to employers in strikes and lock-outs rights which were denied to workmen. But the real crux of the matter lay in the pecuniary liability. The clause dealing with that point excited alarm and consternation in some quarters, and doubtless the Lord Chancellor would regard the mere proposal as an outrage for which perpetual imprisonment in the Clock Tower would be a mild and insufficient punishment; but as it merely sought to restore the law to what it was intended and believed to be, it was in the true sense of the word a conservative measure, and should be regarded by hon. Members opposite as such. Trade unions were now in danger of overwhelming attacks upon their funds, and that danger was welcomed by many who in their hearts would like to see trade unionism swept out of existence.

Some people were imbued with the delusion that trade union funds were for the most part employed in promoting or conducting strikes. That nothing could be farther from the truth was shown by the Board of Trade's Returns for the last available year, which set out that, taking 100 of the principal trade unions in the country, out of a total expenditure of £1,655,000, £1,072,000 was spent on benefit grants, payment of sickness, accident, superannuation allowances, funeral expenses, and unemployed relief; while not more than

Mr. Paulton.

one-sixteenth, or £200,000, was spent on disputes. These figures afforded the strongest argument, first against the notion that trade union funds were mainly used to promote strife; and, secondly, in favour of the demand for the safeguarding of their property. In opposing this Bill were hon. Members applying their doctrine of the rights of property quite fairly? He would not pause to ask whether this money was spent more for the moral, social, and material welfare of the nation than the £150,000,000 spent on drink; but hon. Members who were deaf to the demand for the safeguarding of trade union funds eagerly responded to the cry of the liquor trade for protection of their property and for the virtual endowment of a vast and wealthy monopoly. It might be said that the action of the Party to which he belonged was equally inconsistent in the two cases, but it should be remembered that whereas the Conservatives sought to uphold inequality of treatment in favour of the wealthier portion of the community, their opponents sought to lessen the inequality by affording just and reasonable safeguards to the property of workmen.

He hoped the rumour was true that the Government intended to leave the matter an open question. Trade unions and workmen sometimes did foolish things; so did Governments. But the fact had to be faced that organised labour was daily gaining more and more of the influence and political power to which it was justly entitled. Was it not better frankly to recognise that the best—indeed, the only—way to teach men the wise use of political power was to imbue them with a sense of responsibility? Would that he could adequately impress upon the House the fact that the first desire and the greatest interest of trade unions was the maintenance of industrial peace! He urged the House to entrust them with the duty of maintaining that peace, and to endeavour to remove any rankling feeling of injustice which at present existed. If that were done, all experience showed that the confidence would not be misplaced, and with that earnest conviction he begged to move the Second Reading of the Bill.

Mr. JOHNSON (Gateshead) in seconding the Motion, said the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland had exactly expressed the views of Labour Members, in repudiating the idea that the object of trade unions was to promote strikes. The great object of combination was to secure by reasonable and lawful means such a condition of existence for the workers as would conduce to a truly human life. This Bill was caused by the recent decisions of the Courts. He did not say that those decisions were not accurate, but trade unions undoubtedly believed there was a great difference between the findings of the Judges and the opinion of the workers, a fact which gave colour to the assertion that one's opinion did depend a great deal on the side of the shield from which one's observation was taken. The recent interpretation had had a detrimental, if not a destructive, effect on the whole character of the movement. It was all very well to say that strikes were legal, but if they were so hemmed in by restrictions as to be rendered abortive in effect, there was not much to be gained from such legality. Did the Government not realise that the interpretation which had been placed upon the law bore hardly upon the workmen? The Government appointed a Royal Commission and the hon. Member who had preceded him said it was a very convenient thing to appoint a Royal Commission because it was an easy way of shelving most urgent questions. As trade unionists they had refused to have anything to do with that Commission because of its composition. He did not impugn the intelligence or the honour of the gentlemen forming that Commission, but in order to secure the confidence of the workmen there should have been on that Commission a representative of the trade unions. Consequently trade unionists had refused absolutely to attend the inquiry.

He thought the House ought to be very chary of interfering with the usefulness of trade unions. Trade union funds were not subscribed mainly or chiefly for the purpose of trade disputes, but a great part was devoted to benevolent and other objects. He had the figures of 100 of the principal trade

unions from 1901. Their income that year was £2,061,501 and their expenditure £1,655,635. That was an enormous income and expenditure, but he asked the House to examine how that expenditure was made up. They paid to the unemployed £325,866; for sickness and accident £344,834; for superannuation benefits, £202,952; funeral benefits, £98,815; grants £99,805; and for working expenses £378,846. What he wished the House to note was that in that time for disputes there was paid £204,517 only, which clearly indicated to any reasonable man that the danger which many hon. Members entertained with respect to trade unions was absolutely fallacious when they considered their great benevolent objects and purposes. He would give a few figures of the society to which he belonged, which would show that they were not extravagant in their strike proclivities, but, on the contrary, took every precaution to see that their disputes were legitimate and legal. He was not going to repudiate strikes altogether, because he believed that there were times when an individual had to take off his coat to fight just as it was honourable sometimes to go to war, however much they might deplore it. As with individuals and with nations, there were times when men would strike before they would submit to dishonour, and strike with a vengeance, to maintain their rights and the rights of their fellows. So far as the responsible trade unions of this country were concerned, they were disposed to use every legitimate means in their power to settle grievances amicably rather than resort to strikes. Take, for example, the Durham Miners Association with which he was connected. For the year 1902-3 their income was £109,736. He would give a few of the items of expenditure. They paid for the death benefits £4,819; for sickness and accidents £40,015; breakage of machinery £1,049; and relief allowances for men out of work through depression of trade £5,935. What he wished to impress upon the House was that in that year, in face of all the danger apprehended by hon. Members of the House and by those outside the House, with respect to strikes and lock-outs they only paid for strikes £5 10s. He thought those figures were very con-

Mr. Johnson.

clusive, and therefore he asked the House to be very careful in its interference with trade unions, lest they destroyed their effective usefulness, not as a striking machine, but as an organisation to help their fellow workmen who were out of employment in order to keep them out of the workhouse. Trade unions existed largely for benevolent purposes, and by undue interference there was a danger that the House might destroy and frustrate their efforts and make it impossible for workmen to put their pence together to provide old-age and superannuation allowances for their declining years, in order that they might have an honourable old age, and look back upon their past life with the reflection of having done the best they could.

What did this Bill ask for? They asked to be placed upon an equality with the employers in regard to persuading men to abstain from working just the same as employers had the power to persuade men to work during a strike. He thought that was only fair. They were asking for nothing unreasonable. If there happened to be a strike they ought to have the same privilege as the employers, and when men came to a place where there was a strike they ought to have the privilege of indicating to them that they were doing a wrong thing by offering to take the places of the men on strike. He thought that was quite fair, because the employers had that privilege, whilst the workmen, if they assembled together, must not say anything, and yet the employers could go to the free-labour party and by persuasions and inducements get men to "blackleg" and take the place of the men on strike. That was not fair, for what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander. In Clause 2 they did not ask that the men should do a criminal act, but that they should have power to act in combination. The whole opposition to this Bill was that trade unions wanted to do something illegal and criminal. On behalf of trade unions he wished to say that they were men of honour and would deprecate most strongly any criminal acts, and they were not asking to have criminal acts legalised for the purpose of gaining their ends in a strike. They were claiming that if it was legitimate for one man to

do a certain thing it should be made legitimate for two or ten men to do the same thing, and he hoped the House of Commons would show its sense of justice to the workmen by giving them this opportunity of combining. The third clause sought to guard trades union funds. Because an indiscreet individual illegally gave a certain order in an impulsive manner, why should the whole trade union funds be liable and why should trade unions be mulcted in damages because of the foolishness of some rash individual? They were not afraid of being answerable for their acts in a proper, constitutional way, and he for one would be the last man in the world to give advice that would lead to a criminal breach of the law. He hoped the House would take into consideration the points he had indicated.

What were the objections which the owners had to this Bill? The primary objection was the fear of the power of the trade unions to combine. He had received an admonition from a gentleman in his district, who said—

“The effect of these alterations would be to enormously extend the powers of trade unions to interfere with the liberty of persons in the exercise of their legal rights, and would place these unions in a position to use such extended powers without responsibility for any evil consequences, or for the loss and damage caused to the business of the employers, or to those workpeople who may not be in agreement with the unions.”

That statement, in his judgment, ought not to have come from the district from which it emanated. He was very well acquainted with the district from which that document came, in the North of England, and he denied that they had ever taken a course of action officially that would make such a state of things possible. They had frequently done the opposite, for when the men had done anything illegal they had advised them to undo it. When a trade union broke the law and appealed to them for strike pay they refused to grant it, simply because they had taken an illegal course of action. The last objection he would deal with was that of intimidation. He would like to ask hon. Members who were the chief offenders under this head? Not the workmen. Workmen were human like other people, and might sometimes take rash courses of action which were to be

deprecatd, but nine-tenths of the intimidation came from the employers' side. He could give case after case where, not for peaceful persuasion of workmen to do a certain action in itself largely innocent, a workman and received his notice—ostensibly for that, though really because he was a member of a trade union. There were other cases in which men had been discharged because their children had left an employer for the purpose of bettering their condition elsewhere. He knew a case of a man who sent his boy to work in a co-operative society, having a desire to get him out of the pit. What did the manager of the colliery do? He did not go and peacefully persuade the father, but gave him notice and sent him about his business. Cases might be multiplied to any extent of the intolerance and intimidation practised upon workmen. He hoped the House would give the Bill a Second Reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Bill be now read a second time.”

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton), in moving the rejection of the Bill, said he was rather surprised at the observation made by the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland that this was a Bill to restore the law; it was a proposal, not to restore the law, but to very much alter it. He represented most of his friends on that side of the House when he said that there was not the slightest desire on their part to interfere with the usefulness of trade unions; their wish was to protect, as they believed the present law did protect, the property of the workmen, and to see that their property and the property of the rich were on the same basis and had the same protection; their desire was to uphold the law for they believed it protected the liberties of workmen. They believed also that it protected him in his home, on his way from his home to his work, and at his work. He disagreed with the hon. Member for Gateshead with regard to intimidation. Intimidation there might have been in bygone times, but he did not believe that, generally speaking, there was any intimidation now, nor did he believe there was any more intimidation on the part of masters than there was on the

part of trade unions. There might be faults on both sides, but it must have been an extreme case which the hon. Member for Gateshead referred to where a father got notice of dismissal when his son left the pit where he had been working. In his experience as an employer, and as a resident in a thickly populated part of Lancashire, he had never heard of a case like that, and he hoped there was no possibility of such a case arising. He did not at all dispute the word of the hon. Member, but he thought these were events of the past. There was no doubt that the present Act, passed in 1875, and called the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, had gone through the usual phases of an Act of Parliament, no doubt cases had been brought up and decided in the Law Courts in connection with it, and when a party in a case lost he was usually not satisfied and thought the law had been wrongly interpreted; but the question was whether the law was just, and whether the decisions were just, to the whole community.

The object of the present Bill was to alter the Act of 1875, to amend the law of conspiracy, and to protect the funds of trade unions from liability. Why was the Act of 1875 passed, and what was its purpose? Before it was passed strikes were conducted with a great deal of violence and disturbance, and there were a great many outrages. A Commission sat on the trade outrages at Sheffield which were notorious at the time, and it was in consequence of those riots and disorderly and unprincipled proceedings, and the way in which things were conducted, that this law was passed. But this state of things he hoped had passed for ever. The combination which brought about the strike in 1875 was illegal, and the Act of that year practically made it possible to strike legally. What was the difference between the law as it stood and the law as this Bill desired to alter it. The proposal in the present Bill was this—

“It shall be lawful for any person or persons acting either on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or other association of individuals, registered or unregistered, in contemplation of or during the continuance of any trade dispute, to attend for any of the following purposes at or near a house or place where a person

resides or works, or carries on his business, or happens to be—

“(1.) For the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information;

“(2.) For the purpose of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.”

It was at present illegal for a number of persons to attend at a colliery or workshop, or go to a man's house and intimidate him; but under this Bill it was very possible that in an exciting time a crowd of people might legally surround a man's house, and they all knew what pressure could be put on a man by a crowd. He instanced a case within his own knowledge where a number of men were terrorised. He knew trade unionists in their hearts and conscience did not think this a fair thing, and that it ought to come to an end, but probably it would be very difficult for them to stop, for under the new Bill it could be done legally. The Judges had given certain opinions on this question of peaceful picketing, and he would read the judgment of the Master of the Rolls in the case of “*Lyons v. Wilkins*.” He said—

“The truth was that to watch and beset a man's house with a view to compel him to do or not to do what it was lawful for him not to do or to do was wrongful and without lawful authority unless some reasonable justification for it was consistent with the evidence. Such conduct interfered with the ordinary comfort of human existence and the ordinary enjoyment of the house beset, and would support an action for nuisance at Common Law; and proof that the nuisance was for the purpose of peacefully persuading other people would afford no defence to such action. People might be peacefully persuaded, provided that the method employed to persuade was not a nuisance to other people. It was all very well to talk about peaceable persuasion, and to draw fine lines between persuasion and giving information. The line might be fine; but in this case there was no difficulty whatever in coming to the conclusion that what was done was watching and besetting, as distinguished from attending in order merely to obtain or communicate information.”

The difference between the old law and the proposed law was enormous. Picketing now could only be done by one man to obtain or give information; but under the proposed new law any number of men might gather, and peaceably persuade if they could. It also legalised not only a crowd round a man's dwelling house, but a crowd assembling before the gates of a colliery or a workshop. There was nothing, so far as he

Colonel Pilkington.

could see, to stop the Miners Federation, or the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, or the Railway Servants Society from doing this. It would be absolutely legal under the Bill to put a large crowd of people in any road leading to a workshop or a colliery. This was an alteration which he did not think ought to be made, and he wondered that the trade union leaders had brought in this clause. They had power, and he did not say they used that power badly—there were trade union leaders in the House of whom they were justly proud—but he did not think they required the overwhelming power which would be theirs if the Bill were passed. He hoped the House would not countenance any change in the law in regard to peaceful picketing. Judge after Judge and lawyer after lawyer had said that picketing, in the way it was generally done, was not legal, and he hoped the trade union leaders would not think of pressing this clause. He now came to Clause 2, which set forth that—

“An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do, or procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, shall not be ground for an action if such act when committed by one person would not be ground for an action.”

Well, if one person did a thing it might not amount to very much, but where a great number of persons gathered together to do the same thing it might form a strong conspiracy to injure industry and commerce; and this he considered very objectionable. An eminent Judge had said that numerous persons might annoy and coerce where one might not; and it seemed to him that the House ought to look carefully into this matter. He admitted the power of big battalions, but he did not think it was in the interest of such a country as this that the trade union leaders should rely upon physical force. They ought to rely on justice. Such large organisations as the Miners Federation, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and the Railway Servants Society were strong enough to effect anything they desired by legal means, and it seemed to him that, because they could not carry everything they wished, they ought not to desire to make themselves supreme. If this

Bill became law there would arise sooner or later a state of things under which it would be impossible for ordinary work to be carried on in ordinary places, and in all probability they would drive trade out of the country. He, and those who agreed with him, wanted to see things conducted decently and justly. They wanted room for both small and large employers and both small and large trade unions; but they did not want to have the trade of the country injured or almost stopped by the strong force of numbers. Did, he asked, the trade union leaders think it was in accordance with their dignity that a numerous, powerful, and intelligent body of men, having possession of very large funds, should shrink from the responsibility of their acts? Was it not a fact that all through the country corporations were liable for their servants? Every Member of Parliament was liable for the acts of his servants, and why should trade unions seek to screen themselves in such a way that they might organise and conduct a strike and never put their money in jeopardy in the slightest degree. He had been astonished that the trade union leaders refused to take full responsibility for what their members did. Was that English? Was it just? Was it right? He was certain that if they took full responsibility for their actions they would increase their dignity, power, and usefulness. He did not intend to quote any particular case, but he would just like to refer to that of “*Quinn v. Leatham*,” in which a man was ruined because a certain number of workmen took his willing workers from him and thereby destroyed his business. That was an exceptional case; but it was the cruel exceptions with which the law now dealt. Leatham got £200 damages, and something more; but very often thousands and thousands of pounds were wasted by these strikes. Men’s wages were lost, and the employer’s profits were dissipated. Why should not the trade unions be responsible before the Law Courts of the country for the action of their members and take the consequences? The Lord Chancellor had expressed the following opinion—

“If upon these facts so found the plaintiff could have no remedy against those who had thus injured him, it could hardly be said that

our jurisprudence was that of a civilised community."

The law as it stood declared that if there was intimidation and if men were forced to leave their employment and so ruin themselves and their employers, then those who caused it ought to pay for it. They would not have heard of this Bill, but for the case in which a railway company lost many thousands of pounds through a strike of their workmen, promoted by the Railway Servants Society. He was glad to see the hon. Member for Derby in his place. Every Member in the House respected him; but he was sure he would not make a mistake of a similar character in the future. When a great industry was attacked by the trade unions, the trade unions ought to be responsible for the consequences. Were the trade unions to be placed in a position beyond the law and more powerful than that of the Government itself? Such ought not to be the case; and he would be very much surprised indeed if the House passed the Second Reading of the Bill, which would favour the trade unions and put the liberty of everybody else—of all workmen who did not belong to trade unions and of some who did belong to them—in jeopardy. He maintained that, in the interest of the working men of the country, the House ought to stand between those men and the enormous and powerful combinations who wanted to interfere with them in a wrong way and prevent them from working. The trade unions had plenty of influence as it was, and if that influence was to be increased and all restraint swept aside, he would like to ask where the interests of industry and commerce would be? He had no objection to legitimate power being placed in the hands of trade union leaders and their societies, but they had to see that the liberties of the individual were not interfered with and injured. He begged the House of Commons to refuse the Second Reading of the Bill, and he accordingly moved that it should be read a second time that day six months.

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.) said he sympathised with the professed objects of the measure if it went no further than to protect the funds

Colonel Pilkington.

the trade unions, and in that case it would have had no warmer supporter in the House than himself. Some time ago he had an interview with a deputation of workmen in regard to this subject, and he offered to introduce a Bill, or to induce the Government to bring in a Bill, to protect trade union funds. That Bill proposed (1) that no action should lie against a trade union for damages in respect of any act done by a member of the society which should be in contravention of the rules of the society, provided that such rules had always been strictly enforced and any contravention of them had been followed by instant dismissal in the case of any official and permanent excluson from any of the benefits of the society or participation in any of its funds. (2) That in the case of a trade union having a separate fund for sick pay and old-age pensions, such fund should not be liable to any damage or costs which might be incurred by such society in connection with any trade dispute, provided that such fund were kept distinct from any other funds of the society and were confined entirely to provision for death, sick pay, and old-age pensions, and there was no power to apply it to any other purpose. (3) That no action should lie against any trade union for any act done in furtherance of any trade dispute for which an action would not lie against any combination of employers under like circumstances. The local trade union authorities having considered these proposals wrote to him that they contained the essence of all they required, and the gentleman who signed that letter said he had sent them on to the Executive Council for its consideration and opinion. He had, however, heard no more about it, and he presumed that it did not meet the views of the Executive Council. He submitted, however, that it fairly met every legitimate grievance; and he renewed his offer. He undertook to use his best endeavours to induce the Government to give facilities for it to pass or to take it up itself; and if the supporters of the Bill really wanted no more than protection for their trade fund, this surely was an effectual way of getting it, whereas their present proceedings would most certainly be ineffectual, at any rate for some time to come.

Whatever might be the result of the division, it was quite certain the Bill could not become law this session, and it was equally certain it would never become law without the assistance and support of some Government. He submitted that it was not only the duty of Parliament to protect the funds of trade unions, the right to strike, and to combine, but also to maintain the liberty of non-unionists in the country, who, after all, were the great majority of the working men. These men ought not to be compelled to join a strike against their will, and they ought not to be compelled to join a trade union if they did not wish to do so.

He characterised Clause 1 as unnecessary, because the present law provided that attending to communicate information was no offence, if one or two men called and tried to persuade there was no offence, but it was a different thing to watch and beset a man's house and make his life a burden to him. Clause 2 provided that whatever was lawful for one was lawful for a thousand.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): Will the hon. Member put it at a million at once?

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN retorted that they could put it at 10,000 if they liked. If 10,000 surrounded a man at his place without actual violence or even threat, no man dare oppose Lord Lindley, in the case of "*Quinn v. Leatham*," had said—

"Numbers may annoy and coerce where one may not. Annoyance and coercion by many may be so intolerable as to become actionable and produce a result which one alone could not produce."

The third clause was, he thought, a monstrous proposal. Trade unions had rights, held property, and were recognised by law, and surely it was fair that they should have some responsibility for the actions of their authorised agents. According to this clause, if it were passed into law, however violent an action might be, and though it might cause enormous loss to the employer and bring ruin on innocent persons who wanted to work, trades unions would be in no way liable. The hon. Gentleman who introduced the Bill said it would be amended in Com-

mittee, but he (Sir Alfred Hickman) could not believe the House would confirm the principle of such a proposal as this. It was absolutely objectionable and contrary to all propriety. He fully recognised the value of trade unions, not only for the protection of the men's interests, but also for the prevention of strikes by offering organised representation; but it was not good for anybody, even men of culture, such as the Labour Members in the House of Commons, to be entrusted with unlimited power without responsibility; and he strongly hoped the House would not leave the unorganised labour without protection.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months'."—(*Colonel Pilkington.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): By an ambiguity in our methods of procedure, a vote on the Second Reading of a private Member's Bill, especially if that Bill comes on somewhat late in the session, may be taken either to imply full assent to all the proposals in the Bill, or simply to be an abstract expression of opinion that the subject is one which deserves the attention of the House. I do not mean to raise any objection to any hon. Member who gives his support to the Second Reading of this Bill on the second of these grounds rather than the first; but, personally, I find myself precluded from taking that course. Of the general objects at which the Bill aims, as explained by the hon. Gentleman, I have no complaint to make. My difficulty is as to touching a question which will have effects far outside the apparently limited scope or intentions of those who have introduced the Bill, and to accepting those principles without a preliminary examination into one of the most complicated branches of our civil life. Last year I expressed opinions pretty much of the same character, and suggested that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the subject. Two criticisms have been passed on my

proceeding—in the first place, that it was intended, or possibly intended, to shelve the question for an indefinite period; and, in the second place, that it was not a Commission that had really earned the confidence of the trade unions, because there was no trade union member upon it. I think those two suggestions are inconsistent one with the other. I had two courses before me with regard to this question. I could either appoint a small Commission which would deal with relative rapidity with the subject, but could not profess to represent every interest, or I might have proceeded by the other method, more familiar to our practice, and have had a large Commission in which there should have been an attempt to represent different classes of employers and workmen, trade unionists from different parts of the country, and so forth. I chose the first, simply in order that the question might not be indefinitely shelved, and I chose it after having given full notice to the House as to the difficulty in which I felt myself as to these two alternatives, and after having made such investigations as I could into the views of Gentlemen on the other side. I am aware that an unfortunate result has been that the trade unions have refused to send representatives to give evidence before the Commission.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): And the textile employers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am very sorry that any class interested in this measure should have refused to support a Commission which I think its severest critics will admit was honestly appointed. I, personally, feel the question to be so difficult and delicate, and touching such great public interests at so many points, that it is impossible for me to support the Bill until I have the information which the Commission, hampered as it is, is qualified to render. I am sanguine enough to think that I could convince even those who most earnestly support the measure that my course in this respect is not unreasonable. The mover of the Second Reading drew a contrast which he supposed to exist between the procedure of the Government in regard to the liquor traffic

and my procedure in dealing with trade union funds and disputes. May I point out that my procedure has been the same in both cases? In both cases I think the House is more concerned with the broad aspects and the large equities of the subject than with the details of what the law is or is not rightly or wrongly supposed to be. And may I remind the House what are the broad aspects and equities of this Bill in which we are concerned to-day? The hon. Member for Gateshead—I am not sure whether it was his first speech in this House, but, in any case, it was a very admirable speech which has proved that we have in the House a valuable addition to the Labour Members, who have never, in my Parliamentary experience, lacked able representatives here, and have probably never been so well represented as they are at this moment—the hon. Member said the objection to this Bill arose from a fear of trade unions, and implied, I think, that it arose from a desire to support employers against trade unions. I assure the hon. Member that, so far as I am concerned, that is not the case. I am not an employer, but if I were, I think I should be able to look at the question in a broader spirit than that of my own personal interests as an employer.

Let us, then, consider what this Bill does and what are the arguments in its favour. The hon. Member for Gateshead asked whether it was not hard that union funds provided for purposes of old-age pensions, for the support of men who are out of work, and for other legitimate and laudable objects, should be liable to seizure because certain responsible officials of trade unions might have rendered themselves and their societies liable at law. In enforcing that argument he pointed out how very small a fraction of the total of the trade union funds was really used in these cases of disputes. He also said that he thought strikes a very great but, occasionally, a necessary evil, and compared them—and I think the comparison absolutely just—with national war, as being struggles on which no one willingly enters but into which every man who desires to preserve great interests must be prepared at times to enter. But I think the hon. Gentleman

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

failed to see that we ought eminently to strive for some solution of the difficulty which would only relieve what may be called the benefit-society portion of the funds from a charge that may be unexpectedly imposed upon it if, in a trade dispute, trade unions are guilty, as I dare say employers are sometimes guilty, of doing something beyond the law. The mere fact that these funds can be used, and are principally used, for benefit purposes is not of itself sufficient reason for saying that trade unions alone shall be exempted from the restrictions imposed on all corporations in the country.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs): Trade unions are not corporations.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am talking not law, but English.

SIR ROBERT REID: I think that is a perfectly gratuitous remark, and that my interjection has been very rudely received.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then I apologise—in the first place, because I do not wish to be rude to anybody, and, in the second, because the hon. Gentleman is the last man in the House to whom I should wish to be rude. I hope he is now satisfied. Do the trade union leaders, I would ask, really desire that their societies, even in so far as they are not benefit societies, should be placed in a position which no other society in the country occupies? I think they cannot help feeling that the matter requires much consideration before we can get over it, and that it is desirable to see whether we cannot, before deciding upon it, gain assistance from the gentlemen who are now considering the whole subject.

I now come to the question of conspiracy. The hon. Member for Gateshead really attacked the whole law as it has been conceived by British Judges. He asks whether it is not absurd that an act which is legal if done by one man should be illegal if done by more than one. I think if the act was actually the same in the case of the one man and the number of men an anomaly might really exist, but it may happen

that a thing done innocently by one man may become a source of terrorism if done by a sufficient number, and it is quite evident that this bold and simple abolition of the law of conspiracy could not be entertained in this House without careful consideration of it in all its bearings, and in regard not only to trade unionists but to all classes of society. That argument really covers all I have to say as to peaceful picketing. I can see no objection to peaceful persuasion if it is peaceful persuasion, but the difficulty is that, if too many people try peaceful persuasion at the same time, the persuasion may cease to be peaceful and may become a nuisance at Common Law. I will do the trade union leaders, in and out of this House, the justice to say that I do not believe they desire to terrorise any man. I believe their object is, honestly, peaceful persuasion, but are they sure that this Bill does not go much beyond peaceful persuasion in the true sense of the word? I greatly fear that the words, as they at present stand, would not carry out what I believe to be the objects of the promoters of the measure, and we have no evidence before us that other words can be found—or, at least, have yet been found—by legal ingenuity for preventing what might prove a serious interference with the liberty of the subject. I am convinced that on the whole the effect of trades union organisation has been beneficial, and that it has, in particular, diminished terrorism—I believe that unorganised labour disputes were far more prolific in deplorable scenes of terrorism than are the organised efforts made by able and responsible persons—but, while I gladly and most sincerely pay this tribute to the action of the trade unions, we must remember that, if we try to add to the power of any class in the community by the methods proposed by this Bill, we may seriously endanger that most valuable of our possessions—individual liberty.

In passing a Bill of this kind we have not to consider in the first place the interests of employers or of workmen, or the merits or demerits of trade union action—we have to consider the interests of society as a whole; and I would earnestly beg the House, in any effort

it may seriously make to reform the existing law as to trade unions and trade disputes, to remember the higher responsibility which is cast upon it—one far exceeding any that may exist in regard to any particular body or occupation. It is because I am not able to see my way, in the absence of such assistance as might have been derived from the Commission appointed last year, to any solution of these evils, and because I see in the actual provisions of the Bill great risk that the broad principles of law applicable to all classes and interests may be abrogated by this measure, and because the liberty of individual citizens may be interfered with, that I think the Bill is not likely to carry out the objects that the trade union leaders have in their minds, and cannot give it my support.

SIR ROBERT REID said he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had said that he did not propose to ask Ministerial Members to vote one way or the other in regard to the Second Reading of the Bill. He had asked them to wait for the Report of the Commission, but he (the speaker) believed that the trades unions were not satisfied with the composition of that Commission, and, believing themselves inadequately represented, had not offered evidence before it. With regard to the merits of the Bill, the first clause proposed to legalise peaceful picketing—that was to say, peaceful persuasion. The Prime Minister had said with truth that peaceful persuasion might end in persuasion which was not peaceful, but non-peaceful persuasion would not be legalised by the Bill, and, if there was any apprehension that the wording was too general, he thought no objection would be raised to the insertion of words which would make it more definite that actual peaceful picketing alone must be practised. As to the second clause, that had been rendered necessary because the law had become absolutely unintelligible. According to the Judges, any combination of persons which had the effect of injuring men in their trade was indictable and subject to action unless it was done with justification or with lawful excuse. The question, however, was — what was justification and lawful excuse?

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

The Judges indicated apparently that a definition was impossible; and really the interpretation was left to the sweet will of the Judges themselves. He had no doubt that they would endeavour to do their duty honourably and impartially, but it was quite indefensible to leave to the Judges that which ought to be determined by Parliament. The law was not in effect, though it doubtless was in intention, the same for employers as for workmen in the matter of conspiracy. Last year the present Colonial Secretary took the Mogul and another case, pointed out the impossibility of reconciling the two cases, and admitted that what was held to be lawful on the part of employers in the Mogul case was held to be unlawful and punishable on the part of the workmen in the other.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR made an observation which was inaudible in the Press Gallery.

SIR ROBERT REID said he could not give a satisfactory answer to the Prime Minister without engaging him in a conversation of at least half-an-hour's duration. It was the most complicated and difficult subject that could be imagined. There were many points in the Mogul case connected with the action of the employers which he thought might fairly be made amenable to the law. Under these circumstances, what was done in the Bill? The promoters had adopted the language now on the Statute-book as applicable to criminal conspiracy, the only difference being that it also applied to actions at law. The words of the clause would be found in the Act of 1875 relating to criminal conspiracy, though it was true that certain exceptions were there enumerated; but he had no doubt that if any language could be found having a similar effect in actions at law there would be no difficulty about its acceptance, if necessary, to prevent injustice. He submitted that it was right that these things should be looked squarely in the face, and the real history of the matter examined. It was not a sufficient answer to refer to certain abominable and wicked acts of forty or fifty years ago. If punishment were not provided both civilly and criminally for acts of that

kind he would be the first to speak and vote in favour of an amendment of the law to meet the need. But there had never been any great social struggle, such as that of the trade unions to secure emancipation, which had not been attended by scenes of disorder and even of bloodshed, compared with which the earliest and most blameworthy instances of misconduct on the part of persons connected with trade unions were simply trifling.

COLONEL PILKINGTON explained that he made the reference merely to show that the Act of 1875 was the result of a long period of difficulty.

SIR ROBERT REID said that one had to look at things as they were, and his opinion was that the bringing of trade unions within the pale of the law had been productive, not of disorder, but of order.

The third clause relating to the protection of trade union funds was probably the most disputable of the whole Bill. It should be admitted at once that this clause proposed that where a number of individual members of a trade union had broken the law in the conduct of a strike, the collective funds of the union should not be liable for damages. At first blush, that seemed to offend against one's idea of justice, but second thoughts were sometimes best. What was the history of the matter? Before 1871, strikes were unlawful as well as picketing, and trade unions were not lawful, on the ground that they were in restraint of trade. The result was that, being unlawful associations, the trade unions had no power to protect their own property and were liable to be plundered at will. But, although pillaged in secret and persecuted openly, they staunchly stuck to their guns; the struggle on the part of the workmen for the right of combination never diminished, and at last the workmen were successful in checking employers in acts of oppression which were admittedly common at that time. The unions built up their funds for benefit and superannuation purposes in order to make the hard lot of their members easier; and at last, as always happened in this country, the sense of justice of

the community revolted against treating trade unions in the way they had hitherto been treated. It was next considered whether the unions should have the rights and the liabilities of a corporate society, and Parliament, after full consideration, determined not to confer those rights. Had that full *status* been given, the Courts would have been liable and bound to interpose at every stage, and hence, Parliament did something short of that—they legalised trade unions, stating at the same time that no remedy at law should exist for the benefits claimed. No trade union could be registered as a company or as a benefit or industrial society. In other words, the anomalous position of 1871 was created of set purpose for a good reason. This view was so strongly held, not only by the public, but also by lawyers, that in 1900, in the Taff Vale Railway case, the Court of Appeal held as a matter of law that trade unions could not be sued, and that their funds were not liable. In the belief that they were secure, people contributed very largely to the benefit funds, with the result that a great system of mutual relief had been built up. Then in 1901 the bombshell burst, and the House of Lords decided that the funds of trade unions were liable to actions at the suit of employers for damages arising from strikes. He was not saying a word against the Law Lords who came to that decision; they were extremely fine lawyers, and for them he had the greatest possible respect. But the interpretation they had given was not the intention of the law, and the object of the present Bill was simply to restore the law to what it was intended and believed to be until the House of Lords gave its fatal and unfortunate decision—that was, to the position in which it was laid down by the Court of Appeal in 1900.

The House had to consider what was the fair and right thing to do. In the belief to which he had referred the movement had gone on for thirty years, and immense funds had been contributed. The system had worked extremely well. All sorts of complaints had been made, but during the whole period he had never heard it made a subject of complaint that trade union

funds were not accessible, or the claim made that they should be rendered accessible. Would it not be well, therefore, to leave things alone? Why not let it be discussed in Committee whether or not this clause restored the *status quo ante*? Apart from that, if it was *res intacta*, was it right or fair that trade unions should be exposed to the risk now demanded of them? He thought not. Trade unions were to be liable for the acts of their agents. But who were their agents? An employer of labour or the owner of a house had servants with defined duties, but in the case of a strike every man who took an active interest was, in the eye of the law, to be treated as an agent of the trade union. Stray members over whom the union had no control whatever might be guilty of illegal acts, and thus render the funds of the union liable for the whole consequences of the strike. It had been suggested that instead of the sweeping language of the third clause there should be a reference to "acts authorised by the managing committee." Such a provision, however, would be futile, as the managing committee never authorised these things. As to the suggestion of the Prime Minister that the benefit funds should be separated from the other funds, by all means let it be tried, but even then the law would have to be altered, because by the decision of the House of Lords all the funds were liable. If the right hon. Gentleman meant that he would protect the benefit funds, it would be interesting to see the clause by which it was proposed to confer such protection. The Prime Minister might not be aware that that point was considered by the Royal Commission of 1879, who came to the conclusion that the proposal was impracticable. Trade union funds ought not, especially under the circumstances in which they were collected, to be dissipated. His own conviction was that Parliament would have to do one of two things: either they must leave the law as it stood, with all its consequent injustice, or they must alter it in the only way in which they would find, on reflection, it could be altered—viz., in the direction of restoring the old *status*, which had worked well and about which there had been no complaint. The matter was really ripe for de-

Sir Robert Reid.

cision, and he hoped the House would not allow itself to be influenced by the dilatory suggestions of Royal Commissions.

Mr. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said that so far as general matters were concerned in connection with this Bill, he found himself in agreement with what had been stated on general grounds on both sides of the House. Nobody on that side of the House would take up any antagonistic attitude to trade unions, or to the trade union movement, and he might illustrate that argument by stating that the most important Act which legalised the action of trades unions was the Act of 1875, which was passed by the Conservative Party. He did not think that questions of general sympathy with trade unions ought to be looked upon as a Party matter between the two sides of the House. If this Bill in any sense carried out what was suggested by the mover and seconder, he should not find himself in opposition to it at the present moment. The mover of this Bill said his desire was to restore the law as laid down in the Act of 1875. If that was the only effect of this Bill, or if it could be made in Committee to have only that effect, he certainly should not oppose it. But in his view it sought radically to alter that law, and to alter it in a way inconsistent with what the Prime Minister said were the claims of individual liberty and freedom, and he based his opposition to the Bill on that belief. He would give the maximum possible amount of freedom and liberty to the action of trade unions and to the use of their funds, subject to this limitation—that they must not press that freedom and liberty to the extent of interfering with the claims of other persons to the same freedom and liberty. The real test was, how could they best get a maximum of liberty either as regarded individuals or combinations. Every person was entitled to do what he liked with a due regard to the rights of others, and there the law must step in, otherwise they would have license instead of liberty and a system which would interfere with all members of society. With those limitations he would like to examine very shortly what the proposals of this Bill were, and to consider how far they were really likely

to conduce to a better system of freedom and liberty; or whether they were likely in their present form to interfere with that individual freedom and liberty which the Prime Minister had referred to.

The first section of the Bill purported to deal with two matters. He wished to make this statement, that for a very long period in this country, long before even the Act of 1871 or 1875, peaceful picketing was lawful, and had been recognised as lawful by the Courts of this country. What was meant by "peaceful picketing" in the sense in which it was decided by Mr. Russell Gurney, who was at that time the Recorder of London? His decision was adopted by Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary in 1875, and that statesman attached so much importance to it that the decision was printed and sent round to the magistrates in order that they might see what the view of the Home Office was. What he laid down was that trade unions were entitled to picket in a peaceful way, without using intimidation or molestation, provided they did not interfere with the legitimate or proper rights of any other third party. But, as he read Clause 1 of the Bill, trade unions desired to have a power of picketing which would allow them to infringe the legitimate rights of others and take away any legal remedy which those other people had at the present moment. The moment they came to define "peaceful picketing" in that sense, then he said the law ought to be maintained in its present form, and any change in the law in the direction proposed by the Bill was not in the direction of freedom and liberty, but in violation of those principles on which freedom and liberty really depended. This same view was taken in regard to a similar clause in the Bill of last year by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife, who was a great authority on subjects of this kind. He pointed out that really the only difference between a clause of this kind and the existing law was that a clause in this form did allow interference with the rights of others, whereas the existing law allowed peaceful picketing subject to the due limitations laid down by Mr. Russell Gurney. One did not attribute to trade unionists anything but ordinary human nature. He did not attribute to them a double dose of original

sin, but at the same time he did not attribute to them a double dose of original virtue. He thought they should be dealt with as all other persons were dealt with, and it was their duty to see that they observed the law as other people did in their ordinary daily life. But, as he read Clause 1 of the Bill, trade unions desired to have a power of picketing which would allow them to infringe the legitimate rights of others and take away any legal remedy which those other people had at the present moment. He said most distinctly that as the Bill stood it would sanction what had been called a nuisance of that kind. If it did not, then the clause was merely a recognition of the existing law, and was not necessary. He did not wish to go into matters of controversy, but if any hon. Member opposite could show that Clause 1 was limited in that sense he would for his part withdraw his objection to it. He did not think it could be so limited. He had no hesitation in saying that peaceful picketing in the true sense of the term was not only allowable now, but had been allowable for the last half century or more in regard to trade disputes.

He now came to Clause 2. It was extremely important to see what it really meant, and in order that he might emphasise his view of it he would refer to a passage in a speech made last year by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire, who was a great authority on topics of this kind. In that speech he said that what might be a peaceful act when done by an individual might not be when committed by a multitude. They were not discussing what was a multitude at the present time, but that, to his mind, was the whole basis of the civil law of conspiracy as apart from any question of criminality. If it was true that certain acts done by an individual were not harmful, whereas the same acts done by a number or a multitude—he used the expression of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire—such acts became a menace to social liberty and social life of the most stringent kind that could be brought to bear. He thought that combinations ought to have the same rights as individuals, but what was sought to

be sanctioned here? In the case of a strike—he did not say connected with matters of violence, but connected with matters of strong feeling; he did not find any fault with strong feeling in matters of this kind—there might be a multitude who in terms used peaceful persuasion, and did not use molestation, or obstruction, or force, or anything of that kind, but was it conceivable that under the circumstances they did not coerce individuals who, apart from that, would take some other course? That was the question he should like to ask the hon. Gentlemen who represented trade unionism in this House. If they did not seek to interfere with the individual liberty of other workmen, they had the power they wanted under the law as it stood at the present moment and without any addition. The amendment proposed by Clause 2, that an act done by two or more persons should not be ground for an action if such an act when committed by one person would not be ground for an action, would give them that coercive and tyrannous power which was inconsistent with the ordinary notions of freedom and liberty. He thought the hon. Members would be the last to assent to that when they appreciated the true meaning of the proposal.

With regard to the funds, he thought it was exceedingly hard that a sick and provident fund should be liable in actions such as the Taff Vale case. But the trade unions had the remedy in their own hands and no legislation was necessary to achieve it. He was certainly not prepared to relieve from the ordinary law as to damage and liability funds used for strike purposes. If funds were so used, they and those who used them must be subject to the ordinary law as to damage. He did not think that any legislation was necessary on this matter. It was perfectly easy to have a remedy under the existing conditions. Let the trade unions separate the strike fund from the benefit and sick fund. Let them put the benefit and sick fund under the conditions of a proper trust, and then he was perfectly certain that, as regarded any liability in such a decision as the Taff Vale case, that fund would be entirely outside and could not be touched at all. Surely that was the proper remedy. He should like to ask the trade unions

Mr Cripps,

leaders why it was that they wished to mix up all these funds. If they did, although he was exceedingly sorry in regard to the sick and provident funds, there was no alternative except the taking of the whole of the funds. They could put it right to-morrow if they liked. They had only to consult any lawyer and get the sick and provident funds put under a proper trust. These funds if separated from the rest would not be liable to the extent of a farthing under the conditions of the Taff Vale decision. Again, he should like to ask the trade union leaders in this House what objection they had to a simple remedy of that sort. He did not believe they would get, nor did he think they ought to have a remedy in the wider form. It could not be suggested that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife was an enemy of trade unions or that he was hostile to trades union leaders. He was struck by an expression used by the right hon. Gentleman last session. He said he was against asking Parliament to lay down a principle that large trade organisations, possessing large funds, and directed by a controlling authority, should not be responsible for unlawful acts shown to be committed by their agents within the scope of their power. Was that not right? Let them not use the words trade unions at all. He did not wish to apply any different law or principle in their case to that which should be applied in the case of others. Take the case of a large association controlled by authority, possessed of large funds, and doing injury or damage for which some one was justly entitled to recompense. Would anyone in those circumstances say that the organisation should be relieved from responsibility for the acts which were done under the tutelage of its own agents? He did not believe that Parliament would ever assent to a principle of that sort. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife was quite right in what he said.

Let them see what would happen if, in regard to combinations generally, they were allowed to do any injury they liked to individuals—injuries which eventuated in legal damage. If that were allowed they would have a

most monstrous system of tyranny in this country. They would have an irresponsible *imperium in imperio* in this country of the worst kind. They must recollect that in dealing with these great questions the danger at the present day was not only one connected with the combination of workmen. At least he did not think it was so in this country. The danger was also from capital which formed so large a part in their industrial life. He did not say that there should be no trust or combination of that sort. That would be going too far, but if all these large bodies and associations were by that means to get large and extraordinary powers it would be better to exempt them altogether from liability. He could not imagine anyone getting up in this House and stating a principle of that kind as one which ought to receive general acceptance with regard to combinations and centralised authority. As a matter of justice and of principle, they ought not to allow bodies like trade unions to have a power of doing injury without giving the person injured the ordinary remedy against any funds under the manipulation and control of such a combination. He did not think there should be any change in the law, but he did think there was need for definition. There was a need for putting matters of the sort they were discussing in as definite a way as possible in order to avoid those varieties of opinion which necessarily arose either as regarded Judges or juries, but he could not agree that this Bill was the proper method of arriving at that result. It was a great mistake, in his opinion, when they had a chance of dealing definitely and finally with this matter, that they should attempt to hurry legislation which could not possibly be effective and which could only serve an electioneering purpose on the one side or the other. That seemed to him to be the case when a Bill of this character was introduced by a private Member at this time of the session. Of course, it could not go further without the assistance of the Government. The Prime Minister had laid down most distinctly that this question could not, legitimately, be pushed further until they got the Report of the Royal Commission. He

should vote against the Bill in its present form, because he believed it afforded opportunities of tyranny and injustice, and that the law as it stood, if properly defined and administered, would give perfect freedom and liberty to the combinations on the one side, and protect the freedom and liberty of the individual on the other side.

*MR. BELL (Derby) said that as a layman he had a big position to fill in following such an expert lawyer as the last speaker. He would, however, endeavour to answer a few of the questions put to the trade union leaders and to his friends on that side of the House, and also some of the criticisms and observations made by the mover and seconder of the Amendment. After all that had been said he had yet to learn that those who had spoken against the Bill and in favour of its rejection had actually realised what was asked for. The trade unions of this country had existed for thirty years prior to the judgment given by the House of Lords and they never heard of the great ruination, the great tyranny and oppression, to which the hon. Members had referred. No effort was made in this House, or out of it, to bring about legislation by which that ruination of industry and commerce would be put an end to. So far as he knew the hon. Members who moved and seconded the rejection of the Bill were very successful employers of labour, and during the thirty years of this great tyranny of trade unionism they seemed to have flourished very satisfactorily indeed. He expected to hear from them as employers of labour on a very large scale, some concrete cases of the injustices that trade unions had committed on them as employers, but not a single concrete case had been adduced during the whole of the arguments that afternoon to justify the rejection of the Bill. On the contrary, all that he had heard was theoretical. The arguments put forward by the Mine-owners Association were arguments to show that if this Bill were passed into law, industries would almost have to close down, and that the measure would encourage tyranny on the part of the trade unions. He denied that it would do anything of the kind. They asked for no such liberty. During the thirty years that trade unions had

been in existence some of them, more or less, had unfortunately been compelled to take part in strikes and disputes. He regarded a strike in labour or industrial matters as something equally as deplorable as war in national affairs. He gathered from what was said by the hon. Members who moved and seconded the Amendment—and he knew that others agreed with them in their opinion—that they cherished trade unions as long as they put gloves on their hands when fighting. They were not there to-day to consider whether a strike was evil or good, but to regard it as they did a war. When they were obliged, in the interest of the nation, to go to war, they did not take away the guns and armaments from the soldiers.

There was no use in having trade unions under the present conditions, because they were absolutely of no good. They were not trade unions, they had simply been reduced to, and their proper title should be, friendly societies. And why? Not because they desired any special legislation or any additional powers to those which they believed they enjoyed, at any rate, up to 1900. They were simply asking to be put in the same position as they were in until the judgment of the House of Lords upset them. There were regrettable acts committed by individuals during the course of disputes. Unfortunately, he knew scores of them. What was the result? That those who committed offences against the law—that those who committed criminal acts during the progress of a strike had invariably been tried before a magistrate, and where the offences had been proved against them they had been imprisoned. The trade unions did not seek any relief from that now. They wanted to allow that matter to remain as it was now. He remembered that in 1898 there was a great dispute in South Wales between the miners and their employers. On that occasion the employers locked out the miners. It was not really a strike of workmen against employers, but of employers against workmen. The workmen were out for something like six months. He did not hear any sympathetic remarks such as the hon. Member who moved the Amendment made about

Mr. Bell.

the wives and children of the working men who suffered in consequence of the employers having locked out the men on that occasion. They cared little what became of the wives and children at that time. [Cries of dissent.] The locking out of the men was part of the warfare. He was not complaining about it. The hon. Member raised this question to suit his purpose, and he was only putting the converse side. David Morgan, a miners' agent, who was responsible for a large number of men in the Aberdare district of South Wales, and who had since then passed away, committed, or, at any rate, was alleged to have committed, some offence against the law. It was intimidation or coercion against those who did not come out on strike. The case was taken to the assizes, and David Morgan was sent to prison for two months. They did not in this Bill seek relief in that matter. If the agent of a union, be he general secretary or any other man, was silly enough, and fool enough, to do acts which were contrary to common sense and reason and which were breaches of the criminal law, let him answer for his own action, and if imprisonment should be the penalty let it be inflicted. What they objected to was that any individual, acting in his own capacity, should incriminate an organisation and endanger the funds by acts for which they claimed that their organisation was in no way responsible.

The hon. Member for the Stretford Division put several questions to their side of the House, and said, with respect to one of them, that if he got a satisfactory reply he would support the Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman wanted to know what they were really aiming at. He ventured to say (and he was speaking the sentiment of every one of the trades unions in the United Kingdom) that they sought nothing more nor less than the position they believed they were in during the thirty years preceding the Taff Vale judgment. In referring to peaceful picketing, some hon. Members seemed to put a sarcastic emphasis on the word "peaceful." What they meant by "peaceful picketing" was that they claimed the same right to persuade men not to work for an employer as the employer enjoyed to persuade non-union

men to work for him, and to think that they would be better off outside a union than by being members of it. There was really no harm in that. They regretted that such influences should be used, but, on the other hand, if union men used similar influences to get men to join the union they claimed that they should have the absolute right and liberty to do so. In the case of a dispute between a body of workmen and their employer it seemed to have been forgotten in the debate up to now that the employer was a combination in himself. The difficulty of putting a workman on an equal basis with his employer was that one workman was not equal to his employer, and that if two or more workmen combined together to do a certain thing it was conspiracy. The employer could do the same thing as the workman desired to do, but in his case it was not conspiracy because he was an employer. They were not on an equality there. What they had to consider was not what the hon. and learned Member for Stretford said was the law, but what they found defined as the law by the Judges. That was the reason why they came to the House to have it declared that the law was what he said it was, and what they believed it was until the House of Lords' decision in 1901. Since then three or four more Judges had given decisions at other Courts. The Judges themselves did not know what the law was, because they varied in their judgments, and the Court of Appeal varied from them, and kept on altering and reversing the judgments in the Courts below.

The hon. Member who seconded the Amendment spoke of the possibility of a thousand men besetting a man's house. He had never seen a thousand, or even a hundred, men besetting a man's house, and it was not fair for the hon. Member to exaggerate the matter in that way. But if two or three men went to a workman to convey information that a dispute existed for certain reasons, and endeavoured to persuade him not to work for an employer under the circumstances when men were on strike, they claimed the right and liberty to do that. The employer, through his agents, went to workmen and tried to persuade them by

all sorts of arguments, and not only by arguments, but by drink and bribery and all sorts of things. He was speaking now from experience. He happened unfortunately to be connected with the Taff Vale case, and hence he knew what took place on both sides. In order to get workmen in that instance the employers through an agent paid so much per head for men obtained to work for them. The men were collected at prison gates and public-house corners to take the place of men on strike and they were brought down to Cardiff in saloon carriages on the Great Western Railway. The agent who did this was not in the employ of the Taff Vale Company; he was an outsider; he was simply an agent of the Free Labour Association. What was the result? These men having been collected through bribery, drink, and money payments, and their fares having been paid to Cardiff, he himself met them at Cardiff station. He met these thirty men and told them what the strike was for, and he did peacefully persuade them not to work for the Taff Vale Company. That he claimed he had a right to do, and he also paid their fares back. Whatever the law might be, they understood they would not be interfered with if they peacefully persuaded the men. It had been done before with no such consequences as had followed the Taff Vale case. He maintained on behalf of trade unionists the right to fight their battles in a similar manner to that which the employers adopted without creating any offence against the criminal law. How could a law which forbade such action on one side only, be just? There was a very strong feeling among the working men on this question. Depend upon it they were not going to lose £45,000 or £95,000 for maintaining the right to follow the course which the employers did. The South Wales miners stop-day action was another illustration of the inequality of the law. It had been the custom for many years for the employers, when they thought the prices were likely to go down, to close the pits for a few days, without notice to their workmen, in order to restrict the output, thereby inflicting hardship on the workmen. On the other hand, the workmen, when their wages were going down, adopted the employers'

practice and stopped work for a few days, yet they were mulcted in damages for so doing. Would any hon. Member get up and say that the Miners Federation should be mulcted in damages for doing what the employers had done themselves? He held that what was asked for in this Bill was not unfair, and only what was already enjoyed by the employers.

He wished to say a word in regard to the mixing up of funds. The trade unions of the country had gradually built up their funds, and some of them had accumulated very largesums indeed for benefit purposes. If the trade unions had known in 1871, or 1876, what the position of the law would eventually become, the large benefit funds would not have been attached to the unions at all, and he was inclined to believe that if those funds were not attached to the unions, they might be more aggressive than at the present time. He knew that many men who subscribed to these funds were most careful that the unions should not embark in disputes that could be avoided, and which would lead to the funds being spent. They were looking forward to their old-age pensions. He was positive that if the trade union funds had been disassociated from the benefit funds, there would not have been the practical industrial peace experienced during the last thirty years. He hoped that the Second Reading of the Bill would be passed. Everyone who had spoken against the Bill seemed to argue that they wished to encourage trade unions except when they wanted to do anything wrong. Trade unions, and those responsible for them, desired nothing but what was right and equitable. When the Licensing Bill was introduced the other day the Home Secretary gave as one of the reasons for the Bill that, although according to the strict letter of the law licences were held for one year only, by long custom and by a practice of long standing in course of time security of renewal came to be recognised. He would adopt the same argument in support of the present Bill. For thirty years trade unionists understood that they were free from any liability for the action of individual members. It now turned out that that was not so, and what they asked was that they should be allowed to resume the position which

Mr. Bell.

they believed they were in up to December, 1901. No one in the House had any reason to fear that trade unions were going to do the evil things suggested of them. He was happy to say that industries had prospered during these thirty years; people had got much richer; and the trade unions had helped in that direction. There was a growing feeling among the workmen of the country about the manner in which every tort was dealt with. If the strong feeling entertained by trade unionists was to be bottled up by the law as now interpreted, they might be driven to secret work and resort to processes not unknown previous to 1870. Again he hoped the House would give a Second Reading to this Bill. All they wanted was to be liberated from the liability under criminal law for the acts of individuals, and they asked for nothing more than that everyone should be responsible for his own act.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said that his position in regard to trade unions had always been friendly; but he had some difficulty in approaching the consideration of this Bill, because its provisions differed so much from the professions of those who had introduced and supported it. It was true that promises had been given to make changes in the Bill at some future stage if the Second Reading was passed; but as these offers were indefinite and binding on no one, the House was obliged to take the Bill as it stood. His hon. friend had said that the Bill would create a great deal of tyranny and injustice. Most likely that was the case, for his hon. friend was a great authority on unions; but even if that were not so, he found himself faced by another difficulty. It seemed to him that the Bill proposed to confer on certain classes—not trade unionists alone—privileges which were not granted to other sections of His Majesty's subjects. These privileges might be odiously exercised in order to inflict damage on other sections of the people. It would give to trade unions and to employers' associations alike the power to collect crowds to effect their objects, and thus to poison the wells of argument and persuasion by means which were now condemned by law. He had the gravest doubt whether the privileges proposed to be given by Clause 1 were

really desired by the rank and file of trade unions. His chief objection to the Bill was that it would place the provident funds of trade unions in the greatest jeopardy; for, if the restraining influence of the Taff Vale decision on the action of the unions were removed, the temptation to spend these funds on objects for which they were not intended would be tremendous.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said that, as one of the fifty Nationalist Members who had crossed from Ireland the previous night to support the Bill, he desired to say that the Irish trade unions and organisations had suffered in their industrial disputes from the law on workmen's organisations as recently defined by the Judges. But the effect of these judgments had not been confined in Ireland to trade disputes alone. In analogous disputes between landlord and tenant, they, in Ireland, had suffered a greater injustice than the trade unions of England had suffered through the Taff Vale decision. Speeches delivered on the other side of the House showed that no one had the courage to oppose the Bill on principle; and it seemed to him that those who voted against the Second Reading would be contradicting their own speeches. The arguments for the Bill could be very briefly put. Thirty years ago three things were legalised after a desperate fight between employers and workmen. The first was peaceful persuasion; second, that two or more persons might combine to do, or procure to have done, an act which would be no ground for action if done by one person; and third, the funds of trades unions and organisations were most carefully protected. Now, every one of these things which for thirty years they understood to be legalised had been repealed or taken away by the Judges. This Bill would reinstate the old state of things, and tell the Judges that they were wrong. The only objection he had heard to the principle of the Bill was that the whole matter was now under consideration by a Royal Commission. He wished to speak frankly and fairly the feelings of his constituency on this matter. It was the deliberate opinion of the working classes in his constituency that they might as well expect a just and true

finding from the Royal Commission as a just and true verdict from a packed jury. He believed that the Royal Commission was of no use, except for the purpose of obscuring the issues.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) expressed the hope that the House would not resent his taking part in this discussion. Although he had not ventured to intervene in previous discussions on this question during the present Parliament, he had been forced by the interests of his constituency to pay the closest attention to the debate and do his best to study the question. It appeared to him that there were two questions before the House, both important, both controversial, and each distinct from the other. There was the question of object and the question of method. So far as he could see, the object which the mover of this Bill had in view was to restore the trade unions to the position they occupied before the law in the quarter of a century which had followed the legislation of 1875; and, that being so, he intended to vote for its Second Reading. He was unable to pronounce whether the provisions of the Bill would achieve the object its promoters had in view; whether it would fall short of that object or overshoot it. The Government could have drafted a better Bill, perhaps, but they had shown no desire to move in the matter. If after the debate upon this question last year the Prime Minister had called together a small informal judicial expert Committee to examine into the state of the law, and advise the Government with regard to it, and as to some effective legislation, the House might to-day have been discussing a better Bill than this; a Bill backed by all the authority of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman, however, decided otherwise and appointed a Commission, which, after tiding over the Parliamentary exigencies for the time being, had had the effect of hanging up the whole matter indefinitely. The Commission which had been formed to examine into the state of trade union law was not a Commission of action but of delay, and he did not wonder that the trade union leaders had declined to have anything to do

with a body which was destined to stave off this matter indefinitely. In the absence of any practical proposals on the part of the Government, and the absence of any desire on their part to make any practical proposals, those who believed there was reason and force in the arguments of trade unions in this matter were forced to take this opportunity to affirm the legislation of 1875, and their desire to place the trade unions in their old position.

He admitted it was difficult to find a logical reason for relieving trade unions of their responsibilities and leaving them their power, and, after all, if they followed out the line of logical argument it led to the conclusion that the responsibility should be with the power. But if there was no logical argument in its favour there was the practical answer that for twenty-five years this illogicalness was the law of the land, and nobody suggested that it ever did any harm. The law of 1875, which amended the legislation of 1871, was the charter of the trade unions. That law was the work of a Tory Government; it was introduced by so good a Tory as Lord Cross, had the *imprimatur* of Disraeli, and was one of the great agencies by which what was called the Tory democracy had been built up in this country. The Tory Party then was less a manufacturers' party than it was now, but legislation was changed by that Act. Under it trade unions obtained great power; under it they had been corrected for their abuse of power; under it they had learned and flourished, and under it had become more highly organised, more highly educated, and less violent and unjust in meeting arguments and friendly observations when settlements were being arrived at. Under that legislation they had enjoyed a period of peaceful trade in the country undisturbed by any strikes or violent industrial commotions. The Trade Unions Congress went out of its way to record its deliberate approval of this legislation, and had said that the law as it stood had, for a number of years, acted perfectly fairly as between employers and employed. That was a tribute from its political opponents to the Conservative Party in the days when it was not the sham it was now, and

Mr. Winston Churchill.

was not afraid to deal with the problem of the working classes.

No one would deny that the law of 1875 had not been altered. It had not been altered by authority, but had been altered in practice which was much the same thing, and it had been altered consistently to the disadvantage of the trade unions, and to the advantage of the employers. The law on this question was difficult and obscure. All must realise that upon the smooth and plain foundation of the legislation of 1875 there had grown up a vast superstructure of legal decisions, which seemed to conflict with each other and which were very difficult of interpretation; and that there was a wide sense of doubt and distrust among both employers and employed as to what exactly might, or might not, be done in the conduct of a strike or lock-out; and when they turned for information to the great authorities of the legal profession they were told that the law had got into such a state that no man could tell what it was. Not only had the law been made more severe with regard to trade unions, but it had been made much more uncertain, and upon the top of all had come the Taff Vale decision. At the moment when the law on this subject had become more doubtful, the consequences of a breach of the law became more serious and more far-reaching. If, in the conduct of a strike, any act of an agent, done in haste, or ignorance, or malice, transcended the shadowy and uncertain border line of what was peaceful persuasion, it immediately became the ground for an action for damages; and if the action was successful trade union funds, accumulated shilling by shilling during many years, and inextricably mingled with moneys intended for friendly and provident purposes, might be swept away. That was a situation which had produced profound anxiety all over industrial Lancashire, and it was not one that could be contemplated with equanimity. He did not understand that the non-Member who moved this Bill, or the House desired that the law should be altered from what it was, or that trade unions should have more power, but he believed the House had made up its mind that trade unions should not have less

lower; and, above all, they wished that the law should at any rate be made as clear as the judiciary and Parliament could make it. It could not, he thought, be said that labour bulked too largely in English politics at the present time. When they considered how vast the labour interest was, how vital, how human, when they considered the gigantic powers which by the consent of both Parties had been given to the working classes, when, on the other hand, they considered the influence in this House of company directors, the learned professions, the service Members, the railway, landed, and liquor interests, it would surely be admitted that the influence of labour on the course of legislation was even ludicrously small. The hon. Member here faltered in the conclusion of his speech, and, amid sympathetic cheers, resumed his seat, after thanking the House for having listened to him.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields) said many speakers had expressed the opinion that this Bill intended to make some change in the law as we knew it, and that it proposed to create a privileged class. All those who had described the first clause relating to peaceful picketing had described it as a clause which would enable vast numbers of pickets to stand at the gate of a works and by peaceful argument to turn men away who were going to their employment. A more complete misstatement could not be conceived. The Bill not only described peaceful picketing but also contained greater safeguards. Let hon. Members who dealt with this subject keep steadily in mind the fact that the employer had a right to choose the tribunal which should decide any dispute he had with his men; he had the right to choose what might be called the special jury. What did that mean? It was of vital importance to the dispute. It meant that the employer might constitute the tribunal from classes sympathetic with his own view; a tribunal in which the working man had no place. No workman had a right to be summoned to a tribunal where a master was trying a trade dispute. Let them imagine what that meant. The Bill did not propose, and those who promoted it did not propose, to alter that system, though it might work great injustice. That being so, it

was idle to pretend that menace or intimidation or any illegal conduct could be let in under the provisions of this Bill. One hon. Member opposite had put very strongly and very forcibly the proposition that a trade union, like any other organisation, ought to be made responsible for the action of its agents. If a trade union and its members were to be treated on the strict analogy of the relations of principal and agent, then it ought to have the right to enforce contracts against its members. Under the existing law a trade union had no right of action against its members, and that was a matter which would have to be taken into consideration. It was also formerly supposed that to establish conspiracy there must also be established an illegal object, but that was no longer the law so far as trades unions were concerned, because if a trade union chose to call out its men because they did not care to work with non-unionists—and none could say that that was an illegal object—that was repeatedly made the gravamen of the case in legal proceedings. It had hitherto been regarded as every man's right to do his work under conditions which seemed to him fair, and that he ought not to be called on to state his motives for declining to work under certain conditions, but now trade unions were, according to the highest authorities, bound to go to Court and justify the calling-out of men by their officials. In other words, such an official could not incite the men of his trade to leave their work without being liable to have to satisfy a jury that the reasons for calling them out were perfectly just. Then, if the jury thought the reasons given insufficient, the union might be ruined and the official driven into bankruptcy. How, under such circumstances, could the right of combination be said to exist? It had, under recent decisions, become a mere snare and farce. It was also certain that the exercise of the ordinary functions of a trade union official had become dangerous.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said he would like to state, shortly, the reasons why he felt unable to vote for the Second Reading. He agreed with everything that had been said as to the excellent work

which had been done by trade unions in this country—indeed, every one who carried his mind back to the time before trade unions were legalised would recognise what we owed to trade unions. He agreed also with everything that had been said as to the admirable way in which labour and trade unions were represented in the House. He had the highest respect for the motives in pursuance of which the Bill had been introduced, but he believed that it was fraught with consequences which those responsible for it had not sufficiently considered. The third clause of the Bill was by far the most important. If that was enacted nothing else would be wanted by the most ardent supporters of these immunities of trade unions, because the effect would be to give entire immunity in respect of all civil proceedings for any wrong that might be done in the course of any trade dispute. Of course, it might be said that any person who committed a criminal act would be amenable to the criminal law. That might apply to the punishment of the grosser cases; but in no case would it afford any redress to the person, be he employer or workman, who had been injured by the wrong committed. It was idle to talk of suing the individual workman. Such an action must be fruitless. The question, then, was reduced to this—was the House, by enacting that trade unions were not to be liable for the acts done by persons acting under them and within the scope of their authority, to give entire immunity from civil redress to those powerful and wealthy organisations when they were responsible for wrongful acts which might result in serious damage to individuals? His hon. and learned friend the Member for Dumfries had said that on first thoughts it would strike anyone that it was unjust to pass such a law; but on second thoughts he might come to another conclusion. Might he remind his hon. and learned friend of the saying of Bishop Butler, that in questions of right and wrong first thoughts were always the best? He could not agree with much of his hon. and learned friend's history of trade unions. He had said that trade unions had not been made corporations and he seemed to think that the reasons for that was that it was not desirable that they

should be liable to be sued. It was true that it was not considered desirable that they should be liable to action by their members, or that they should bring actions against their members. If such actions were allowed, it would be reducing a great part of the population to a condition of serfdom. No such thing was known to the law as an injunction against the workman as to the way in which he should or should not employ his labour. Then his hon. and learned friend had said that the benefit funds had grown up in the belief that a trade union was not liable to be sued. It was true that that opinion had prevailed before the decision of Mr. Justice Farwell; but what was to prevent a trade union separating all funds it held for benefit purposes and putting them in trust for those purposes, so that they could not be employed for fighting purposes nor made liable for damages for the wrongful acts of the union officials? The hon. Member for Derby had said on a former occasion that that could never be done, but why was it impossible?

*MR. BELL said it would be impossible without duplicating the whole of the officials and the whole cost of management.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY did not agree with that. The only reason the hon. Member had given that day was that, if the funds were separated, it might tend to promote a warlike spirit in the unions. He confessed he had some doubts about that; but he was convinced that, if such a separation was carried out, it would prevent funds which were intended to provide for widows and sick persons from being used for fighting purposes. Surely there was nothing wrong about that. What was there to prevent the subscriptions sent in from being divided, in whatever proportion the members might determine—so much for the benefit funds and so much for trade union warfare.

*MR. BELL said it was done now in many unions and had been for some considerable time. The Taff Vale case was argued on the separation of the funds, and the House of Lords decided that that

Sir Robert Finlay.

made no difference so long as they were under the administration of one committee.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said he apprehended that the whole funds were at the disposal of the governing body, whereas he was suggesting that the fund for benefit purposes should be held in trust for those purposes. It seemed to him that the trade unions held the remedy in their own hands. Whatever their services to the working man, why should trade unions be put above the law? Language had been used in the debate which seemed to imply that there was one law for trade unions and another for other associations or companies, but law was exactly the same for trade unions and other ordinary companies and corporations. No liability was imposed on a trade union for acts of its members or officials which was not imposed on any trading company. It was said that in the South Wales case when the union had ordered the men to stop work they were only doing what the owner of the mine had previously done; but there was a great difference between the two cases. The owner was not breaking his contract when he stopped work, whereas the trade union called out men who were under a contract to do the work. If the owner broke his contract with the workmen he would be liable to them, and if the men broke their contract with the master they ought to be liable to him. Complaint had been made of the decisions in particular cases. He supposed there never was an unsuccessful litigant who did not think it his right and privilege, almost his duty, to grumble at the Judge and jury. A suggestion had been made which seemed to mean that in Middlesex juries were not to be trusted in such matters.

*MR. BELL: Not in trade union matters.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: I think that is a very undeserved aspersion. But the
VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

hon. Member for South Shields goes further and has a distrust of all special juries.

MR. ROBSON: In trade union cases.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said that was to say that, having been unsuccessful in certain cases before special juries, the hon. Gentleman had an inveterate animosity against them, but he did not think there was any ground for the suggestion that trade unions did not get justice at the hands of special juries. He had said that if the third clause were passed the trade unions would want nothing else; but, in view, he supposed, of the possibility of that clause not being passed, two other clauses had been inserted in the Bill. One of these clauses dealt with the law of conspiracy. The proposal was that the law of conspiracy should be left intact in all cases except trade disputes. He did not consider that a reasonable method of dealing with the law. It simply came to this—that when a man suffered damage by the action of persons engaged in a trade dispute he would be deprived of his civil remedy. The law in the matter of conspiracy was absolutely the same for masters and workmen. Reference had been made to a speech delivered last year by the Colonial Secretary with regard to the Mogul case and another case in which a trade union was involved. Might he be allowed to express doubts as to whether his right hon. friend's observations were perfectly accurate in that respect? The truth was, as pointed out in that speech, that, if we were to alter the law of conspiracy, it would be a very serious question whether the alteration should not be in a totally different direction, and whether we should not make it for the purpose of dealing with some of those great combinations which, though beneficial in some instances, might in others be fraught with danger to the public welfare. He was speaking of trusts. But this Bill tended in the opposite

direction. It proposed to do away with the remedy which existed for a civil wrong done by a combination.

The remaining clause dealt with the question of picketing. Peaceful persuasion taken by itself did not entail either civil or criminal liability; but, if in the course of carrying out that peaceful persuasion a wrong was committed, peaceful intentions did not exempt the persuader from liability for the wrong. He did not agree with the Member for Dumfries in regard to the limited effect of the clause in legalising picketing. The terms of the clause were perfectly general and sweeping. This very point had been discussed on a previous Bill, when the Member for Dumfries said that if there was any doubt an Amendment might be introduced providing that the clause should not apply where picketing was a nuisance. It was only reasonable to conclude that, as no such proviso stood in the present Bill, it was feared that it would undo the practical effect of the clause. Picketing might be very innocent or it might entail the greatest possible hardship. Persuasion depended upon time, and place, and numbers. While it might be very well for a few men to persuade another on a proper occasion, it was another thing for that man's house to be watched and beset by people who entered on their course of peaceful persuasion every time he came

out or went in. For those reasons he was entirely unable to support the Second Reading of the Bill. When the matter was before the House last year, the First Lord, in answer to appeals from the other side, offered to appoint a Royal Commissioner. He had since done so, and everyone who glanced over the names of those constituting it would regard it as a very strong one indeed. It was most unfortunate that, merely because no trade unionist was upon the Commission, the trade union should have come to the decision to place no evidence before it, but it would no doubt go on with its work, with beneficent results. In conclusion, he appealed to the House to recognise that the great principle on which they should proceed was, that in these trade disputes there should be perfect freedom for everyone concerned—that the employer should be free to employ whom he liked and the men free to work or not as they pleased, but that no one ought to have the liberty to coerce others. However benevolent the intentions of the promoters of that Bill might be, its effect would be to enable certain persons to coerce others, and therefore he should vote against it.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 238; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 91.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn

Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)

Crean, Eugene
Cremor, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of

Sir Robert Finlay.

Emmott, Alfred
 Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Eve, Harry Trelawney
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Ffrench, Peter
 Field, William
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Gilhooly, James
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert John
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Groves, James Grimble
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. (Monmouth)
 Harwood, George
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Healy, Timothy Michael
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Johnson, John (Gateshead)
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kilbridge, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Lambert, George
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Langley, Batty
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John

Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Logan, John William
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mellor, Rt. Hon. John William
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose)
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Parrot, William
 Parlington, Oswald
 Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
 Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Priestly, Arthur
 Randles, John S.
 Rea, Russell
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)

Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Robert
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith Samuel (Flint)
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C. R. (Northants)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Austin (East Torfeth)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Tillet, Louis John
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitely, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)
 Young, Samuel
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr.
 Paclton and Mr. Bell.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy

Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manoh'r)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.

Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Mich. Hicks
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward

Boulnois, Edmund	Greville, Hon. Ronald	Nicholson, William Graham
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John	Gunter, Sir Robert	O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Bull, William James	Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry	Pease, Herbt. Pike (Darlington
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow	Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford	Percy, Earl
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.	Haslett, Sir James Horner	Pierpoint, Robert
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.	Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)	Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)	Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.	Plummer, Walter R.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)	Heider, Augustus	Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)	Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)	Pretyman, Ernest George
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.	Hermion-Hodge, Sir Robert T.	Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc.	Hickman, Sir Alfred	Pym, C. Guy
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry	Hoare, Sir Samuel	Ratcliff, R. F.
Charrington, Spencer	Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somers't, E	Reid, James (Greenock)
Clive, Captain Percy A.	Hornby, Sir William Henry	Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Coates, Edward Feetham	Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)	Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.	Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil	Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Coddington, Sir William	Hudson, George Bickersteth	Robinson, Brooke
Coghill, Douglas Harry	Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)	Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Cohen, Benjamin Louis	Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.	Royds, Clement Molyneux
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.	Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton	Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole	Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.	Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Compton, Lord Alwyne	Kerr, John	Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.	Kimber, Henry	Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Cripps, Charles Alfred	Knowles, Sir Lees	Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)	Laurie, Lieut.-General	Sharpe, William Edward T.
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)	Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)	Simeon, Sir Barrington
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile	Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)	Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Cust, Henry John C.	Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)	Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Dalrymple, Sir Charles	Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)	Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Davenport, William Bromley-	Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham	Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage	Stroyan, John
Denny, Colonel	Llewellyn, Evan Henry	Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Dickson, Charles Scott	Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.	Thorburn, Sir Walter
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-	Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)	Tollemache, Henry James
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph	Lowe, Francis William	Tritton, Charles Ernest
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon	Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)	Tuff, Charles
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.	Loyd, Archie Kirkman	Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers	Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)	Tuke, Sir John Batty
Doxford, Sir William Theodore	Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)	Valentia, Viscount
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton	Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred	Walker, Col. William Hall
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas	MacIver, David (Liverpool)	Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward	Maconochie, A. W.	Wanklyn, James Leslie
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r	M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)	Warde, Colonel C. E.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst	M'Calmont, Colonel James	Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne	M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)	Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Fison, Frederick William	Martin, Richard Biddulph	Whitmore, Charles Algernon
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-	Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n	Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon	Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.	Wills, Sir Frederick
Flower, Sir Ernest	Mildmay, Francis Bingham	Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Forster, Henry William	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.	Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Fyler, John Arthur	Milvain, Thomas	Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Galloway, William Johnson	Mitchell, William (Burnley)	Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Gardner, Ernest	Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)	Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.	Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)	Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets	Moon, Edward Robert Percy	Younger, William
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim	Morpeth, Viscount	
Goulding, Edward Alfred	Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer	
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)	Muntz, Sir Philip A.	
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cams.)	Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)	
Gretton, John	Newdegate, Francis A. N.	

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That the Bill be committed to the Standing Committee on Law, &c.”—(*Mr. Paulton.*)

And it being after half-past Five of the clock, and objection being taken to

Further Proceeding, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Friday next.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 25th April, 1904.

A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): I have to make a somewhat unusual Motion, and I must explain to your Lordships how the question arises. Your Lordships are doubtless aware that, on the succession of a Peer, his title has to be investigated. But where it is known to be, and is found on investigation to be, only the ordinary succession of a son or of some one in the direct line, there is no difficulty and, instead of compelling the parties to go to the expense of the elaborate machinery of the Committee of Privileges, it has been the practice of this House to take the certificate of the Lord Chancellor for the time being, who investigates the title, certifies the House, and accordingly the writ is issued, and in the ordinary course the Peer takes his seat. It so happens that a writ was issued to Lord Hartismere (Lord Henniker) at the commencement of this Parliament. He never came forward, and never took up his writ. The result was that there was lying in the office a writ to be given to the Peer to whom it belonged—a writ directed to Lord Hartismere by his title in the ordinary course. His son, apparently not being aware of what I have stated as to the preliminary investigation before he took his seat, came to the office and asked for his writ. There was a writ directed to his title in the office. The Christian name was not observed, and the writ was delivered to him. He came to the Table last Thursday, took the oath, and subscribed his name as a Peer of Parliament. It is a curious fact that a good many years ago—it was before the Irish Church was disestablished—the same mistake was made in the case of the Bishop of Dromore; and, in making the Motion which I am about to move, I am following the exact precedent in that case. The incident cannot be passed over because it is part of the regular business of the House. The Motion is:—"That the entry in the Journals of the House of Thursday last that Lord Hartismere (Lord Henniker) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father be vacated; that the entry of the name of the Lord

Hartismere among the Lords present on Thursday last be vacated, and that the signature on the Test Roll be vacated." It was a mistake, of course, and nothing but a mistake, and I am sorry that the young gentleman who made it will have the trouble of going through the form again. I hope he will not be disturbed, but I am compelled to make the Motion because it is in accordance with the Orders and Rules of the House, and it is very important indeed that they should not be disregarded. I make the Motion.

Moved, "That the entry in the Journals of Thursday last, stating that Lord Hartismere (*L. Henniker*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father, be vacated. That the entry of the name of the Lord Hartismere among the Lords present on Thursday last be vacated. That the signature on the Test Roll be vacated."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Bishop's Stortford and District Gas; Brixham Gas; St. Marylebone Electric Lighting; Colney Hatch Gas; London and North Western Railway; Midland Railway; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway; Felixstowe Gas; Birkdale Improvement; Acton Improvement; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways; Southend-on-Sea Gas. The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

De Trafford Estate. Petition for a Private Bill; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto; read, and referred to two English Judges.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate. Petition for a Private Bill; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto; read, and referred to two English Judges.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. A petition of Messrs. Batten,

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Proffitt, and Scott, of 32. Great George Street, London, praying for leave to present a petition of the East Ham Urban District Council, praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 93 for presenting such petition has expired; read, and ordered to lie on the Table; and Standing Order No. 93 to be considered To-morrow in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition.

Hollywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Chippenham Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill. Read 2^a and committed.

Sheppy Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Wellington (Somerset) Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

North Staffordshire Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Norwich Water Bill; Sutton Gas Bill; Croydon Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Great Northern Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. Read 2^a.

Ryde Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Committee to meet on Tuesday, the 3rd of May next.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of

Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Wexford, was presented by the Lord Wolverton; read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 50.)

PETITIONS.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Petition against the sale of, on Sundays; of inhabitants of Plymouth; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of Parliamentary and Police Boroughs of Scotland; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 16th April, 1904, declaring Chengtu to be an unhealthy place within the meaning of the Superannuation Act, 1876.

Treasury minute, dated 19th April, 1904, granting a retired allowance to Herbert C. Steeds, counter clerk and telegraphist, London Post Office, under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act, 1887.

COMPANIES (WINDING UP) ACT, 1890.

Account showing receipts and expenditure on account of proceedings under the Companies (Winding-up) Act, 1890, during the year ended 31st March, 1904.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PROCEEDINGS).

Account showing the receipts and expenditure on account of bankruptcy proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.

Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (A) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland), 1899.

Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (A) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland), 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 25th April, 1904, providing for the distribution of the general aid grant.

INDIA (CENSUS).

General Report of the Census of India, 1901.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire. Vol. I.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY ANNUAL BILL.

House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

NEW BILL.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1894 to 1900, was presented by the Lord Wolverton: read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Thursday next. (No. 51.)

MARINERS AND INCOME-TAX.

LORD MUSKERRY rose to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the changed attitude of the Board of Inland Revenue on the subject of mariners being, under certain circumstances, exempt from payment of income-tax; and to ask why the Board of Inland Revenue are now requiring certain mariners to pay income-tax when, under the terms of a letter addressed by the Board to the Merchant Service Guild in the year 1901, they have hitherto been freed from payment. He said: My Lords, I wish to call the attention of your Lordships to a curious case of inconsistency on the part of the Board of Inland Revenue in regard to the incidence of income-tax upon mariners. I am quite prepared to say that under ordinary circumstances it

is but right that those who enjoy the privileges of citizenship of this country should be compelled to contribute to its taxation, but I venture to say that mariners labour under exceptional circumstances and are denied the ordinary privileges of citizenship. They are required to pay their quota of rates and taxes, but no facilities are given to enable them to exercise their votes, and to have some voice in the framing of the laws under which they are governed.

Under the Merchant Shipping Act, mariners are liable to incur a multitude of pains and penalties. In the case of a merchant captain the total liabilities in the shape of fines which can be inflicted upon him under the Merchant Shipping Act exceed £7,000, and under the Aliens Bill the Government propose to saddle him with another £100 penalty for bringing in undesirables, when as a matter of fact he has nothing to do with the shipment of passengers. He has quite enough to do to attend to the safe navigation of his vessel. Consequently, it will not be a matter of surprise to your Lordships that such people, possessing little, if any, privileges under the Merchant Shipping Act have some reluctance in paying income-tax; and as it appears that under the law relating to income-tax they are under certain circumstances exempt from payment, they cannot be blamed for taking advantage of it.

In the year 1901 the Merchant Service Guild was informed by the Secretary of the Board of Inland Revenue that an unmarried mariner who was not an owner or rated occupier and was absent from the country for a period of six months during the year—which need not necessarily be continuous—could claim exemption from payment of the tax. This was admitted by the Board, and in some cases, I understand, they went so far as to return payments made by mariners in previous years. There has now, however, been an entire change of front on the part of the Board of Inland Revenue which requires, I consider, some explanation. Hitherto, as I have said, it was only necessary under certain circumstances for a mariner to be absent from the country for six months during the year to claim exemption. The Board now inform the Merchant Service Guild that

the mariner must be away from the country during the whole of the year. This makes a great difference, and is a serious matter for many of those who earn their living—and a scanty one it usually is—at sea.

Why the Board of Inland Revenue have changed their tactics towards a very deserving class of the community I cannot imagine, and it is somewhat extraordinary that they should express radically different opinions on the same subject within the short space of two or three years. Consequently, I hope that His Majesty's Government may be able to afford some satisfactory explanation, and I trust that the original views of the Board of Inland Revenue will prove to be the correct ones. While dealing with the treatment of mariners by the Board of Inland Revenue, I would like to point out what your Lordships and the general public, I think, are not aware of, and that is that when naval officers win a prize at Greenwich College—£10 or £50—it is paid them less income-tax. I think this is rather mean on the part of a great nation. They also get certain sums called hard-lying money to compensate for their extra hardships and discomforts when serving in the smaller vessels of His Majesty's Fleet, such as torpedo boats and others. This is also paid less income-tax.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, I do not think I need go into the rights or wrongs of the question which the noble Lord has raised with reference to money prizes, which has already been discussed *ad nauseam*; but I think I can give my noble friend a satisfactory explanation as to why a change has been made in the practice of the Inland Revenue authorities in regard to merchant seamen who spend a certain amount of time out of the country. In consequence of some uncertainty as to the exact legal *status* of these seamen, it has not been the practice of the Board of Inland Revenue to prosecute in cases such as the noble Lord has mentioned. The assessment has been made, but proceedings have not been taken if the tax was not properly paid. But lately, however, the Inland Revenue authorities have been legally advised that these seamen are liable, and therefore, although reserving to themselves

Lord Muskerry.

the usual discretion in such cases, they are prepared to maintain the view of the law as it has been interpreted.

LOED MUSKERRY: Will that apply if they are a year absent?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I understand that is so.

LOED MUSKERRY: And will it apply to naval officers?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: That I cannot say.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till Tomorrow half-past Ten o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 25th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz.:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time to-morrow.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time to-morrow.

Southend Water Bill. Lords Amendment considered, amended, and agreed to.

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill (by Order). Read the third time, and passed.

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That, in the case of the Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 204 and 235 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read a second time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill accordingly read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL.

Petition from Salisbury, in favour, to lie upon the Table.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petition from Salisbury, against; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Brechin; and Fife and Angus; to lie upon the Table.

HOUSE-LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Glasgow, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Matlock; Sheffield; Stratford; Aberdeen; Tollerton; Wandsworth Common; Islington; Epping; Pencainewydd Denbigh; Barnsley; Cleator Moor Gravesend; and Wigan; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petition from Salisbury, against; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

Petition from Greenock, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LIGHTHOUSES) BILL.

Petition from Greenock, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Two Petitions from St. Pancras. against; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petitions in favour; from Scarborough; and Finsbury; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Peterborough, against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Evesham, in favour to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).**

Copy presented, of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 25th April, 1904, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (CENSUS).

Copy presented, of General Report of the Census of India, 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 20th April; *Mr. Price*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 138.]

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.

Account presented, showing Receipts and Expenditure on account of Proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 139.]

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PROCEEDINGS).

Account presented, showing the Receipts and Expenditure on account of Bankruptcy Proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 140.]

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (a) of the Elementary School Teachers' Superannuation Rules, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Rule amending Rule 24 (1) (a) of the School Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland) 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACTS, 1859 AND 1876.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th April, 1904, declaring Chengtu to be an unhealthy place within the meaning of the Superannuation Act, 1876 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 19th April, 1904, granting to Herbert C. Steeds, Counter Clerk and Telegraphist, London Post Office, a Retired Allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3142 to 3145 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.****Instructions to Lightship Keepers.**

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will state what instructions, if any, have been given to the lightship keepers by the three General Lighthouse Boards as to whether they are to show their station lights and signals if they should be driven out of their chartered positions, and the dates these instructions were issued; also if proper means of checking their proper positions daily are at the disposal of the keepers.

(Answered by *Mr. Gerald Balfour*.) By the courtesy of the three General Lighthouse Boards I am able to furnish the following information:—The instructions issued by the Trinity House and the Commissioners of Irish Lights to their lightship keepers on the above subject are as follows:—By night the usual lights will not be exhibited, but a fixed red light will be exhibited at each end of the vessel, and a red flare shown every quarter of an hour. By day the balls or other distinguishing masthead marks will be struck. The instructions issued by the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses are to the same effect, with the exception that they have not hitherto included the exhibition of a

red flare at night. The contingency contemplated has, however, never arisen in the case of the only lightship belonging to this Board, and they have expressed readiness to adopt the practice of the other Boards as regards the flare. The dates of issue of the instructions are as follows:—Trinity House, 1852; Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses, 1837; Commissioners of Irish Lights, 1874. Where no land or other marks are available for checking the proper position of the lightships a special watch buoy is moored in the immediate vicinity, and the deep sea sounding lead is constantly used.

Action of an Irish Resident Magistrate.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a case in which a resident magistrate sitting in petty sessions in Ireland sent a case for trial in opposition to the views of the majority of local magistrates sitting on the Bench with him; and, if so, will he state what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The order made in the case referred to was, I am advised, irregular. Notice will at once be served upon the accused that no further action will be taken upon this order by the Crown.

Ireland—Arbitrator's Awards for Land taken for Labourers' Cottages.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the local district councils in Ireland have anything to say to the appointment of the arbitrators who award compensation for land taken for the purposes of labourers' cottages; and whether there is any appeal from these awards.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) None of the parties directly interested in proceedings which are referred to arbitration are consulted in respect to the selection of the person appointed to conduct the arbitration. If a district council were consulted the various other parties concerned—namely, the owners and occupiers, would naturally have to be consulted

also. The award of the arbitrator is final and conclusive, except in cases where the sum awarded exceeds £1,000, when it may be appealed against under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.

Bread Contracts for the Navy.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state why a tender over 15 per cent. higher than the tenders sent in by other competent contractors for the supply of bread to the ships of the Royal Navy visiting Berehaven Harbour was accepted on the last occasion that tenders were called for; whether he will arrange, in the interest of the rate-payers, that contracts for the supply of provisions for the ships of the Royal Navy are on all occasions given to those who tender the best value.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The tenders were obtained by one of His Majesty's ships in the neighbourhood, and, after an examination of sample loaves, by a committee, on which the lower deck was fully represented, the tender referred to was accepted by them as best fulfilling the condition as to quality and price.

Naval Discharges—Case of Boy Ormsby Webb.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will explain under what circumstances the purchase-money—viz. (£25) has been refused in the case of Ormsby Webb, Boy 1st Class, O.N. 220, 703; and will he recommend the Admiralty to accept the purchase-money necessary to obtain this boy's discharge.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) This boy has been under training for two years at considerable expense to the country, during which time no application for his discharge appears to have been made. No sufficient reasons are now forthcoming to justify his discharge just as his training is completed. No material change appears to have taken place in the circumstances of the family since the boy joined the Navy.

Naval Defences and Foreign Visitors.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether

foreigners are admitted to view the defences of Gibraltar, Malta, and other of our naval stations; if so, whether there are any limitations to such viewing, and if limitations, what they are, and whether they are ever waived; and, if so, under what conditions and in whose favour.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.) The orders regulating admission to National Defences are contained in Appendix V. to the King's Regulations. Paragraph 2 delegates responsibility to the General or other Officer Commanding on the spot, for ensuring that unauthorised persons do not gain admission to military works.

No detailed instructions are issued from this Department.

Naval Shipbuilding at Home and on the Continent.

MR. YERBURGH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what was the total warship tonnage building in the United Kingdom on the 31st March, 1895, and on the 31st March, 1904, specifying how much of this was, or is, battleships and how much cruisers; and whether the same figures can be given for France, Russia, Germany, and the United States.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.)

Class.		United Kingdom.	France.	Russia.	Germany.	United States.
		Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Battleship . . .	1895	146,450	122,253	84,558	17,922	55,201
	1904	184,400	87,800	112,730	103,976	193,180
Cruiser . . .	1895	78,800	82,710	23,063	3,568	15,025
	1904	189,760	78,483	26,177	49,200	149,780
Other Vessels . .	1895	14,970	11,675	2,978	2,467	6,736
	1904	37,025†	1,130‡	14,486†	2,064	22,344

Volunteer Long Service Medal--Transfers from Military to Naval Corps.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will say whether those Volunteers who have exchanged from military to naval Volunteer corps will be allowed to count their former service towards the period of service which entitles them to a Volunteer long service medal.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.) No long service medal has been instituted for the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, and it is therefore premature to consider whether service in any other force should be taken into consideration; but the point raised in the hon. Member's Question will not be lost sight of.

Engineer Commanders and Lieutenants.

MR. KEARLEY: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will say what is meant by the requisite service of engineer commanders to qualify them for receipt

of pay at the rate of 24s. a day; what is the period of transition during which engineer lieutenants will be granted the rank of engineer commander without receiving the pay of that rank; and when will the new arrangements by which an engineer commander on promotion is to receive the pay (24s. a day) laid down for that rank on promotion become fully operative.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.) The requisite service referred to is eight years from the date of promotion to chief engineer under former regulations, or from date of advancement to engineer lieutenant (senior list) under present regulations. The period of transition will extend to the time when, under the arrangements introduced in connection with the new scheme of entry, etc., of officers, the average age of engineer lieutenants with eight years additional service after advancement to the senior list will have been reduced to the full

† Including Scouts, 23,650 Tons.

‡ This does not include Submarines.

extent contemplated. It may be mentioned that meanwhile all engineer lieutenants (including those holding rank as engineer commander prior to completion of the service qualifying for the pay of that rank) are benefiting in pay compared with what they would have received if the former regulations had been retained. It is anticipated that the reduction of average age referred to above will have been made by the time officers entering under the new scheme are becoming effective. The new arrangements will then be fully operative, as the rank of engineer commander will not be granted to any engineer lieutenant before he has served the full period on the senior list originally fixed as the qualification for promotion to that rank (*viz.*, eight years).

Cromore-Gravir Road, Isle of Lewis.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Congested Districts Board are now prepared to make a grant such as will admit of the Cromore-Gravir Road, Island of Lewis, being proceeded with.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The Congested Districts Board, in February last, agreed to offer the sum of £2,700 on the usual conditions, being about 75 per cent. of the cost of the road, and this offer has been communicated to the local authorities.

Education of Defective and Epileptic Scotch Children.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland, having regard to the fact that a sum of £3,255 appears in the Public Education (Scotland) Estimates for blind and deaf children, will he state what sum is provided for defective and epileptic children.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) No special sum is provided for defective and epileptic children under any sub-head of the Vote; but special rates of grant for such children are provided for in Article 20 (II.) of the Code, and any sums paid under that Article are charged against Sub-head E of the Vote (annual grants for day scholars). During the inspection year ending 31st August, 1903, the sum of £409 5s. 8d. was paid under the Article named.

Scotch Equivalent Grants.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can state shortly what equivalent grants Scotland at present receives, the date when each began, the occasion for making the grant, and the general application thereof.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The term equivalent grant employed by the hon. Member is one which has no statutory or certain meaning, but for information on the subject of moneys devoted under various Statutes to exclusively Scottish uses I may refer to the Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 1646].

Fees of Medical Witnesses in Scotch Sheriff Courts.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Lord Advocate whether in sheriff Courts the fee of one guinea per diem to a medical witness is a fixed sum or liable to be reduced if the case is unimportant or takes less than four hours attendance.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The regulation in regard to medical fees in the sheriff Courts is as follows: Medical men when cited to give professional evidence from a distance of more than one mile from the towns in which they reside, if detained above four hours, are allowed, not exceeding, per day, £2 2s. besides fares, but nothing additional for maintenance; if in town they are allowed, not exceeding, per day, £1 1s. The fee of a guinea, therefore, is not a fixed sum. The procurator fiscal may exercise his discretion and give less than that sum, according to the circumstances.

Learners in Leeds Postal Telegraph Office.

MR. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that there are five female learners at present in the Leeds Postal Telegraph Department with two and a half years service, who, with the exception of a few weeks, have been on half-time duty at 5s. per week; and whether, in view of the fact that an official witness before the Wages Committee stated learners were generally appointed after about one year of service, and the local authorities state that nothing can be

done, he will state what steps he proposes to take to provide appointments in these cases.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The five learners referred to have, for considerably more than half the period since the 1st of January, 1902, been employed on full-time duty at wages varying from 10s. to 15s. a week, according to their age, service, and qualifications. They will be appointed to the class of sorting clerks and telegraphists as soon as vacancies occur on that class at Leeds; in the meantime they will, as far as circumstances permit, be employed on full-time duties either at Leeds or at some other office. It is due to the fact that the telegraph work at Leeds has not increased so rapidly as was expected that vacancies have not occurred to which these learners could be appointed.

**Public Health Acts Amendment Bill—
Date of Introduction.**

SIR ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if, in view of the interest taken by municipal bodies throughout the country in the promised Public Health Acts Amendment Bill, he will say when he will introduce it.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I cannot at present fix a date for the introduction of the Bill, but I will introduce it at the earliest date practicable.

Irish Lights Board.

MAJOR JAMESON: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Irish Lights tender "Princess Alexandra" has been condemned and sold; if so, what price she fetched; whether the Board of Trade have issued, or contemplate issuing, a certificate to her authorising the carrying of passengers beyond harbour limits; whether he will give the names and qualifications of the following officials: Master of the Irish Lights tenders "Tearaght," "Moya," "Irene," new steamer, inspector of lights, superintendent of stores, and second engineer "Tearaght;" and if he will state the price paid by the Commissioners of Irish Lights and the Northern Lights Commissioners for coal and oil delivered at their depôts.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The "Princess Alexandra" has been condemned and sold for £1,110. The vessel has not a passenger certificate, and no application for such a certificate is at present before the Board of Trade. The master of the "Tearaght" is Mr. A. E. Birt, who holds a certificate as master of a Home-trade passenger ship. The master of the "Moya" is Mr. E. Kearon, who holds a certificate as master of a Foreign-going ship. Mr. D. P. Fleming, who is master of the "Irene," and will command the new steamer when in commission, holds a certificate as master of a Home-trade passenger ship. The inspector of lights is Mr. R. Deane, who holds an extra master's certificate for a Foreign-going ship. The superintendent of stores is Mr. F. R. Foot, C.E., and the second engineer of the "Tearaght" is Mr. P. E. Waldron, who holds a first class engineer's certificate. The prices paid for oil and coal, delivered at depôts, for the current year are: Commissioners of Irish Lights: Oil (paraffin) 6½d. per gallon; oil (heavy mineral) 7½d. per gallon; Coal (steam) 20s. per ton; coal (Whitehaven) 16s. 6d. per ton. Northern Lights Commissioners: Oil (paraffin) 5d. per gallon; Coal (steam) 13s. 1d. per ton. For house coal, which is delivered by contractors at the several lighthouses, the price ranges from 13s. 6d. to 29s. 6d. per ton. The information supplied is given by the courtesy of the lighthouse authorities.

The National Debt.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the total amount on 31st March, 1904, of the Funded Debt under its various classes and including the debts to the Banks of England and Ireland, also of the Unfunded Debt under the headings of War Stock and Bonds, Exchequer Bonds, and Treasury Bills, with dates of repayment in each case.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The annual Return relating to the National Debt, which will give the hon. Member all the information for which he asks, is completed, and will be in the hands of hon. Members of the House almost immediately.

Metropolitan Police—Pensions for Good Service.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether pensions are now being paid to certain ex-superintendents and ex-inspectors of the Metropolitan Police in respect of allowances for good service which were made to them over and above the certified scale of their pay; and, if so, by what authority these extra pensions are paid.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The "good service allowances" referred to by the hon. Member are drawn by six superintendents of the Metropolitan Police Force, and were granted as an addition to the ordinary pay of the officers' rank, and form part of the annual pay on which their pensions are calculated under The Police Act, 1890. Rateable deductions for the Superannuation Fund are levied from them. No ex-inspector of the Metropolitan Police is in receipt of a pension in the calculation of which a good service allowance was included.

Ale and Beerhouses—Estimated Funds available for Compensation.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will grant a Return, by counties and county boroughs, showing the number of ale-houses and beerhouses classified according to their annual values, and the estimated amount of the compensation funds available for the reduction of licences within each county and county borough.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I shall be ready to place at the disposal of the House all the information in my power; and I am considering the best form for the purpose.

Aliens in British Prisons.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of aliens at present undergoing sentences in His Majesty's prisons in the United Kingdom.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have requested the Prison Commissioners to obtain this information. It has to be collected specially and may take a few days. The hon. Member shall have it with the least possible delay.

Board of Education and Plans of Proposed New Schools and Alterations to Schools.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if it is essential for a county education authority to submit plans before undertaking alteration and provision of new schools to the Education Department; and, if so, what section of the Education Acts necessitates this reference.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) Section 97 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 requires that "the conditions required to be fulfilled in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant shall be those contained in the Minutes of the Department for the time being." Under Article 85 (a) of the Code, one of the conditions of the annual grant is that "the Board must be satisfied that the premises are healthy, are properly constructed and arranged for teaching, lighted, warmed, cleaned, drained and ventilated, are supplied with suitable offices, . . ." Unless the plans are first submitted to the Board and approved by them the local education authority will have no guarantee that the proposed alterations or new schools are such as meet the requirements of the Board. This precautionary measure may not be necessary in the case of small alterations, and the Board would be glad to arrange with local education authorities, when desired, to dispense with the submission of plans in cases of minor alterations if the inspector of the Board meets the architect or other responsible officer of the local authority on the spot, and approves what is proposed.

Agricultural Education in Great Britain and Abroad.

MR. LAMBERT: To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will state for the last available year the amounts spent by the Government on agricultural education in

Great Britain, Ireland, France, United States, Denmark, Holland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, together with the number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits in those countries respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.) The products and requirements of the various countries named with regard to agricultural education differ very considerably, and their arrangements are of so varied and complex a character and are so interwoven with their general educational machinery that it is not practicable to give in any simple form information as to the expenditure incurred which would be of any real value for comparative purposes. Perhaps the hon. Member will take an opportunity of conferring personally with the officers of the Department concerned. They will be happy to refer him to the principal sources of information and to furnish him with particulars so far as it is within their power to do so.

Board of Agriculture and Reduced Railway Rates.

MR. LAMBERT: To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will state what has been done during the past year by the Board in inducing railway companies to reduce rates on agricultural produce, and particularly whether any reductions of railway rates have been effected in conveying fruit, hops, and vegetables from the south-eastern districts to London.

(Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.) Arrangements have for some time past been in operation by which the Board's inspectors institute inquiries, when opportunities offer, as to complaints made by agriculturists with regard to railway rates. Particulars as to the work thus done is published annually in the Report of our Intelligence Division. Communications have also been taking place during the past few months between my noble friend, the President of the Board, and the railway companies with regard to the improvement generally of the conditions governing the carriage of agricultural produce and facilities by rail. Full information as to these communications is contained in a Paper

which was laid upon the Table on Friday last, and will, I hope, be issued in the course of the present week.

Bombay-Scinde Railway—Objection of the Rao of Cutch.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he can inform the House what objections have been made by the Rao of Cutch to the construction through his State of the proposed Bombay-Scinde Connection Railway; and whether those objections are regarded by the Government of India as valid to obstruct the completion of a line which has been pronounced by them advisable on Imperial grounds.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) I have not received any information from the Government of India regarding the objections alleged to have been raised by the Rao of Cutch to the construction through his State of the proposed Bombay-Scinde connection, but I have no reason to doubt that this railway, of which the utility is acknowledged, will eventually be completed when funds are available.

India and the South African Garrison.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will lay upon the Table at an early date the opinions and reasons recorded under Section 23 of the Act of 1858 by two members of the Council of India (in June last) as dissents from the proposals then being considered to charge the revenues of India with a considerable portion of the cost of the British garrison in South Africa.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar Question on 24th March†, which explains the reasons why I do not propose to lay Papers on this subject.

Grievances of the Burma Police Force.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the complaints of the condition of the Burma police force expressed in two memorials to the Viceroy asking for

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii, 616.

relief; whether he is aware that the most junior assistant superintendent in the force, whose pay is 300 rupees per mensem, is in his 16th year of service, and that there are below him seventeen officiating assistants with an average service of about fourteen years whose permanent pay is 140 rupees, that of forty district superintendents in the force twenty-three are lumped together in the lowest grade, of whom six have been in the grade for thirteen years while four or five others have been in it for about ten years, that only four officers retire on account of age within the next five years, so that by 1909 every assistant superintendent will have had over twenty years service, and whether, having regard to the special and local character of these grievances arising from this condition of the service, he will consider the advisability of issuing orders for their redress in anticipation of the general orders which may have to be passed on the recommendations of the Police Commission.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The memorials referred to in the Question have not come before me; but I observe that the Viceroy, in his speech on the 30th March last, at the meeting of the Legislative Council when the Budget was under discussion, stated that he was aware of the condition of affairs in the superior police service in Burma, and would consider the question of taking measures to apply a remedy independently of the general reforms in the police which the Government of India hoped to introduce as the result of the consideration of the Report of the Police Commission.

Irish Land Act—Quit, Crown, and Tithe Rent Redemptions.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the number of years purchase at which quit rents, Crown rents, and tithe rent-charges are being redeemed under the operation of the Land Act of last session.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I would refer to the Answers given by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and

myself to similar Questions on the 18th and 19th instant†.

Supply of Newry Granite for Foundations of Dublin College of Science.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a contract has been entered into for the supply of Newry granite for the foundations of the new College of Science in Dublin; if so, whether the contract has been entered into after or without a previous public invitation for tenders, and who is responsible.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The reply is in the negative.

Legal Proceedings by Landlords against Tenants in King's County.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE (King's County, Tullamore): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that certain landlords in the King's County are taking legal proceedings against tenants for practically irrecoverable arrears of rent; and whether, following the example of one of his predecessors in office, the right hon. Member for West Bristol, he can consider the advisability of bringing friendly pressure within the law to bear on these cases.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) There are no cases in this county, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in which proceedings have been instituted against tenants for practically irrecoverable arrears of rent. Proceedings are pending in only fourteen cases throughout the entire county for the recovery of arrears of rent, and only ten evictions for non-payment of rent were carried out in the county during the past year. The relations between landlords and tenants are most amicable.

Troops in Belfast—Alleged Monopoly for Supply of Stores.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the General Officer Commanding the troops in Belfast has issued an order to the effect that the two regiments stationed in the Belfast District and the Royal Irish Fusiliers in

† See pages 387 and 435.

Hollywood are to purchase all requirements for their sergeants' mess wet canteen from one firm in Dundalk; and can he say for what reason compulsion is used in this case.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) Under the present regulations the General Officer Commanding is responsible for the management of the canteens within his district, and the War Office has no information on the point raised. Any inquiries accordingly should be addressed to the General Officer concerned.

Output of Gold from, and Persons employed in, Transvaal Mines.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state what was the total output of gold from the Transvaal mines, also the number of white and black persons respectively employed in those mines, for the month of March in this year, and in the years 1898, 1899, 1902, and 1903.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) The following are the figures I am able to give:—

	March, 1898.	1899.	1902	1903.	1904.
	£	£	£	£	£
Value of output of gold for Transvaal	1,217,424	1,654,258	442,303	933,888	1,309,329
White employees	10,684	12,000 (about)	5,627	11,166	--
Coloured labourers	82,062 (average for year)	93,788	24,527 (average for January to June)	51,962	72,340

Revenue and Expenditure of the Transvaal.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the figures of revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal for the nine months ending 31st March and the revenue and expenditure as estimated by Lord Milner to 30th June, also the railway revenue for the same periods.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) Transvaal revenue for nine months ending 31st March, £3,390,152. Expenditure for same period, £2,673,410. Latest Estimate for year to 30th June. Revenue, £4,300,000. Expenditure, £3,600,000 (maximum). Net railway revenue for period of nine months, £1,047,000 (last two months are estimates, not final figures). Estimate for year to 30th June, £1,400,000.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Corporal Punishment in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether boys or young men,

under eighteen years of age, in the Royal Navy are liable to the punishment of flogging; and, if so, will he state under what provisions, statutory or otherwise, and for what offences, are floggings inflicted; are these floggings inflicted in public or in the presence of soldiers and sailors on board ship; what is the maximum number of lashes, and with what instrument are the lashes inflicted; what answer has been given by the Admiralty to the letter of the secretary of the Humanitarian Society requesting that permission be given to take photographs of the infliction of punishment by flogging in the Royal Navy; and what steps, if any, will be taken for the immediate abolition of this method of punishment.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (MR. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): Boys under eighteen are not subjected to the punishment of flogging, but, under the statutory powers given by the Naval Discipline Act, boys under eighteen may be punished by birching, or caning, as prescribed in Article 759 of the King's

Regulations, which further prescribes in whose presence the punishment is to be inflicted, also the maximum number of strokes, and the instrument to be used. The offences rendering boys liable to this form of punishment are to be found in Article 723 of the King's Regulations. No reply beyond an acknowledgment was made to the letter of the secretary of the Humanitarian Society, the request made by him being regarded as an improper one. It is not proposed to take any steps for the abolition of this method of punishment.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I shall call attention to this practice on the Vote for the Admiralty.

Labourers' Wages on Government Contracts.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether it has been brought to his notice that unskilled labourers receiving less than the local minimum rate of wages are now employed upon the electrical wiring of submarines for His Majesty's Navy at Barrow-in-Furness; and, if so, whether he will cause immediate inquiry to be made into this matter.

***MR. ARTHUR LEE:** The attention of the Admiralty has been called to the matter referred to in the hon. Member's Question, and inquiry is now being made in regard to it.

Official History of the South African War.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is intended to withhold the publication of so much of the official history of the South African War as was written by the late Colonel Henderson.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.):** The late Colonel Henderson had commenced writing the official history of the South African War and a small portion of his work had been received. When it was decided to revise the scale of the publication it was found

that this portion could not be utilised. I may add that the portion which had been written by the late Colonel Henderson only reached a period antecedent to the commencement of the war.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that every official publication published by general authority during the last fifty years has contained a preface similar to that written by Colonel Henderson, and is Colonel Henderson's preface not of considerable literary as well as political importance.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER:** I should not deny the literary qualities of anything written by Colonel Henderson, but I have been advised by the present editor of the work that it is impossible to embody Colonel Henderson's fragment in the work on the scale at which it is now proposed to produce it. If the hon. Gentleman had seen the portion of the work he would understand that without entirely recasting the work this portion could not be made use of.

Military Riot at Southampton.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say how many men of the 2nd Cheshire Regiment under orders to embark at Southampton for India on the troopship "Assaye" on Friday last took part in a riot, and how many, if any, of the men of this battalion are enlisted for three years service; also to what cause the riot is attributed.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No official information of the occurrence in question has reached the War Office. The number of three years men in the battalion cannot be obtained at so short notice, but the draft consisting of 100 men contained ninety-seven three years men.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Were these three years men told on enlistment that they would not be sent to India?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir; there could have been no such undertaking.

Australia and the Transvaal Labour Ordinance.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the resolution lately passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia in opposition to the proposal to import Chinese indentured labour into the Transvaal has been communicated to this Government; and whether he will have laid upon the Table the text of this resolution and of any other resolutions on this subject passed by Colonial Legislatures during the last six months.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have not yet received the resolution referred to. It will be published when received. I am not aware of any other resolution of the kind which has not been published.

Repatriation of, and Compensation paid to, the Boers.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will lay upon the Table a detailed statement of the moneys expended in repatriation of the Boers after the war, and in compensation for losses sustained by them in or in consequence of the war, and stating the name and address of every person who received £100 or upwards of any such moneys and on what account the same was received.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I must refer to my previous answer to the hon. Member on Thursday last† which I do not see any reason to vary, but I will communicate with Lord Milner as to whether the limitation now proposed by the hon. Member will materially affect the reasons for which I have felt unable to agree to this Return.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Is there any list of the persons to whom the moneys have been paid. Would the cost of obtaining the information be more than the mere expense of copying that list?

MR. LYTTTELTON: I know of no such list.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Will the right hon. Gentleman ask Lord Milner?

[No answer was returned.]

Departmental Supplies for the Transvaal.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state whether he has sent instructions to the Transvaal Government that departmental supplies for the Transvaal must be purchased through the Crown Agents for the Colonies; if so, whether such instructions will prevent local tendering for supplies; whether the Chambers of Commerce throughout the colony have protested against this measure; and what is the reason for this change in the practice hitherto prevailing in the Transvaal.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I have instructed the Government of the Transvaal that all materials and articles which are not the produce of South Africa should be purchased through the Crown Agents for the Colonies. Such instructions will prevent local tendering by agents and middlemen for supplies not of local production. I have no information as yet from Lord Milner as to the action of the Chambers of Commerce reported in last week's newspaper telegrams. My predecessor decided that the system of indent on the Crown Agents should be preserved in the Transvaal, and my instructions have been given to ensure observance of the practice which has been departed from in certain instances. The considerations which have weighed with my predecessor and myself are, shortly stated, that this system is on the whole best calculated to secure the interests of the colonial taxpayers, that it enables due attention to be given to the claim of the British manufacturer, and that it obviates the risk of pressure being brought to bear on officials by local agents and middlemen.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman lay upon the Table a Return of the amount paid in commission to the Crown Agents for goods purchased for South Africa during the last four years.

† See page 844.

MR. LYTTELTON: I think we shall be able to obtain that.

***MR. HERBERT SAMUEL:** Is it the fact that the unofficial members of the Intercolonial and Legislative Councils have protested against this change?

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not heard of any such protest.

The Tibetan Mission.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Tibetan expedition has advanced beyond Gyangtse; whether it has been recognised by Dalai Lama; if not, what are the future movements of the expedition, and what are the casualties already sustained through wounds, sickness, and frostbite.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The Mission has not advanced beyond Gyangtse, nor has any communication been received from the Dalai Lama. I stated on Monday last†, in reply to a Question, that an announcement of the intentions of His Majesty's Government in the event of the negotiations at Gyangtse breaking down would not be in the public interest at present. As regards casualties through sickness and frostbite, the Government of India report thirty-five deaths to date among combatants, and forty-five deaths among followers and coolies. Cases of frostbite are given approximately as sixty-one among combatants, sixty-eight among others. The Government of India hold that, considering the altitude and the exceptional severity of the winter, mortality and sickness are wonderfully low, thanks to a liberal supply of warm clothing and extra rations. General health has been fair to good, combatants suffering more than followers owing to night duties. The health of the force is now good. The following casualties in action have been already reported:—Wounded: British, one officer and one newspaper correspondent. Native, thirteen.

† See page 374.

Regulations for Indian Labour in the Colonies.

MAJOR SEELY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state what is the amount of civil rights and freedom from restriction insisted upon by the Indian Government in any contract made with its subjects before permitting them to leave India under indenture.

MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid that I can only refer the hon. Member to the various colonial Ordinances dealing with the regulation of Indian labour which have been passed with the knowledge and subject to the criticism of the Indian Government, who are bound, in the words of the Indian Emigration Act of 1883, to satisfy themselves that the Government of the coolie-importing country "has made such laws and other provisions as the Governor-General in Council thinks sufficient for the protection of emigrants to that country during their residence therein."

The Somaliland Operations.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, when the operations commenced against the Somali Mullah in March, 1901, he was then located in Italian Somaliland; and what has been the political and military advantage gained by the three years war against him.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (EARL PERCY, Kensington, S.): The hon. Member will see if he refers to the despatches published in the Blue-book No. 5, Africa, 1901, that the Mullah was within the British protectorate when the operations against him were begun in 1901. The result of the operations has been to expel the enemy from British territory, to relieve the tribes under our protection from the suffering and loss which his presence occasioned, and so completely to break up the Mullah's following as to make a re-establishment of his power improbable.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE asked whether it was not the fact that during the greater part of the operations of 1901 the Mullah was in Italian Somaliland; and whether, in consequence of the Mullah's

being in Italian Somaliland, the Italian Government were requested to co-operate with the British Government in expelling him.

EARL PERCY: It is quite true that later on the Mullah was in Italian territory; but at the beginning he was in British territory.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Shall we have an official history of this war also?

The Macedonian Gendarmerie.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any, and if so what, number has been fixed for the European commissioned officers of gendarmerie who are to act in the vilayets of Macedonia; whether any non-commissioned officers are to be appointed; what is the size of the whole area for which the officers are to be appointed; what powers have been secured to these European officers of exercising control and giving orders without interference by Turkish authorities; how many British officers are to be sent to Macedonia; and what area has been specially allotted to them.

EARL PERCY: No definite number of officers has been fixed. Twenty-five commissioned officers will be employed in the first instance and have already proceeded to Salonica. The Powers have insisted on the right of General Giorgis to raise the number to sixty, in addition to a smaller number of non-commissioned officers if their services are required. The area covered by the re-organisation scheme is approximately 19,350 square miles. The European officers will not be subject to the orders of anyone but the Italian General, and any attempt to interfere with them in the exercise of the powers necessary for the effective discharge of their duties would compel the Powers to reconsider their demands in regard to the position of these officers. A reservation to this effect was made by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ambassadors. Five British officers have been sent out and will be employed in the Sandjak of Drama.

MR. BRYCE: Will these officers have full powers of giving orders that must be

obeyed by the gendarmerie without any interference from the Turkish authorities?

EARL PERCY: They will be the direct means of conveying the orders of General Giorgis to the troops.

Graduation of the Income-Tax.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he proposes to refer the question of the practicability of the graduation of the income-tax to the Committee the appointment of which has been announced.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): No, Sir. As I have already stated, the Government do not consider that the question of graduation should form any part of the reference to the Committee on the Income-Tax.

National Debt Statistics.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer by how much he expects the total Debt to be reduced in the year 1904-5, excluding the operation of the Works Acts and similar Acts; and how much he expects that the operation of these works and similar Acts will add to our total liabilities during the year 1904-5.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The amount by which the total dead-weight debt is expected to be reduced in the year 1904-5 is, as stated by me last week, £7,120,000. I am unable at present to add anything to the statement I made on Tuesday last as to the liability which we are likely to incur in the current year in respect of the expenditure charged to capital account.

Alleged Fraudulent Practices in Bonded Warehouses.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he has now ascertained if the officers of Excise and Customs are compelled by their regulations to allow, in the Government bonded warehouses, German spirit to be labelled as brandy, and English spirit as Scotch whisky; and whether, in view of the fact that these

practices are carried on with the cognisance of and under the supervision of Government officials, he will give instructions to the officials to report such proceedings to their superior officers and to the public prosecutor.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The primary duty of revenue officials is to see that there is no fraud upon the revenue. It is not possible for them in the execution of that duty to safeguard the consumer, who has his own remedy and is otherwise protected against fraud or misdescription of goods sold to him. I have already explained that any attempt on the part of the Inland Revenue authorities to regulate the trade description of goods in bond would be useless because they have no means of enforcing a similar regulation after the goods have passed out of bond. It would be misleading to create an impression that the fact of goods being dutiable is equivalent to a Government guarantee of their quality.

Mr. MACVEAGH: What I want to know is whether it is a fact that these frauds are perpetrated under the supervision of Government officials, and whether these are the officials who are asked to report upon the matter.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I have every reason to believe that the Customs House officers carry out their duties in a proper manner.

Anti-Vaccination Prosecution at Thames Police Court.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of a man, named Ward, who was summoned at the Thames Police Court for non-compliance with the Vaccination Act, on the 5th April, and to the fact that, after he had produced a doctor's certificate as to the child's unfitness for vaccination, the man was fined, the magistrate deciding against the man because he would not pledge himself to have the child vaccinated when it recovered, and afterwards declined to state a case for the High

Court; and what action he proposes to take in the matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have inquired into this case and find no ground for action on my part. The offence charged was the failure to have the child vaccinated within six months of his birth. The medical certificate produced did not relate to that period; and no exemption had been asked for. The father did not appear in answer to the charge. The magistrate was ready to take a lenient view of the case in accordance with his usual practice if he could have received any assurance of readiness on the part of the defendant to comply with the requirements of the law; but there was no doubt that the offence had been committed and the penalty incurred.

Mr. CROOKS: Will the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to make further inquiry and see if the certificate does not show that the child was suffering from rickets and debility?

[No answer was returned.]

Vagrants in Hyde Park.

Mr. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, having regard to the complaints that have been made with reference to the use made of Hyde Park by persons of the habitual vagrant class, he intends to propose any legislation this session for giving the police further powers than they now possess to deal with such persons.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: This is a matter for the First Commissioner of Works rather than for myself and I understand that it is under his immediate consideration with a view to providing some remedy for the existing state of things.

Railway Level Crossing at Halbeath.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): On behalf of the hon. Member for West Fifeshire, I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the railway level crossing

at Halbeath Station, Fifeshire, is a source of danger to the public; and, seeing that it is on the main line and numerous express trains pass over it daily, will he consider the advisability of communicating with the North British Railway Company with a view to suitable protection being provided.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): There is no record of any accident having occurred at the level crossing in question within the past twenty-five years and the crossing is not one in regard to which the Board of Trade have any statutory powers. I have, however, communicated with the railway company on the subject of the hon. Member's Question and am informed by them that the crossing is provided with gates interlocked from the signal cabin and these gates are invariably closed in good time to prevent the possibility of anyone using the crossing in such a way as to be endangered by an approaching train. It is added that there is a foot-bridge at the station so that no passenger need use the level crossing to go from one platform to another.

Cost of Small-Pox Outbreak.

MR. COGHILL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state what has been the total or approximate cost to the different local bodies of the outbreak of small-pox in 1903 in London and the metropolitan district and in the rest of England and Wales respectively.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): There was no epidemic small-pox in London in the year 1903, the previous outbreak having in effect come to an end by Michaelmas, 1902. The expenditure of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in the year to Michaelmas, 1902, in respect of the removal, care, and treatment of patients consequent upon the epidemic is estimated at £132,381. This is in addition to a capital expenditure of about £492,000 for accommodation and transport facilities, which are practically still available. I am not in a position to give

the particulars asked for as regards the other local authorities referred to in the Question.

Pauper Aliens.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the number of aliens who have become chargeable to the common funds of the Poor Law unions of the United Kingdom for each year during the last ten years; the proportion which such pauper aliens bear to the whole alien population of the United Kingdom; and the proportion which pauper British subjects bear to the whole British population of the United Kingdom.

MR. WALTER LONG: I obtained last year some information as regards aliens in England and Wales in receipt of relief on the 1st July, 1903, but I am not in possession of the particulars desired as regards the previous years. The number of aliens relieved on the 1st July, 1903, was 1,753, or 79 per cent. of the alien population according to the last census. The paupers of all classes in receipt of relief on that date were 24 per cent. of the estimated population. These figures only relate to England and Wales. As regards Scotland and Ireland, the matter is one for the Scottish and Irish Departments.

Motors in Hyde Park.

MR. BULL (Hammersmith): On behalf of the hon. Member for North Islington I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he is aware that in some of the roads in Hyde Park motors are not allowed, but that such roads are only indicated by a regulation in small type on a general notice board; and whether to avoid constant mistakes by motorists coming for the first time to the park, he will cause conspicuous notice boards to be placed at each end of these prohibited roads stating clearly that motors are not allowed.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): The First Commissioner has made inquiry, and regrets that he cannot agree with my hon. friend that the present arrangement is unsatisfactory. There

are constables on duty at either end of the prohibited road; they have experienced no difficulty; and are much more efficient as a warning to motorists than any notice board.

Instruction in Cookery in Scotch Schools.

MR. WEIR : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will consider the expediency of so amending the Scotch Education Code as to render instruction in cookery and domestic economy compulsory during the last year of a girl's attendance at school.

***THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton):** I am to refer the hon Member to my reply to his Question No. 9 on 16th March.† I am not prepared to interfere with the discretion of School Boards and school managers as to the use they shall make of the facilities which the Code affords.

Island of Lewis Cemeteries.

MR. WEIR : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the medical officer for the parish of Uig, Island of Lewis, has certified the Balanakill, Little Bernera, and Kirivig cemeteries as overcrowded, insanitary, and indecent, the coffins being in some cases within two feet of the surface; and will such steps be taken as may be necessary to secure the provision of new burying-grounds.

***MR. SCOTT DICKSON :** I am in communication with the Local Government Board, who inform me that the parish council are taking steps to have new cemeteries opened instead of Kirivig and Little Bernera and intend extending Balanakill if allowed.

Teachers in the Highland Crofting Counties.

MR. WEIR : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state how many teachers are employed in the Highland crofting counties, and how many retiring teachers other than old parochial teachers have been granted pensions by School Boards since the passing of the Elementary Teachers Act of 1898.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 1257.

***MR. SCOTT DICKSON :** The information asked for in the first part of the hon. Member's Question is contained in Command Paper 1970 (pages 172-173). I am not in a position to give the information asked for in the second part.

Lloyd's Estate, King's County.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the farm on the estate of J. J. Lloyd, of Glouster, near Shinrone, King's County, formerly in the possession of Amos J. Doolan, has been purchased by the agent of the property under the Land Purchase Act of last year, and that since the eviction of Doolan this farm has been let on the eleven months' system; and, if so, will he say on what date did this agent become tenant, and on what terms as to rent and tenure; whether he is aware that the Estates Commissioners received an application for re-instatement from Amos J. Doolan; and, if so, will he state the result of this application, and did the Estates Commissioners communicate with the evicted tenant and this agent before sanctioning the sale, and will he supply a copy of the correspondence.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): No application has yet been made to the Commissioners for the sale of this estate; but an application for re-instatement in his former holding has been received from Amos Palmer. I am unable to say, at present, whether he is identical with the ex-tenant named in the Question. I am making further inquiry, however, on this and other matters.

Instruction in the Irish Language.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the National Board will sanction the payment of qualified pensioned teachers to teach Irish outside ordinary school hours.

MR. WYNDHAM : The Commissioners inform me that Article 179 of their Code prohibits an ex-national school teacher who is in receipt of a retiring gratuity or

pension from being readmitted to the service of the Board.

Irish Legislation.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when he proposes to introduce the measure dealing with the housing of the working classes in towns in Ireland, promised last session.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am unable to name a day until I see what progress is made with other Irish measures. It is, in my opinion, necessary to pass the Land Bill and Labourers Bill, a Bill for transferring certain savings in the Supreme Court to the Development Grant, and a Departmental Bill rendered obligatory by the scheme for reducing the police force. I undertook to consider the question of housing in towns in addition to the labourers question. The result of consideration convinced me that the latter ought to have priority, but it is doubtful whether any substantial advance can be made in respect of the former at a time when it is impossible either to extend the period of repayment of loans or to lower the interest upon them.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Does that mean that there will be no Housing Bill introduced this session.

MR. WYNDHAM: It depends partly on the progress made with other measures, and in addition to that it might be prudent to await a more favourable time for dealing with the question.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): Before framing the Bill will the right hon. Gentleman take notice of the resolutions passed by the National Convention?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have not seen them.

Epidemics in Schools.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the medical officer of health for a district has power to close a national school in conse-

quence of epidemic; and, if so, whether the teacher's salary is liable to be reduced in consequence of such closing.

MR. WYNDHAM: A medical officer of health may recommend the closing of a school on the ground stated. The published regulations of the Commissioners expressly provide that in such circumstances a teacher's salary shall not be liable to reduction, except in cases where a school is closed for a very prolonged period. Salary without abatement may be paid for four consecutive quarters. An epidemic would hardly continue for more than a year.

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the present position of the sale proceedings of Cusack Estate, county Longford; whether he is now able to give a Return showing the names of intending purchasers of this estate, and how many of same are evicted tenants or the sons of former evicted tenants on this property.

MR. WYNDHAM: The position of affairs in respect of this estate has not altered, so far as I am aware, since I replied to the hon. Member's previous Question of the 3rd March.† The solicitor having carriage of the sale has been communicated with, however, and if the Question is repeated on Monday next I may be in a position to give further information.

Drummeel Bog, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the Estates Commissioners are bound to become public trustees for large tracts of bog sold under the Act of 1903 which are not in direct occupation of tenants, will he say if any application has been made to them to assume this position in connection with the Drummeel, county Longford, bog on the Granard Estate.

MR. WYNDHAM: Local inquiry has been necessary to enable the Commissioners to identify the particular bog-land

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 69.

referred to. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat the Question to-morrow.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Will the inquiry be public or private?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have been making inquiry myself in the endeavour to get an answer to the hon. Member's Question.

Revenue Collections in Dublin.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the total amount of Imperial revenue received respectively by the collectors of Inland Revenue and Customs at Dublin for the year ended 31st March, 1903; the total amount received by the collector of Inland Revenue for local taxation licences during the same period; and will he also say why the Collector of Inland Revenue at Dublin is not instructed to pay the proceeds of these Irish local taxation licences direct into the Bank of Ireland to the credit of the local taxation account instead of forwarding the money to London, as is done at present.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The total is £3,952,609, of which £414,261 was for local taxation purposes. The proceeds are paid into the Bank of Ireland; but as the payments in respect of the licences are required by law to be made from the Exchequer, they have first to pass through the Exchequer account before being paid to the local taxation account.

Crown and Quit Rents in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM McKILLOP (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state in terms of years purchase the average price at which quit rents and Crown rents were redeemed in the years ending 31st December, 1901, 1902, and 1903.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The average price in Ireland is about twenty-five years purchase. The figures for Great Britain can be worked out if a week's notice is given.

Irish ex-Constable in the Liverpool Customs.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of

the Exchequer whether Sergeant Gallagher, late an officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Ballylinan, Queen's County, who has retired on pension, has been appointed to an official position in the Custom House, Liverpool; and, if so, whether he can state upon what recommendation this appointment has been made.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: This pensioner has been temporarily appointed to an unestablished position in the Customs at Liverpool on his own application, on the production of satisfactory evidence as to character.

MR. DELANY: Did not this man leave Ireland without paying his debts?

Population, Revenue, and Expenditure Return.

MR. JOHN ELIIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will cause to be laid upon the Table a similar Memorandum respecting the progress of population, revenue, and expenditure to that of No. 163 of 1896, bringing the figures up to date, excluding, if needs be, the years in which the figures were complicated by the expenditure for the South African War.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Memorandum to which the hon. Member refers is a very elaborate one, and involves much labour in its preparation. It deals with decennial periods, and I think the next issue had better be deferred until the completion of another decennial period in 1906.

Irish Banks and Government Money.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has any objection to state the conditions under which the Bank of Ireland and the Provincial Bank of Ireland deal with Irish Government moneys passing through their hands on the road to the Exchequer; whether, in addition to the benefit derived by the retention of these moneys for some days in their hands, they also receive special payment for transacting this business; and whether he will appoint an independent Committee to inquire into and

report on the existing position of the Bank of Ireland and the Provincial Bank of Ireland in relation to the State and to the other joint stock banks of Ireland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The revenue receipts paid into the Bank of Ireland are credited to the Exchequer on the day of receipt; those paid through the Provincial Bank are transferred after an interval of a week. The banks receive no remuneration for their work in bringing revenue to the Exchequer other than the benefit they derive from the temporary use of the money. I do not think any object would be gained by the appointment of a Committee such as suggested by the hon. Member. The Treasury is entirely satisfied with the relations of the Bank of Ireland with the Government, which date from its establishment, and which have since been constantly referred to in Acts of Parliament. Those relations were carefully considered in connection with the Bank Act of 1892, and the provisions of that Act remain in force for twenty years, i.e., until 1912.

Dublin Telegraph Messengers.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called to an order issued by the Dublin authorities that all boys engaged there as telegraph messengers over sixteen are to seek for other employment or be dismissed after three months; whether he is aware that in the past town postmen were recruited from the efficient boys, and that there are a number of those boys over eighteen years of age who have no trade or other available means of employment; and, if so, will he say if this order has been issued with his sanction; and whether the Dublin authorities are urging these boys to join His Majesty's Army by promising them re-employment after three years service in the Army.

THE POSTMASTER - GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, West-houghton): I regret that it has been necessary to discontinue for a time the appointment of telegraph messengers at Dublin as assistant postmen, since there are already an unduly large number of assistant postmen waiting for estab-

lished appointments. The messengers over sixteen years of age have therefore been informed that it is to their advantage to seek other employment; but they have not been urged to join the Army.

Telephone Communication with Killarney.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether repeated applications have been received for the extension of telephonic communication to Killarney; and whether, in view of the fact that a number of tourists as well as local people would be served by the extension, he will say what is the objection raised against the giving of the required facilities in this matter.

LORD STANLEY: A considerable number of applications for the extension of the Trunk Telephone System in Ireland have been received, and a comprehensive inquiry is now being made as to the possibility of meeting these demands. The plans now in preparation include one for an extension to Killarney, and I shall be glad if it is found practicable to carry it out. The difficulty in the way of the extension of the Trunk System in the South of Ireland has been the large expenditure involved, owing to the length of the lines. Unfortunately, the traffic and revenue on the existing lines are small.

Cotton Manufactures—Proposed International Conference.

MR. HARCOURT (Lancashire, Rossendale): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is yet able to give the promised answer to the request made to him by a deputation at Manchester in January, that His Majesty's Government should take the initiative in summoning an International Conference of those interested in the manufacture of cotton, with a view to considering the present and future difficulties of the industry and the best methods of dealing with them.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The subject is engaging a great deal of the attention

of the Government, but the deputation to which the hon. Gentleman refers rather put in the forefront of their argument the necessity of dealing with purchase in advance as a general system. I have some doubt about the propriety of summoning a conference in this country on the subject, because I doubt whether any good can be done by legislation; but there are probably other matters in which consumers and manufacturers of cotton have common interests with their Continental brethren, and if further inquiry should substantiate that view we shall be very glad to do what we can to further communication between branches of the manufacturing industry here and on the Continent.

Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government will afford time for the discussion of the adjourned Motion to send the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill to the Standing Committee on Law. Will the right hon. Gentleman also take into consideration the fact that the Committee on Law has now only one Bill before it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that the consideration which the hon. Gentleman has just laid before me is relevant to the answer to the Question on the Paper. It is well known that the question of giving Government facilities to private Members' Bills is one that must be used with the utmost caution, and they can never be suffered to be used except in regard to Bills which command the general assent of both sides of the House. That is the rule which, I think, invariably obtains, and I do not think it can be departed from in the present case.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I have to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can inform the House of the business to be taken during the week.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It may be for the convenience of hon. Members if I

state that if we succeed in getting the Second Reading of the Aliens Bill tonight and time is available we shall put down the Report of the Money Resolution in connection with the Savings Banks Bill, the Penal Servitude Bill, and Report of Supply. To-morrow, under the Ten Minutes Rule, the President of the Local Government Board will introduce the Valuation Bill, and the Secretary of the Education Department the Education (Local Authority Default) Bill. At the Wednesday afternoon sitting we shall take the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoptons Bill, and on Thursday Supply, Class 1.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): When is it proposed to proceed with the Irish Land and Labourers Bills?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Not in the course of the present week.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): What Votes are to be taken on Thursday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Votes 4 and 11.

NEW BILL.

CHARITABLE LOAN SOCIETIES (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Act, 1900," presented by Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 162.]

ALIENS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

* SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) rose to move as an Amendment, "That this House, holding that the evils of low-priced alien labour can best be met by legislation to prevent sweating, desires to assure itself

before assenting to the Aliens Bill that sufficient regard is had in the proposed measure to the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution." He said: I have no doubt that we shall discuss this Bill with a complete absence of heat; but that is not the case outside this House. [Sir HOWARD VINCENT: Hear, hear!] The hon. Member for Sheffield is probably aware that most violent and shameful attacks have been made on those who think it their duty to oppose a measure of this kind. Among the documents that have been circulated to those who are supposed to be opposed to the provisions of this Bill are, for example, such a monstrous statement as is published in a daily paper in London, and signed by a gentleman who does not hesitate to put his own signature to a breach of privilege—

"It is hoped that every London newspaper under British control will publish a list of the traitors in Parliament who vote against this measure."

That is not the frame of mind in which a measure of this kind ought to be discussed. While I am quite certain the Bill will be discussed in this House with calmness, I must warn Conservative Members who have thrown themselves into this agitation that they have raised a devil which they will find it difficult to lay. This Bill was originally a Socialistic measure, but it is now repudiated by Socialists who wisely became opposed to legislation of this description. It is something like what was forced on Louis Blanc in 1848; it was one of the four demands of the French Socialists which led to the break up of his Government, and which eventually led to his flight to this country where he arrived a destitute alien. It was rather unworthily suggested, I think, from the other side against those of us who oppose this measure that, as on the First Reading we did not divide the House, we dare not divide the House. It is not usual to divide the House against the introduction of a Bill; but I can assure hon. Members as far as I am concerned that they shall not be disappointed as to a division to-day, for it certainly is my intention to take the opinion of this House.

The hon. and gallant Member for the Tower Hamlets Division, who was a member of the Commission, has given an

Sir Charles Dilke.

enormous amount of time, trouble, and consideration to this subject. I agree with him that a case might be made out for legislation of this kind. So far from being an advocate of *laissez faire*, I have been one of the strongest opponents of that principle since I have been in the House of Commons. It is to some extent, as the hon. and gallant Member has said, a question of numbers and proportion. The hon. and gallant Member in his admirable letter in to-day's *Times*, gives what is the case of the most reasonable supporters of this measure. He states very frankly that he is much more concerned with the attack on the destitute alien than with the attack on the undesirable alien. It is, from his point of view, a question of competition, and he attributes to their supposed increase, sweating in this country. Now the hon. Member for the Elland Division, who will do me the honour to second my Motion, has, like myself, interested himself in this subject ever since he came into this House. He has written on the subject and he has travelled the Colonies; and this enables him to speak with regard to the subject. If I thought the tendency of this immigration were to have that effect upon sweating which the hon. and gallant Member thinks, I should not have placed the Amendment upon the Paper. The hon. and gallant Member says that the destitute alien is ruining our people by what he calls competition of the severest kind, and he concludes his letter by saying that—

"These persons may be called victims of persecution if we allow that everyone in Russia is persecuted more or less according to our ideas."

The letter appears to me to conflict with the leading passages of the Report of the Commission of which the hon. and gallant Member was a leading member. I shall ask the House to consider the Bill mainly on the lines of the Report and on the evidence of the witnesses before that Commission. As I read the Report of the Commission it is right in the teeth of the hon. and gallant Member. In the first place he assumes that the numbers we have to deal with in this country are very great, and that the proportion is greater than in other countries. I hope that hon. Members in this House who are

going to take part in this discussion and in voting on this Bill have not long since made up their minds upon it. I hope they will examine the Report of the Commission and the evidence. I fully agree with the Commission on this question of numbers. They state their full reasons, which must lead us deeply to suspect any figures except those in the census, and they state the deductions which have to be made from the numbers that have been returned as alien immigrants; and they point out how the sailors affect the question. I have always been in favour of special legislation in regard to sailors. Then they point out the enormous number of persons who are travelling every year on business and pleasure—the number who are, in fact, merely passing through this country. They conclude, therefore, that, although we cannot know for certain the exact number, the census is by far the best test that we have. There is an annual Return presented by the Board of Trade. It is a year since it has been distributed, and it is most unfortunate that we have to discuss this Bill in the absence of a continuance of that Return. But I think we may conclude in face of the evidence given by Mr. Llewellyn Smith before the Commission that there has been no change, and that the same tendency has continued. The facts brought out in last year's Return go to show an increased emigration of Britons from this country and a vastly increasing transmigration of aliens through this country, and not a constantly increasing number of aliens settled here. The Secretary of State for the Home Department in introducing this Bill no doubt unwittingly misled the House. He mentioned that the figures in 1901 showed an increase of 81,000 aliens, and in 1902, 82,000, which is at variance with the evidence before the Royal Commission. The suggestion is that there was a large addition to the alien population of this country in recent years. The Board of Trade says—

“It must not be inferred that these figures represent the real increase in the total number of alien immigrants who actually settle in this country.”

The Board gives the net increase in the alien population at 9,000 in 1901 and 8,800 in 1902, and shows that these numbers correspond exactly with the

census returns, and also that the balance of emigration outward is increasing. There is, moreover, an enormous transmigration of aliens for the United States. The balance of this enormous and increasingly vast transmigration is increasingly a balance outwards. The Board of Trade point out that the figures which the Home Secretary quoted include all the third class passengers coming into the country at certain ports. All these are not destitute, and many of these who are destitute proceed to Canada. Again, I would call the attention of the House to the enormous extent of this traffic to Canada. It is not shown in the American Return. There are a vast number of people carried by the Beaver Line to Canada, and most of them pass through ultimately to the United States. I cannot but think that an incidental defect of these regulations will be to heavily discourage our shipping trade, and a very large trade this shipping trade in emigrants has now become. It may startle the House, which has often heard of the enormous emigration in the past, that the number of persons passing through this country to foreign lands is more than it has ever been. The number of emigrants leaving this country by British liners and steamers for lands across the distant seas is greater than it ever was, even in the Irish famine, or the days of the great gold rush to California and Australia. The number conveyed in 1902 was 387,000—a gigantic trade, a trade of great value to the port of Liverpool, and to British shipping. In 1847, the beginning of the Irish famine, there were 258,000; in 1848, 248,000; in 1849, 299,000; in 1850, 280,000; in 1851, 335,000; and in 1852, when the gold rush was at its height, 368,000. From 1852 down to recent years the traffic had fallen away. Now it has vastly increased, and is greater than it has ever been before. [Major EVANS GORDON: Hear, hear!] The hon. Member cheers that fact, but the balance outward is continually increasing, and this does not affect the figures he has in his mind.

The hon. Member for Stepney in his letter says it is a question of numbers and of proportion. We have seen about numbers; now about proportion. There is a very interesting official

answer on this in the Board of Trade evidence. The percentage of aliens of any kind in this country is one-fourth of what it is in France. It is less than that in any Continental country, and is substantially not increasing, because the minute increase which is examined by the Board of Trade is more than accounted for by the increase in the number of rich men who have made London their home since London has become the fashionable centre in place of Paris. Not only is the proportion of aliens abroad larger, but, generally speaking, those aliens are poorer. They are, on the average, a less substantial class. As the hon. and gallant Member states in the second part of his letter it is a question of quality and proportion, I ask the House to consider what the percentage is. In Germany the proportion of aliens has increased. It used ten years ago to be 0·8, now it is 1·38; in Belgium it has also slightly increased. It was 2·6 and is now 2·82. In France it has slightly decreased, it was nearly 3, now it is 2½. In Switzerland it was once 6½, it is now over 9½. In this country it was 0·58, now it is 0·69, an infinitesimal increase. The Board of Trade in making these statements, and the Commission in repeating them, very frankly face the facts, and the Commission in its Report says—

“It will be observed that the proportion of alien immigrants in this country is comparatively small.”

In regard to the infinitesimal increase in the total the Commission says—

“In regard to the increase of the alien proportion from 0·58 to 0·69 per cent. some effect must be given to the evidence that greater care was taken in 1902 to ascertain the number of resident aliens than on previous occasions.”

Therefore the Commission did not itself believe there was any increase at all. Now it is undoubtedly a fact that once upon a time Members opposite did not share the view that this immigration was an entirely bad thing for the country. There has been a change of opinion, but not a change of facts. There is no increase of danger, but a change in the way in which that supposed or apprehended danger is regarded. There have frequently been times in our history when the number of destitute aliens in our country was infinitely greater than

now. There were times when it was as great as it is now in those foreign countries where it is greatest. It was infinitely greater than now. At the time when the numbers were so great there was the same opposition to the aliens as there is now, but it is a curious fact that when we look back hon. Members are always inclined to give away the past. They are always inclined to say alien immigration was a benefit in its day. At the time when the Palatines were brought into this country under Queen Anne at the public expense there was great opposition, and I do not wonder at it. There were 10,000 brought to London in a single year all destitute and all without a trade; again in 1793 the proportion of aliens was great, and it was a mistake to suppose that they were all people of noble birth flying from France. The great majority, as Dr. Cunningham tells us, were people of low birth.

I said on the introduction of the Bill that we were an emigrating rather than an immigrating nation. It is an extraordinary position in which this Bill places the House. We spend public money on emigration. We keep up a public Emigration Office, and the President of the Local Government Board is always signing orders for the sending out of paupers at the expense of the rates. We still send millions of destitute Irish—some people think by the fault of our legislation—to seek the hospitality of the United States, and we are to decline on the mere ground of destitution those expelled from Russia by religious persecution, and who come here in the proportion of about one-tenth to those received by the United States. We want to know on what ground it is suggested this exclusion should take place. The hon. and gallant Member says it is because sweating is promoted by the reception of these people in this country. The Resolution we have placed on the Paper represents the views of the Member for Elland and myself, which are the views held by the most advanced men in the labour movement and by those most affected, viz., those in the tailoring trade, that the evils of sweating are best dealt with by legislation, and the enforcement of regulations of a different kind. This matter was inquired into by

Sir Charles Dilke.

the House of Lords Committee on Sweating which reported on the point in these words—

“Undue stress has been laid on foreign immigration, inasmuch as we find that the evils complained of obtain in trades not affected by foreign immigration.”

MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): What date?

SIR CHARLES DILKE: The Committee reported in 1890. I suppose the hon. Member intends to suggest the evil has increased. There is no evidence to support that view. The evidence before the Commission is in the opposite direction, and the Report of the investigation in the East of London is diametrically opposite. We say this is a sham remedy for sweating, and that sweating must be met by other means, and, above all, by stringent enforcement of the workshop laws. There was a change made in the workshop laws in 1901, and some of us resisted the change, because we proposed a very different system which we believe would have met the position. In 1895 I had moved an Amendment which would have applied the New Zealand legislation directed against sweating, which has been adopted in other countries, and which a majority of those supposed to be most affected by this alien immigration themselves supported. Our case is that it is underpaid labour of English women and girls in those trades which is more responsible for the evils of sweating than the introduction of the alien. The Board of Trade, which issues to the House every year the interesting and valuable Paper of which I spoke just now, have not commented on that Paper since 1894. In 1894, when there was agitation on this subject, they commented on that annual Return. Going carefully into the evidence of Mr. Llewellyn Smith, who was responsible at the time, before this Royal Commission, which is before the House, Mr. Smith shows no sign of having changed his opinion.

The Board of Trade in 1894, reporting on the effect of destitute aliens on sweating, said that the worst of all the labour evils was the bringing in of married women to do men's work.

That evil at all events has no place among the Jews. The struggle is—

“not between English non-Jewish men and Jews . . . English women and girls are more and more brought in at lower wages, that is in trades where women are not organised.”

When this matter was considered on the Amendment to the Factory Act of 1895, of which I have spoken, a great impression was made upon some of us by the statement of a delegate of the tailoring trade, which is the trade most affected by these changes. That delegate said—

“The blackleg is the alien, though he come from my own town.”

I do not wish to quarrel with the Report signed by the hon. and gallant Member. I think it is a very fair statement of the case. In paragraph 129 the Commissioners state that—

“The effect on the three main industries—tailoring, cabinetmaking, and shoemaking—in which aliens are employed, has been beneficial. It has increased the demand for, and the manufacture of, not only goods made in this country which were formerly imported from abroad, but the materials used in them. It has indirectly given employment to native workers.”

As to the displacement of native labour, they also say the evidence has been very conflicting. I do not think that is a Report from which the hon. and gallant Member can find much encouragement for his views as expressed in to-day's *Times*. There are 25,500 aliens in the United Kingdom engaged in the tailoring trade, and the cabinet trade with under 5,000 comes next. The Commissioners say of wages—

“It certainly appears that notwithstanding the influx of aliens there has been a general tendency to increase in the trades mentioned.”

What becomes of the interruptions of the hon. Member who asked for the date of the House of Lords Sweating Report, when, according to the Royal Commissioners themselves, there has been an increase of wages in the very trades which are supposed to be most affected by alien labour? Without going into figures at greater length, I may say that the tailoring trade is, by a majority, in favour of the principles which my hon. friend and I are putting before the House to day—viz., that the matter should be dealt with in a different way from the method of exclusion. As to the furniture trade there is mentioned in the

evidence a very curious case which is typical of the state of things which prejudice has called into this question. It is the case of a man who came in as a destitute alien and who, in a few years, was possessed of a furniture factory in the neighbourhood of London, occupying thirteen acres of land, fitted with the most up-to-date machinery, employing 3,000 workmen (nearly all Christians), and doing an enormous export trade. The Board of Trade, commenting on cases of this kind in their scientific Report, said—

"The same individual within a few years excites the hostility of his English neighbours for his pauperism and their indignation for his wealth."

Now comes the question—whether if you are to have legislation of this kind it will be possible to retain the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution? The hon. and gallant Member for the Tower Hamlets Division, who has faced this question, says that he wants to keep these people out because of their competition, their numbers and their proportion, and he admits that all the population of Russia are victims of persecution. But the Jews are victims of persecution in a more peculiar degree than any persons in Russia, because in Russia other people have not been burned alive, or hunted through their towns as the Jews have been, and it amazes me that the hon. and gallant Member, who has seen Russia for himself, should class them with Russians as being victims of persecution. The words of which I am most afraid are, "likely to become a charge on public funds" and "having no visible or probable means of support." Let the House dismiss from its mind all question of getting rid of a special class of undesirable aliens. If that were all that was proposed, we might, and doubtless should, come to terms. The hon. and gallant Member admits that the one point on which he wants the Bill is not the undesirable but the destitute alien. The words I have quoted are not new; they were proposed and discussed in this House years ago, and they appear in the legislation of the United States. But in the United States they have led to legal decisions which are in the teeth of the official statement as to what is to be their meaning in our legislation. The

Sir Charles Dilke.

point was considered before the Royal Commission, and representatives of the police said it would be very difficult to deal with, while Mr. Llewellyn Smith said it would be impossible. We are distinctly told that these words, if put into our legislation, will be interpreted to keep out persons who have no money in their possession. The provision as to having money in their possession was found in the United States to be dodged in the same way that the provision requiring Members of this House to swear they possessed an estate used to be dodged. The money was simply handed from one person to another. That is not the test in the United States. It has there been held that a man is not under the mischief of the law who has two strong arms and ten fingers, and who is willing to work—that such a man brings capital and property into the country. But that is not the interpretation to be put upon the words here, and the hon. and gallant Member has made it clear that he would not support this Bill unless it was intended to have exactly the opposite effect. These words, curiously enough, have fallen under the ban directly of Mr. Gladstone and indirectly of Mr. Disraeli. When the words were suggested in 1894 Mr. Gladstone simply riddled them and tore them to pieces, and Mr. Disraeli's contention was that the poor Jew brought to us the spark of genius which was too often wanting in our race. When asked what the words would mean, Mr. Llewellyn Smith, speaking for the Board of Trade, said—

"You may pretend to do it, but you cannot do it."

That is, exclude them on the mere ground of absence of means. Without that exclusion hon. Members opposite would not give twopence for the Bill.

The hon. and gallant Member opposite said the question must be settled by quality and proportion. The question of proportion I have dealt with; as to quality, I would implore hon. Members before they pass a measure of this kind to read the weighty evidence given before the Royal Commission by impartial men, representing public bodies, who had no axe to grind and were not prejudiced on either side. I would instance the evidence of such men as the Chairman of the

Whitechapel Board of Guardians, Canon Barnett, factory inspectors, and others whose evidence is altogether against the contention of hon. Members opposite. They say that sweating is declining, but, as I say, I would have stronger anti-sweating legislation, such as we have frequently proposed in this House, and in regard to which foreign countries are easily taking the lead of us. According to the evidence of Messrs. Vaughan and Herbert Evans, His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, sweating is declining. Further, the evidence of Dr. Shirley Murphy, Medical Officer of Health for London; of Dr. Hamer, his assistant; of Dr. Niven, Medical Officer of Health for Manchester; of Mr. Ward, vaccination officer, and of all the Poor Law and school board authorities, is overwhelmingly against this Bill. Dr. Shirley Murphy, for instance, speaks of the regular lives led by these destitute aliens, and the total absence of drinking among them. Dr. Hamer speaks of their admirable lives, and I would particularly refer to Question 3963. He shows that the mortality, even where these aliens are overcrowded by no fault of their own, is much lower than among our own people. Captain Denniss, who has for ten years been chairman of a board of managers of the School Board in East London, gave evidence which was tremendously strong on the subject of the Jewish children in the schools, and he applied to them the very epithet which hon. Members opposite would be inclined to withhold. He speaks of their special "manliness," and as he is an officer of the Royal Engineers he knows what he is speaking about. The divisional superintendent of the Tower Hamlets Division, the chairman of the continuation schools committee, and the headmasters of the Board schools to which the children go all give them the same character. The headmaster of the Christian Street Board School says—

"The Jewish children are above our boys."

The headmaster of the Settle Street Board School says the same thing. The headmaster of the Betts Street Board School says of the Jewish children—

"They show better knowledge of English History than the English children. They are proud to become English."

That is the overwhelming evidence of every impartial witness but one, who was called before this Commission. I appeal to those who are neither Jews nor persons in sweated trades—to those who represent public authorities who came before this Commission, school board people, Poor Law people, factory inspectors, the clergy and such people. As I say, in the present day hon. Members opposite, when we ask them about this exclusion of those who are victims of persecution, and put to them a case from the past, say, "Yes, it would have been shameful and wicked, and contrary to the interests of this country, to exclude the people you name, but we are now dealing with a wholly different state of things." I am not old enough to remember 1848, but I can remember the people who came over in that year, and the effect they had upon art workmanship in this country, and upon trades in Birmingham and London. At that time the feeling was such that had a measure of exclusion been proposed it would have been very difficult to get these aliens in. But in 1871, I remember very well that you would have kept them out. I remember the state of feeling in 1871. Take the case of the most distinguished ambassador in the world. You now think that you would have let him in when he came hither as a destitute alien in 1871; but I remember the feeling at the time. Hon. Members would have been more inclined to have boiled these men in oil. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] I see the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield in his place. How many trades in Sheffield and how much improvement in Sheffield manufactures have been due to alien workmen? I know the hon. and gallant Member will give up the question in the fashion I have described. When he was at the head of the Detective Department in this country the hon. and gallant Member conceived a very strong opinion on the subject of alien immigration and he has maintained it ever since, and it fits in very well with the opinion which he holds on another subject. He made some years ago a great point in Questions to the Foreign Office about what he described as the monstrous and wicked case of the Spanish anarchists, referring to about twenty-eight people who came to this country in July, 1897, who were alleged to

be anarchists to whom this country was giving shelter and protection. The hon. Member would have had them handed over to the Spanish Government to be hanged outside the lines at Gibraltar. We were not, however, satisfied with the character given to those men at that time, but had such men attempted to land in our country under the provisions of this Bill they would have undoubtedly been excluded and put on board ship, landed at some foreign port, extradited and hanged. It was a good job that we were not satisfied with the account given of their characters, because it was afterwards admitted by the Spanish Government that these men had been improperly charged as anarchists and that they had been tortured in defiance of the law. Two of them were actually paid their fares back by the Spanish Government, with apologies for having been treated as they were. I am afraid that in this country, though not in this House, there has been an agitation kindled and fanned in the way I have described and that an anti-Jewish feeling has been aroused. It is impossible to close our eyes to that fact. Those who read the newspapers which support this Bill cannot help seeing what the tone is. The faults which are set down to the Jews are caused by persecution in the past—the historical growth of the persecution of that race. The principle of the right of asylum, strong as it is, in the case of Jews ought to appeal with double strength to every one holding Christian principles, as a proper exchange for the hateful and shameful system of un-Christian persecution. And before you change these principles, of which the country is proud, in this matter an overwhelming case ought to be made out. I have examined the figures, numbers, and proportion alleged by the hon. and gallant Member, and I ask the House to say whether any overwhelming necessity has been established for this Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Eiland): I beg to second the Motion which has been moved by the right hon. Baronet. I am aware that my task is not an easy one in view of the anti-Jewish feeling which exists in some parts of the country, but I hope that this House may be made to feel that a

↳ *Sir Charles Dilke.*

good deal of outside public opinion has placed far too high an estimate upon the social and economic effects of alien immigration at the present time. This Bill appears to have many of the characteristics of panic legislation. In many directions the evils complained of have been exaggerated. This measure has adopted in some cases remedies which I think I shall be able to show will be totally ineffective, and above all it ignores much greater evils which may result from the Bill. My right hon. friend has dealt so fully with the question of the number of aliens at present coming into this country that I shall not say anything on that point except that I think it is very unfortunate indeed that the Home Secretary, speaking with more authority than anyone else, when the measure was first introduced should have used figures which it is so utterly impossible to substantiate as those which the right hon. Gentleman put forward during the First Reading. He said that we had to reckon 81,000 aliens as having come to this country to stay in 1901, and 82,000 in 1902; and in another part of his speech the right hon. Gentleman told the House that the total increase of immigration of aliens from 1891 to 1901 was 68,000 less than what he alleged to be the total in either of the two years he had alluded to. It may be pardonable in a working man, after seeing a few streets filling up with aliens and whose purview is limited to the East End boroughs, to believe that the state of things he sees is happening all over the country, but it is unpardonable in those who are acquainted with the statistics which any of the Government Departments can supply. The Report, upon which the whole of this Bill is supposed to be based, gives the only figures that you can really take, and they are census figures. In judging of the number of aliens who come into this country according to those figures, in the last few years there were only something like 7,500 aliens added to the population in the course of each year. Then there is another popular superstition about the aliens, and that is that they are liable to introduce a large number of diseases into this country. If we read the papers which influence public opinion outside we read such phrases as

"The small-pox epidemic was attributed to the scum washed on to our shores from dirty water coming from foreign drain pipes." Just to explode that illusion I will read the conclusions of the Report upon which this legislation is said to be based. The Report calls attention to the opinion of Dr. Williams, who is the medical officer of the Corporation of the City of London. He says—

"As to the health of the alien immigrant I should say it was fairly good. The number of cases of infection introduced that I have detected amongst these people has not been numerous, speaking as a whole. I cannot say that much infectious disease has come into the country among these people."

This view is borne out by the report of the Poor Jews' Shelter, through which a very large number of foreign aliens pass. The officials at that shelter say that "During six years only one case of sickness has occurred amongst the thousands who have passed through the shelter." It is practically certain that disease is not a serious question of which the country need be afraid.

There is rather more of a case to be made out for a slight rise in the criminal statistics of this country owing to the number of aliens who come in. There is a larger proportion of the actual population of aliens who are convicted in the course of the year than the proportion of the general public. But it is pointed out in the Report that whereas the American alien is only 10 per cent. of the whole of the aliens, the American aliens convicted of criminal offences amount to 23 per cent., that is, most crime among aliens is to be found, not among that part of the alien population which it is particularly desired to exclude. But with regard to this question of excluding criminals there really ought not to be any difference of opinion between the two sides of the House. I think it may be said that there is hardly any one on this side any more than on the other side of the House who would not be delighted to exclude the persons in some of the categories in the schedule of this Bill. It is true that persons like criminals or prostitutes may be kept out by legislation, but I have shown that there are very few diseased persons to be kept out; if, however, these latter can be kept out so much the better. The experi-

ence of America, whatever else it proves, proves that this legislation is perfectly useless to keep out criminals and prostitutes. Statistics of the last three years in America show that in these two categories only twenty in the one class and seven in the other were excluded. The present Commissioner of Police, Mr. Henry, who gave evidence, with which Sir Edward Bradford concurred, said that he regarded it as impracticable to keep out criminals. Neither of these gentlemen could think of any way in which it could be done. I think most of us would agree with one of the clauses of the Bill with regard to criminals, and that is, that an addition to the sentence should be made if the alien is actually convicted in England. I cannot see any objection to that, and I think that would probably have the support of the House.

These questions to which I have alluded seem to me to be rather questions of minor importance. There are two great charges in the popular mind against aliens, which are, first of all, that they cause overcrowding, and, secondly, that they come in with low-class and low-priced labour in order to compete disastrously with English workmen. With regard to the question of overcrowding, my right hon. friend hardly spoke. What is the total of overcrowding in this country? I am not going into statistics, because the House for the last four years has been having theoretical debates on the question of overcrowding, and they have been given over and over again. In every one of our great industrial centres overcrowding is a terrible evil, but it is almost universal, and exists in English towns just as much as in those in which there is an alien population. There were figures given, I think, before the Commission in regard to London itself by the Assistant Medical Officer of Health of the London County Council. These showed that the worst overcrowding was not in the Jewish districts but in some parts of Lambeth, St. Pancras, and Kensington. But at any rate overcrowding is certainly as great in many parts of London and other towns where there is no alien question at all. What real difference in this great question can the addition of 7,000 foreigners a year make? Take London. According to the Commission Report the increase per

year in London of the alien population is 3,800. The increase of the population of London per year is 90,000 or more. It is a mere drop in the bucket. It is inappreciable in dealing with the gigantic problem of overcrowding. Overcrowding cannot be dealt with by peddling exclusions such as are proposed in this Bill. It is an organic evil and the organic evil is the want of cheap and quickly built houses, and the want of building land. Nothing can be more futile than to try to shift on to the shoulders of these miserable foreigners the evils which really come to us owing to our system of taxation of houses and the difficulty of dealing with the question of land in this country.

Then I come to the charge that low-priced alien labour displaces the native worker, and here again it seems to me that alien low-class labour is a symptom and not a cause. Here again there has been a great deal of exaggeration. The Home Secretary in introducing the Bill told the House casually, though he did not dilate upon it, that a large amount of labour is displaced. My right hon. friend who moved the Amendment quoted some clauses of the Report, but he rather minimised, I think, the effect of one of the decisions of the Commission in paragraph 131. They said in regard to the question of displacement—

"On the whole we arrive at the conclusion that it has not been proved that there is any serious direct displacement of skilled English labour."

they go on to say—

"Leaving the skilled market out of the question, we think it proved that the industrial conditions under which a large number of aliens work in London fell below the standard which ought to be maintained."

They did not say any more than the Lords Committee in 1890 said. They did not say that there was any serious displacement of labour. The Lords Committee in 1890 said practically the same thing. Nowhere, I repeat, is it alleged that the Englishman is driven out of the market. On the other hand, the Reports of the Board of Trade inspectors declare that trades have actually been created. Export trades in mantles, boots, and shoes, have either been created or, at any rate, largely stimulated by the appearance of those foreigners in our midst. The point

Mr. Trevelyan.

of the accusation against them is that they work under sweated conditions. Aliens coming into this country find a system of unregulated industry in existence. They find that they can work under filthy surroundings, that they can work for wretchedly low wages and in many cases no wages at all, and that they can work as long as they or their immediate masters please. That is an evil which exists, and many Englishmen do the same. Some thrive by it and rise out of the condition; others stick there; others sweat it out and die there. I do not see the point of making these unfortunate aliens the scapegoat for our own neglect in this matter. We ought to be thankful to them for turning the search-light of public reprobation on a system under which our own people suffer in common with them. This is not the place to discuss what legislation can be applied to the sweating industries of this country. Some of us believe in more stringent legislation than others, but at any rate I think we might all go far in the direction of bringing the sweated industries more directly under the active and effective control of factory inspectors. That is the least we can do. But it is really time that we did begin to consider what our colonists have been able to do in dealing with sweated industries before we go to new legislation such as this, with the faint-hearted idea that by excluding a few aliens we shall be able to make a difference in dealing with this problem. In the Colonies they dealt with sweating and completely wiped it out in many of the great cities of New Zealand and Australia.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): They do not allow aliens to come in.

MR. TREVELYAN: Well, they do not try to go there in large numbers. I believe that a great part of this agitation is directed against one particular set of aliens, namely, the Jews, and I believe that this agitation is directed by those who are really forcing public opinion against those who cannot be called destitute as well as against those who are mean and poverty-stricken. All the evidence brought forward goes to prove that the great mass of these aliens do in the long

run become good enough citizens, that they are fairly sober and industrious, that they have their vices, that they are gamblers, perhaps more than the average Englishman. Certainly they drink less than Englishmen. The evidence goes to prove that they love education, and that their children are active and clever in the schools. In that admirable report by the hon. Member for Stepney on the countries from which these unfortunate people come, he has pointed out that in Russia one of the reasons which cause the emigration of the Jewish population is that they cannot get good education under the Russian system for their children. No doubt they are people who are very often dirty, but it is rather difficult to establish the proportion of national filth amongst the poor of different nations. The authorities differ. Canon Barnett says that the only difference really to be found among the very poor and impoverished aliens and the English is that the English native sweeps the dirt under the bed and that the alien throws it out of the window. I remember reading in Robert Louis Stevenson's account of Edinburgh that in the old days the wayfarer in the neighbourhood of Canon-gate would be constantly warned to avoid the slops and dirt thrown out upon the streets from the upper windows. I think we may hope that as the conditions of life of those people improve they will be just as susceptible to improvement as ever the Scotch were or as ever the English were. The most that this Bill can effect is the exclusion of a few hundred people. Those people are largely, as is almost universally admitted, refugees from persecution, either direct or indirect. In Russia it is to a great extent very direct indeed. There have been massacres within the last few months. There are laws which have driven the population from the country districts into the towns, so that their miserable condition there is due very largely directly to the legislation of the Government under which they live. In Roumania for years they have been living in a condition of constant and deliberate persecution. The hon. Member for Stepney speaks of the malignant policy against the Jews. I think we ought to have a far deeper necessity if we are going just at this time to enter into legislation which may exclude the

Hebrew from asylum here. I have no particular belief in Providential return for national calamity or personal well-doing, but I cannot help thinking that at this very time while Eastern Europe is in some cases hounding to death and in many cases to exile these people, that we should keep open the shelter which only a small portion of them are glad to take. We shall not as a nation be the losers by it. We cannot doubt that those who in future have the teaching of the Jewish population will inculcate patriotism to this country, where for a half a century they have found complete civic freedom as they have not been able to do in most parts of the world. At this juncture I most of all dread what may happen if we enter upon this policy of exclusion. Among many people already—not many in this House, but many people outside of it—there is a frankly anti-Semitic movement, and I deplore it. I believe this is an evil step in the same direction as the Governments of Russia and Roumania have been going. It may be that it is not intended, but the action of many Members of this House has been calculated to excite the feeling which we know to exist in part of our population, and with the case of the persecution of Dreyfus reverberating through the West of Europe there is no use saying that there is no danger of this kind in our own country. I think it is a fortunate thing that we have been peculiarly free from any anti-Semitic movement in England, and we have not lost by it. We have had statesmen, manufacturers, merchants, and the like who themselves, or their predecessors, came to this country as aliens exactly as do those people you now wish to exclude. It seems to me a useless and short-sighted, and at this moment very largely an inhuman policy, to keep out those who may after all be like those of whom I have just spoken.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'That' in order to add the words 'this House, holding that the evils of low-priced alien labour can best be met by legislation to prevent sweating, desires to assure itself before assenting to the Aliens Bill that sufficient regard is had in the proposed measure to the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

***MAJOR EVANS GORDON**: The Amendment which has been moved by the right hon. Baronet and by the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire has undergone considerable changes since it was first put down on the Paper. The original intention, apparently, was to move a direct negative to the Second Reading of the Bill; but wiser counsels have perhaps prevailed. In the course of these more neutral proposals laid before us, the right hon. Baronet has done me the honour to refer to a letter which appeared in *The Times* this morning above my signature. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman should say—as he did say—that I would not give twopence for this Bill if it did not include the destitute amongst those with whom the measure now before the House is calculated to deal. I said, and I adhere to the statement, that I think a very important part of this question is its economic side, and that the destitute who come here do play an important part in rendering legislation necessary, for reasons which I will endeavour to describe. The Amendment on the Paper raises two questions: the prevention of sweating and the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution in foreign countries. I have never minimised the bad treatment of the Jews in Russia and Roumania, and I have no desire to see our doors closed to the genuine victims of persecution in those countries, provided the movement is carried on under proper and reasonable regulations, without inflicting detriment and hardship on our own people. I desire as ardently as anyone in this House to see an amelioration in the condition of the Jews in Eastern Europe, but I cannot countenance the transfer of their burdens to the shoulders of the poorest and most helpless of our own population.

I think, however, that the House should have some clear idea of what is meant when the word "persecution" is used and that we should realise how far the principle of free asylum is likely to lead us. From an English standpoint everyone outside the official class in Russia is in a sense "persecuted."

The law is harsh, stern, and uncertain in its operation; the lives and liberties of the people are almost absolutely in the hands of those who administer it. In any case it is not the Jews alone who are badly treated. The Roman Catholics throughout the Empire have almost if not quite as much to complain of, and the operations of the Russian Government in Finland, and among the Stundists and other sects will be fresh in hon. Members' minds. With regard to the Jews a good deal of misapprehension exists. The right hon. Gentleman's generalisations would lead anyone unacquainted with the facts to suppose that the whole of the five or six million Jews in Russia were the victims of persecution. This is by no means the case. A large number of them are prosperous merchants, bankers, and tradesmen; a still larger number make a good living as shopkeepers and artisans. With some exceptions they are compelled to live within the fifteen western provinces commonly known as the "Jewish Pale" and in the ten Governments of Poland. But this is a country 1,000 miles long by 1,000 miles broad, containing more than 356,000 square miles of land, and a population of 43,000,000 souls, of whom some 5,000,000 are Jews. In itself this would be no great hardship. There is room and employment to spare for the whole Hebrew population if they were free to inhabit any part of this vast territory. But this is not so. By the May laws of 1882, all Jews who could not prove their right to live in the country and whose names did not appear upon the village registers were compelled to move into the towns. These towns, with few exceptions, are in no sense industrial centres where employment can be found for large numbers of people. This produced an artificial congestion and is probably the cause of the westward flow of emigration from Russia which has since been going on. The stream is by no means all pure water; sometimes it contains deleterious and objectionable matter. The question before us is whether it should be filtered or not. With regard to the May laws, it is a remarkable fact that even where no restrictions as to residence exist, as in Poland and Austria, for instance, there is an inherent tendency among the Jews to herd together in the towns. As

Sir Samuel Montagu told the Royal Commission, when the walls of the Ghetto in Rome were thrown down, the people refused to avail themselves of their freedom. The same thing is manifest in New York, in London, and in other industrial centres to-day. It is this characteristic which differentiates this class of immigration from any other form of migration in the world, and which presents the most difficult feature in the problem before us. The right hon. Baronet quoted certain figures which are quite illusory.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** Why did the Royal Commission give them if they were useless?

***MAJOR EVANS GORDON:** What I object to is the inference which the right hon. Baronet draws from them. You must take into consideration that in France not 50 per cent. of the aliens are wage-earners; and there is nothing to compare in France or in any other country outside America, to the concentration of the immigration of aliens in certain areas of the East End of London. Although the May laws of 1882 press hardly on masses of the Russian Jews, they are not regarded as an unmixed evil by those unaffected by them. In the villages of the "Pale," nearly all the craftsmen are Jews, and the tailors, the shoemakers, the blacksmiths, who have been left in possession would not welcome an influx of their co-religionists which would expose them to serious competition. I do not desire to weary the House with a lecture on Russian methods of government. I have embodied the results of my personal investigations in a Report which is included in the evidence of the Royal Commission. Apart from deplorable outbreaks of violence, such as have recently occurred at Kischineff, which the authorities took no immediate or adequate steps to prevent, what we somewhat loosely call persecution here is a whole system of government in Russia, under which the entire population, and especially the Jews and other non-orthodox sects, suffer. I think it is a very large order, a very serious step to say that anyone who chooses to say that he is persecuted in his own

country, should, irrespective of all other conditions, be allowed to come into this country, free from all other inquiry. We must remember that Russian methods are not our methods and that, however much we may reprobate them, our first duty is to our own people. We have to safeguard them against becoming the indirect victims of the misgovernment of foreign countries.

In dealing with this question of the treatment of the Jews it is impossible to ignore the action of the Jewish authorities themselves. For years past they have found it necessary to repatriate large numbers of people, who, to quote the words of the Chairman of the Jewish Board of Guardians, ought never to have come here. It is hard to believe, if the conditions were as bad in Russia and as good in England as is sometimes alleged, that such a course would be adopted. Why do these people come? They come because the elaborate machinery at Hamburg and elsewhere, which has been set up to meet the requirements of the American laws, is not put into operation in our favour. In 1899, 609 cases were repatriated. In 1900, an exceptional year, 1825 cases, and in 1903, 369 cases were sent back to their homes out of a total of 466 new arrivals who applied to the Jewish Board of Guardians for assistance. That is 78 per cent. The total number of repatriated cases in 1903 was 1154. These repatriated persons are not all new arrivals, many of them have been here for some years. What have they been doing during that time? They have been swelling the ranks of the unemployed, the sweated, and the overcrowded. They have been drawing upon charitable resources, and helping to drag down those who but for their presence might have prospered. I should explain that each "case" is estimated to average three souls, so that the number of people annually sent back to their country for one cause and another is considerable. The waste of money, the sorrow and disappointment caused by this useless travelling is deplorable to think of. The Bill before the House will put some check upon it, because by setting up a standard of health, character, and efficiency for those we accept, we shall

deter those who do not reach that standard from coming, and shipping companies from bringing them.

It is sometimes asserted, I think I have heard something of the kind during this debate, that the undesirable among the immigrants are so few as to make no difference, that the industrial field in England is unlimited and that there is room for all who have come or who may come in future. On the other hand, we have evidence of the constant endeavours made by the Jewish authorities, not only to send these people back to their homes, but to emigrate them to America and South Africa, and by means of notices distributed abroad to prevent them leaving their native country. How in face of these facts can it be asserted that the influx from Eastern Europe is wholly desirable or industrially advantageous? Now, Sir, presumably the right of asylum for Hebrew immigrants is safe in the hands of the Jewish Board of Guardians, and I would ask the House what reasonable objection can there be to the proposed action of the State in doing in its own interests what the leaders of the Jewish community do to protect their co-religionists who have settled in this country. I may be met with the question, "Why, when so much is done by the Jewish authorities to relieve the pressure, is legislation necessary?" Sir, the answer is that the Board of Guardians and Russo-Jewish Committee only deal with such cases as apply to them and who consent to return when urged and advised to do so. Within my knowledge the least desirable among this class of immigrants absolutely refuse to return, even at the expense of other people. And here let me point out that the difficulty in securing the re-admission of these people into Russia, which is supposed to exist, is imaginary. The Russian Consul, when giving evidence recently in the Lord Mayor's Court, said that he had in a few months distributed 800 passports at the instance of the Jewish Board of Guardians for repatriation purposes. Moreover, these charitable bodies deal with people of their own faith only, and the most undesirable elements of all in our foreign population are not Jews. There are quarters in London infested and infected by the riff-raff and scum of all nations.

Major Evans Gordon.

I need not name their professions. A deputation which waited on the Home Secretary not long ago had something to say on this subject, and I sincerely trust that this Bill may be effective in ridding our streets of those elements which now render them a disgrace and reproach.

The right hon. Gentleman, and those who think with him, seem to be of opinion that this country should be an asylum for all who are dissatisfied with the laws of their own land—that the word "persecution" should be the Open Sesame irrespective of all other considerations—that it is a cloak which covers a multitude of sins—and that the comfort and the moral and economic welfare of our own people are quite subordinate matters. Where does the right hon. Gentleman draw the line? Does he draw it anywhere? Does he deny to us the well-known principle of international law that a nation has a right to exclude foreigners? Why should we not exclude foreigners who are diseased or of bad character, or hopelessly destitute? Or does he carry the doctrine of 'ree asylum for the victims of persecution abroad to the absurd length of including foreigners who are manifestly objectionable? And is it fair or wise to permit the continuance of a movement which bears so hardly upon our own poor in many districts because there may at some uncertain date arise another disturbance like the Commune in France, when even then the permissive character of the Bill would safeguard political refugees. It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman, safe in the sylvan seclusion of the Forest of Dean, to philosophise on the traditions of England and extol the beauties of free and unrestricted asylum to all and sundry. What part of the burden which this asylum imposes has he borne? Has he seen his friends and constituents driven from their homes and deprived of their work? Will he undertake to house 10,000, 20,000, or 30,000 foreigners in the homes of his constituents and seek to pacify them with speeches about the open door? Sir, the open door is a very fine thing so long as it is someone else's. Why are the sympathies of the hon. Gentlemen opposite reserved for the aliens? Are they aware of the conditions among our

own people in the East End of London and in many other parts of the country due to this unrestricted influx? They demanded a *referendum* on the question of imported cheap labour in South Africa, where it is urgently required, where the employment of our own people is strictly safeguarded, and where not a single white man will be displaced either from his work or from his home. Will they take the verdict of a *referendum* upon the question of the foreign invasion of the East End? If not, why not? Why are they so anxious to exclude cheap alien labour from a land where it competes with no white man's work when they see no harm in the introduction of alien labour into the Lanarkshire mines or the Beckton Gas works where it competes with native workmen in the most direct and effective manner? Sir, there is ample evidence in the Report of the Royal Commission as to the evils arising from the unrestricted inflow. They are by no means confined to the East End of London. Complaints are made in many parts of the country and are increasing in number and in force. But it is upon the East End that the burden presses most heavily. There signs are not wanting that the oppressed of foreign countries are becoming the oppressors here.

The right hon. Baronet in his speech on the introduction of this Bill told the House that the whole agitation was directed against 20,000 tailors, 3,500 cabinetmakers, and 3,000 shoemakers. If this were so we may be certain that the recommendation of the Royal Commission would never have been made. But it is not so. I should like to draw the attention of the right hon. Baronet and of this House to the fact that recently the Alien Immigration Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians estimated the number of foreign workers in this country at 200,000. The question of numbers is a difficult one to decide. The Board of Trade figures make no pretence to accuracy and have given rise to some exaggeration. But neither the advocates for restriction nor its opponents can draw any valid conclusion from them. The census comes nearer the truth, but even the census does not give an exact picture of the facts. It shows that in 1901 there were

54,000 foreigners in the Borough of Stepney alone; but this figure, large as it is, does not include the children of foreign parents born in this country. They are technically English. Sir, I do not desire to enter into any argument on this point beyond saying that had I been born in Germany, I should not have become a German. When, however, we are considering the effects of immigration, we must take into account the total increase in population to which immigration has given rise. If a couple go into a house to-day and in five years time have four children, a census of the house should show six persons and not two. A sample census was taken by the Registrar-General, which showed that an increase of 50 per cent. would have to be allowed if these children were included. Therefore it is safe to say that the real number of people of foreign extraction in Stepney in 1901 was nearer 80,000 than 50,000. Sir, what does this mean? It is impossible that a movement of this magnitude should have gone forward without an immense displacement of the native population. Mr. Harper, Statistical Officer of the London County Council, estimates that more than 52,000 native persons left Stepney in the ten years 1891 to 1901. Concurrently, according to the Chief Superintendent of the H Division, 107 streets in Stepney alone have in six years passed wholly into foreign occupation. And it is quite an error to suppose—as is constantly asserted—that the native inhabitants have been elbowed out by the pressure of commercial and industrial buildings. A prominent Jewish member of the Stepney Borough Council pointed out to the Royal Commission that, owing to the erection of large blocks of dwellings, the loss of house accommodation due to the erection of business premises has been more than counterbalanced. I have not time to dwell upon the hardship and suffering which this wholesale eviction has occasioned, or the bitterness of feeling which it has engendered, but I can assure the House, after long and close personal observation, that they are as real as they are under the circumstances natural. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to understand what the right hon. Baronet means when he says that the agitation is directed against a few

thousand tailors and shoemakers. Clause 4 of this Bill will, I hope and believe, do much to put an end to an intolerable state of things disastrous to native and alien alike.

Sir, I have detained the House too long already, or I would deal more fully with the many other evils of which the concentration and incidence of immigration in certain localities have been the cause. These are the questions of overcrowding, of high rents, of low wages, of sweating and cheap production purchased at a ruinous cost in bad conditions, and there is the question of the local tradesmen who have, in many instances, been ruined, and in all much reduced in circumstances. Upon all these subjects much might be said. Of course, in a Bill of this nature much must depend upon the nature of the regulations which are made under it, and the manner in which they are administered. With sound regulations and wise and careful administration I believe the measure will do much to mitigate and remove some of the evils to which I have referred. For my part, and on behalf of my constituents, I thank the Government for introducing it, and I hope it will have the cordial support of the great majority of this House. I do not think that the doubts and fears expressed by the right hon. Baronet and the seconder of this Amendment have any foundation in fact. Nor do I believe that in the hands of the present or any future Home Secretary the enforcement of the provisions of this Act is in the least likely to err on the side of harshness or severity.

* MR. HAYES FISHER (Fulham) said that every one of those who supported this Bill were in full sympathy with the historical aspect of the admission of the foreigner into England, and they agreed with the Report of the Royal Commission, which in one paragraph said: "We owe much to the foreigners, who have enabled us to become the manufacturers of the world." Neither were those who supported this Bill oblivious to the pathetic side of the case, which told them that England in all ages had been an asylum for those who had been driven from their own country on account of their religious,

Major Evans Gordon.

political, or social ideals. But he did not think, after reading this Bill, that the real right of asylum was to be taken away from those who might legitimately seek it. The historical side was very interesting and very beautiful, but no hon. Member could listen to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Stepney without being convinced that for the last twenty years we had been confronted with the squalid problem of pressure of poverty upon subsistence affecting one large portion of London and, he believed, in a lesser degree many other towns throughout the country, and it was not to be expected that Englishmen who had suffered, as those in the constituency of the hon. and gallant Member for Stepney had suffered, should regard the foreigner with that favourable eye with which Englishmen formerly viewed him. They saw the foreigner coming here and displacing them in the labour market; demanding a share of our rates, lowering the level of our social life, and increasing the numbers of our criminal population. The right hon. Baronet no doubt would dispute that part of the proposition. He even denied that the numbers were increasing. In his opinion, however, they had undoubtedly increased. It was true that the proportion the alien population bore to the other population of this country was small compared with other countries. The Committee which sat in 1889 arrived at the conclusion that, although the percentage of increase was not alarming, still there was an increase of immigration, and nobody who had studied the figures in the Report of that Committee could come to any other conclusion than that there had been a steady increase in proportion to the English population. If there was no increase why was there this agitation? Why was the question before the Royal Commission and why was the Bill before the House. The right hon. Baronet had said the proportion here was not so great as in other countries, but every foreign country, so far as he was aware, and certainly our self-governing colonies, whatever the proportions might be, had taken means to regulate the immigration of foreign paupers.

This was not a "must and shall" Bill: it was a Bill which merely set up certain

regulations under which aliens were to be admitted into this country in the future. It did not say they should be entirely prohibited: it merely said the Home Secretary should make regulations and conditions for their admission and residence. The right hon. Baronet had said that if this Bill were passed people like those who were admitted into this country in 1848 or 1871 would not be allowed to come here. He begged to differ. That matter would have to be regulated by the House of Commons, and such were the sentiments of this House that if this Bill were passed it would be very carefully watched in order to see what class of people were to be, or might be, prohibited from landing on our shores. Who would be prohibited? Those who had been guilty of extraditable offences within the past five years; prostitutes and those who lived upon their earnings, a growing class unfortunately in this country. People of notoriously bad character would also be subject to regulation; to that everyone would agree. The hon. Member for Elland would not give this Bill a Second Reading, but if it was not read a second time how was it possible that any regulations should be drawn up to exclude these undesirable classes of people. He did not think there was any reason why under this Bill the right of asylum should be discontinued to all those who desired and deserved the right of asylum. He admitted this Bill might lead to the prevention of thousands of poor people being landed in this country. We had a right to consider our own people first. This was not a hard measure, and if the immigration of these people dislocated our own population he did not see why the Government should not have some power to regulate that immigration. Stepney was, after all, not Palestine, and these undesirables might find their promised land elsewhere.

There were proposals in this Bill which might be very wisely used to prevent any great congestion, and nobody in the House when discussing this Bill in Committee would object to the clause which allowed a Court of Justice to repatriate a man who had been convicted of a felony or a misdemeanour and who had suffered a term of imprisonment. In fact, a strong opinion had been expressed by metropolitan police magistrates and judges for some power of that kind.

When these points had been carefully considered in Committee, as they would have to be, he believed the House would come to the conclusion that the time had arrived when this country ought to possess, as all other nations possessed, the power of regulating the influx of aliens. The Bill was constructed on sound lines, because it would minimise the evils of which the hon. and gallant Member for Stepney and many others had so much cause, from the British point of view, to complain, and could be so revised in Committee as fully to safeguard that right of asylum which Englishmen, with their love of liberty, had always been wishful of according to all who deserved it.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I desire in a few sentences to explain the reasons why I shall certainly give my vote in support of the Amendment. This Bill, it must be conceded, is an entirely new departure in British legislation, for it gives to an officer of the Executive, by his own act, without any reference to a Court of law or to judicial procedure, power to prohibit admission to these shores of any person who is not a subject of the Crown, provided he comes within certain categories. This is a change in the law so drastic, so revolutionary in its character, that it behoves those who propose it to show a case of overwhelming necessity, to show that the evils to be met are not merely local or transient, and to show that there are not more satisfactory and less objectionable methods open to us for dealing with such evils as undoubtedly exist. I do not deny for a moment that there are evils, though to a great extent they are local in their scope, connected with the immigration of aliens into this country, to which I will refer in a moment, which demand consideration, and for which I will endeavour to show that very simple remedies, not at all of this revolutionary character, can be found.

There are certain remarkable features about this question. In the first place we have the Report of the Royal Commission leading to a series of recommendations the Report does not in the least justify, and then we have the Bill going far in advance of the—as I think—illogical recommendations of the Commission.

I do not want to go into details or over ground already covered, but I will ask the House to consider what are the dimensions of the problem. We have at this time in the country an alien population, making the necessary correction for additions since the last census, of some 300,000 out of a total population of 42,000,000. I confess I was surprised at the smallness of the number, and still more when I found the Royal Commission Report, comparing decade by decade, gave the annual rate of increase between 1891 and 1901 as being smaller than that between 1881 and 1891. The numbers, as the right hon. Baronet has said, show that comparing our situation with that of other countries and particularly that of the United States, we have a far smaller proportion of aliens to population than any other civilised country in the world. We have considerably less than 1 per cent.; it rises to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in France, to $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Switzerland, and in the United States it is something like 14 per cent. If it be the evil it has been described to be, and I do not admit that to have an alien element in our population is an evil, then we are suffering from it to a much smaller extent than our commercial rivals in other parts of the world.

Then we proceed from numbers to quality—the social and industrial value of this element in our population. Pauperism has already been referred to, and here facts are significant and of more value than rhetoric; and it appears that though London is the only place where the matter assumes anything like a serious proportion—and even there it might almost be said to be confined to Stepney—only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are in receipt of Poor Law relief as compared with 8 per cent. of the total population of the Metropolis. Then as to industrial capacity, I do not wish to use exaggerated language and I will not attempt to compare industrially the poor aliens that come from Russia, Roumelia, Poland, and the East of Europe with the Walloons who found refuge here at the time of the Reformation, and still less with the Huguenots who came from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But at the same time it is an indisputable fact, which the evidence before

Mr. Asquith.

the Royal Commission attests, that these alien communities, settling for the most part in the East End of London and to some extent in industrial centres like Leeds and Manchester, have introduced or revived at least three considerable trades—cabinetmaking, shoemaking, and tailoring—and in these have added to the export trade of the country, the increase in the tailoring trade alone between 1888 and 1902 being from £4,700,000 to £6,300,000. As the Royal Commissioners point out, by origination or development of trade, aliens have increased the export of British-made goods and have added to the demand for raw material. In paragraph 144 of their Report the Commissioners state that the evidence went to show that these aliens were sober and thrifty, and of the children a Stepney teacher of large experience among them said they were particularly punctual and regular in school attendance, the percentage of attendance being as high as from 90 to 95, and showed a ready response to the call for expressions of sympathy with the sick and afflicted. This is impartial evidence as to the value of the element this immigration introduces into our population.

It is suggested that these immigrants belong in greater measure than the persons of the corresponding social class in this country to the criminal classes. I will make this concession to the supporters of this legislation—that the evidence does show a larger percentage of crime among them as compared with the native-born population. But percentages in a matter of this kind are dangerous, and I think, if they were analysed, it would be found that the great bulk of the offences of which aliens are convicted are not of a serious character and are offences punished with relatively short terms of imprisonment. Under these circumstances, what case has been made out for legislation, above all for the kind of legislation proposed in the Bill?

Before I sit down I will indicate one or two changes which I think might with advantage be made. The Bill contains three provisions of an especially drastic character—it gives power of refusal of admission and of expulsion to the Home

Secretary, and it gives power to the Local Government Board to prescribe particular areas of alleged congestion or over-population, and to prevent immigrants from making their homes there. I confess, when I look at the schedule of the Bill and find power given to Executive officers, without any safeguards of judicial procedure or observance of the laws of evidence, to prohibit admission of an immigrant on the ground that he is likely to become a charge upon public funds or has no visible means of supporting himself or that he is of notoriously bad character, I am aghast at the administrative problem presented. I should have been prepared on this matter to take the opinion of those most conversant with our police and criminal administration. Take the case of "notoriously bad character." What does it mean? Notoriously to whom or where? How are you going to tell that a person is of notoriously bad character unless you accept the testimony of the police in the country from which, in all probability, he has been expelled for religious or political reasons? Very much the same may be said of the other categories. How do you know what means of living a man has; how can you judge of the probability of his requiring relief from the rates? I will undertake to say that many of the Walloons, Huguenots, and others who in days gone by established themselves here and contributed a most valuable ingredient to the industrial development of the country would have come under these categories. If this power had then existed they might have been excluded, not only to their own detriment, but to the infinite injury of the country which gave them hospitality. Look at the evidence before the Committee. Look at the testimony which is to be found in the dissentient Report—the only Report which seems to me to be founded upon the evidence—of Sir Kenelm Digby. First of all there is Sir Edward Bradford, who for ten years was at the head of the Metropolitan Police, and who in that capacity exhibited tact, judgment, and administrative efficiency, which it is impossible to eulogise too highly. He tells you that any provision of this kind is absolutely unworkable;

and in that opinion he has the concurrence of the present Commissioner of Police, Mr. Henry. Further support is given to that view by Sir Albert de Rutzen, the chief magistrate of the Metropolis, and one whose experience is wider and longer than that of any other magistrate upon the Bench. It would be almost presumptuous to add any testimony of mine, but I do say that having myself in days gone by been responsible for these matters in London, I do not hesitate to say that I absolutely concur in the judgment of these experienced administrators. In my opinion it is impossible to carry out the scheme of this Bill and determine satisfactorily whether an intending immigrant belongs to one or other of these different categories.

I will dismiss in passing the proposal to schedule particular areas and exclude the alien from them, making them a preserve for British-born subjects. A more childish proposal, speaking with all respect of the authors of the Bill, has never been submitted to this House, and I will not waste words upon it. I may be asked, "Are you content to leave things entirely as they are?" I am not. But there is only one provision of the Bill to which I can give the faintest countenance. I would empower Courts of law before whom aliens are criminally convicted of serious offences to add expulsion to the sentence. I see nothing either administratively difficult, politically unjust, or from any point of view contrary to public policy in a provision of that kind. When a person abuses the hospitality which this country has offered by violating our laws I see no reason why we should burden ourselves longer with his presence. As regards overcrowding, it appears mainly to exist in the borough of Stepney, though it is also to be found in one or two other districts. There, again, the proper remedy is to be found in a slight amendment or a more vigorous enforcement of the existing law. If you were to bring these block-houses and tenement-houses under the by-laws of the local authorities, there is no reason why you should not deal with this question of overcrowding in a perfectly adequate and

satisfactory way. As regards the other serious point, to which I attach the greatest importance, if it is proved that in some of these industries work is being done under insanitary conditions by methods which are compendiously described by the term sweating, the proper remedy is to be found possibly in an amendment, certainly in a more vigilant administration, of the Factory and Workshops Acts. I do not believe that, under the ample powers now vested in the Home Secretary, any of these evils connected with sweating and unregulated trades could not with an adequate inspectorial staff be properly dealt with. At any rate I am satisfied that there is no adequate reason for establishing an invidious, and, as I believe, perfectly unworkable system of inquisition for aliens arriving on our shores, setting at defiance one of the noblest and one of the most beneficent traditions of British policy.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has put the case from the point of view of those who are opposed to any legislation such as that which is before us with his usual eloquence and straightforwardness. But I venture to say, after listening to his speech, his recommendation comes to this—that in addition to a slight amendment of the criminal law the only change advocated is the change in the Public Health Laws which would enable the local authorities to deal by inspection with the tenement holders. I doubt whether the right hon. Gentleman is right in his assumption, and I have observed, as I daresay other Members have observed, how much more easy reform always seems to those who are not in office than to those who are in office, and are responsible for it. What is the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman? It is that we should make a very small amendment in the Public Health Laws, which I hope to have the opportunity of doing in a Bill which I propose to introduce this session. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that if local authorities have the power to make these by-laws and to subject the tenement or block-house to the same

conditions of inspection which other classes of property are subject to, we shall deal with a great deal of the difficulty. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman has had time in the many calls on him in his distinguished career, to look closely into these minor questions of local government. Let me tell him at once that he will find, if he goes closer into the problem, that the local authorities will join issue with him and with absolute justice tell him that the question of overcrowding of certain parts of the country by a particular class of resident is a general and not a particular question; a national and not a local one. On what grounds are you going to charge the local body at Stepney, or some other small area of London, with the extremely difficult, invidious, and in many cases very unpopular duty of dealing with these overcrowded areas—overcrowded by a particular class who are willing to submit to conditions of daily life which the ordinary native population will not tolerate. If it be right that they should come in and without any check being placed upon their arrival in this country, that is part of your national law, and the local authorities would say, “You have no right to cast upon us a duty which is in itself so difficult and so unpopular.” The right hon. Gentleman concluded his speech by saying—and others have spoken in the same vein—that we are going to shut the door of this country, which has for generations and centuries been open to the down-trodden people of other countries, who have come here and found a home, and, as other speakers have reminded us, have left their mark on the industries and well-being of the country. I do not believe that anybody can find in this Bill as it stands anything which is likely to lead to such disastrous results as these, and I venture to say that if it can be clearly shown that the Bill as drawn would be likely to have such results in the hands of a tyrannical Minister, such Amendment would have the approval and support of the Government. We do not want to check by any measure of this kind the legitimate and reasonable importation into this country of people who are in good health, who are of good character, and who desire to take their part in the industry of the country.

Mr. Asquith.

The right hon. Gentleman said he stands aghast at a proposal which is quite new to our laws. It is quite true that as far as our laws are concerned it is new; but it is not new to other countries or to the majority of our colonies; and I confess that if he stands aghast at legislation of the kind now before the House, I stand aghast when I hear a distinguished member of the Party of progress and reform seek to bring discredit on the Unionist Government because we have taken a new departure and are making a proposal for which there is no precedent in our own laws. It is a novel kind of argument. Other countries have this legislation and apparently they have found no great difficulty in giving it effect. The right hon. Gentleman when he had got over his surprise and horror at the boldness of the Unionist Government in making a sudden departure of this kind, went on to ask how we were going to give effect to the conditions in the schedule, and how we were to find out the people who came under the description of the schedule. Really, does the right hon. Gentleman, who has himself been at the Home Office, believe it is impossible for the Secretary of State, in conjunction with his officers, to draw up regulations which will prevent conditions of this kind being improperly and unjustly administered? I wonder how many Members of this House have taken the trouble to go down to one of our ports where these men arrive and watch them as they disembark. I venture to say any man of reasonable experience in the work of inspecting this particular class of immigrant will have very little difficulty indeed in putting into force the special conditions under the regulations of the Home Office.

If you say the Bill is too drastic, if you say you must not run the risk, by carrying a measure of this kind, of shutting the door of this country to the foreigner who comes here with the intention and desire to become a good citizen, and if you say you cannot enforce this Bill what is the alternative? The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean said that we had no business to propose legislation of this drastic nature unless an overwhelming case were made out?

What is the overwhelming case? The Member for East Fife told us that undesirable or pauper aliens are only to be found in London. I can assure him that he is mistaken. I assure him that this state of things is by no means confined to London or to any part of London. If the right hon. Gentleman will go to some of our seaports where this class of immigrants come in, he will find feeling and indignation quite as great as in Stepney, or in these parts of East London which are specially affected. I ask the House, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman opposite, is Parliament to do nothing because this question has not yet assumed sufficiently great dimensions? I am surprised at such a suggestion, because if it means anything it means that we are to wait until the condition of things already to be found in a great many of our large towns, and in a considerable part of the Metropolis, is no longer confined to those limited districts but has a much wider area and affects a much larger number of the people, and if we were to take his advice and postpone our legislation until this evil was to be found in a much larger number of places, legislation of this kind would be perfectly useless, and the condition of things would be such that the feeling of the people of this country would lead us to close the door altogether to people coming from other countries, and practical legislation would cease to be possible. There is already a strong enough feeling in the poorer parts of London. Let hon. Gentlemen do the kind of work which it is my lot to do in my Department.

We have all heard Gentlemen on both sides of the House make eloquent and often pathetic speeches upon the housing question. We have been told what a disgrace it is to this country that at this time in our history it should be difficult for working men to get decent houses, and there is a great deal to be said in support of that view. But if it is a disgrace to this country that the working classes should find it difficult to get decent houses at decent rents because the increase in the population has been so rapid and because the difficulty of providing them has been so great, is it not a still greater disgrace to this country that wherever there are those homes and

houses, men of British origin who are ready to pay a fair rent for their houses, provided they are allowed to live in decent conditions, should be turned out of them at the shortest possible notice. By whom? By the landlords who are aliens—in order to put in occupants who are aliens. I have wondered when these stories have been told, when I found that they rest not in imagination or exaggeration but upon bare facts, at the moderation and self-control of the people who are exposed to these difficulties.

We cannot stand where we are now, and we cannot do nothing. The proposals of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean would not meet the case in any degree. If you are simply to add expulsion to the power of imposing sentences, which already exists, and if you are, in addition to that, to content yourselves with an amendment of the Public Health Act, you would not touch even the fringe of the question. I believe that the provisions of the Bill can be enforced. I believe that the power to be given to a single Minister is not too strong a power to be entrusted to the hands of any official without some intermediate power being given to, I presume, a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. I am quite aware that the Committee recommended that the cases should be dealt with by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. We did our best to apply that recommendation of the Committee, and we only abandoned it and substituted for it the provision in the Bill because, if the House will stop to think for a moment of the way in which this law is to be applied, they will find that if the case went before the local police magistrate, great difficulty and delay would be attendant on that course, and would cause much greater trouble and inconvenience to these people. What is wanted in their own interest is not that they should be turned out of this country without rhyme or reason when they come under none of the descriptions applied to aliens. What we want is that there should be a power to check and regulate. This is not a Bill for their total exclusion; it is not a Bill to stop aliens coming into this country, it is a Bill to check and regulate the immigration of aliens—a Bill to give

power to an Executive officer to compel the removal of an alien if he comes under certain special descriptions. Outside the Metropolis there are not many of our large seaport towns into which many of these aliens come. Go to the Poor Law guardians of a great city like Liverpool or Hull. They will tell you—not now for the first time, for they have been saying it for years—that it is a monstrous injustice to saddle the rates of those towns with the cost of maintaining these people who arrive destitute and within a few hours of their arrival are obliged to take refuge in the local poorhouses. If it is right for them to come in—if you are to say that the character of your country for hospitality stands so high that you cannot afford to let it be lowered in that respect, then at all events if you are to maintain the principle for the sake of your national character, pay for it out of your national Exchequer; you have no right to maintain the character of your country as a whole at the expense of a board of guardians here or there who are specially affected by this continuing, and, in many cases, growing evil. I believe this is no Bill for the exclusion of foreigners when they are persecuted or when they merely come here because they think that there is a better opening for their industry and brains than there is in their own country. It is a Bill to give moderate powers, to be reasonably applied. If we had adopted the suggestion of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction I think the result would have been delay without any greater security for the alien.

After all, it would not be difficult for the Secretary of State to draw up the necessary regulations, and it would not be difficult for an officer acting under these regulations to ascertain what were the character and occupation of the people on board these ships. We are asked, for instance, as to the case of a man or woman who would have no manifest means of subsistence. What happens at the present time? At the present time thousands of these people are given money enough to provide themselves with a living for the first fortnight or three weeks in this country. Surely if they arrive without any friends to whom they can apply, without a penny in their

Mr. Walter Long.

pocket, and without any means whatever of subsistence, and can only get a living by one of two ways—by underselling labour in the neighbourhood or begging in the streets—surely that is not a case in which they are coming either to benefit local industry or to do any good to the national character of the country, and surely there ought to be a check on their numbers and a power to send them back. When you deal with the worst classes there can, I take it, be little difficulty in ascertaining whether they come within that category or not. I have already dealt with the third and fourth categories. I do not know what means the Home Office and their officials have of ascertaining whether they are notoriously of bad character or not, but I fancy it would not be difficult for the officers who would have to discharge duties under the Bill, in conjunction with the police, to fairly and reasonably satisfy themselves on that point. The right hon. Gentleman, in opposing the Bill, gave an extreme case. He asked how the character of these people was to be ascertained. Was it to be ascertained from the police and the officials of the Government of the country which had driven them out? If the same persecution were going on such as we have been recently familiar with, and which we have all deplored—if there were the same persecution going on in a foreign country against some particular class of the people, of some particular faith, is it likely, for a single instant, that it would not be known long before we had to deal with the cases on our shores? Is it likely that it would not be perfectly known to the Government of the day and their officials that a particular class were being driven out from one particular country, and, that, therefore, particular care should be exercised here, having regard to the fact that they were fleeing for their lives from a country where they were being tyrannically treated? These would be special cases which would require special treatment, but in the average case I believe, having seen these men land on our shores, having seen them arrive in the ships, and having made myself as well acquainted as I could, both from the evidence given before the Royal Commission, and by interviews with men

that have been personally acquainted with these cases in this country—I believe there is nothing in this Bill which would justify the extreme description given of it by Gentlemen opposite. On the other hand, we have made proposals in which the House will find a reasonable basis for the future settlement of this question. We, of course, are not foolish enough to ask that our proposals should not be subject to amendment. On the contrary, we are quite ready to consider any suggestion which would have for its object the improvement of this Bill in order that it should secure the end that we all have in view.

In asking the House to pass the Second Reading, we ask them to adopt the principle and to express the decision that the time has come when this question of alien immigration cannot be left where it is, when it must be dealt with by regulations which have to be rather Imperial than local in their character. We say that we cannot leave the local authorities to deal with it themselves. You must go beyond the local authority, and deal with it from the point of view of the Government. You must see that there are certain conditions which would make the immigration of these people impossible. We provide the means by which that should be enforced. We mean no tyranny and we should sanction no tyranny. While we are willing to offer an opportunity to the industrious, the thrifty, and the well-conducted of other countries to work with our own people, and to help us in making the industries in this country prosperous, we do not care any longer to allow the unrestricted importation of those who come under the different categories of this Bill, and who, on all sides, must be admitted to be an undesirable addition to the population.

*MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.) said that in rising to support the Second Reading of the Bill from those Benches, it must be painfully evident that he was somewhat in the position of a political alien.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Come to this side of the House and then you will be all right.

*MR. NORMAN said that the case was even worse than that. He was, in fact, a species of Ishmael, for he found himself unfortunately differing from almost everybody. He differed strongly from his hon. and gallant friend opposite, for example, in his allusions to the question of Chinese labour. Many of the reasons which caused him to support the Second Reading of this Bill were similar to those which induced him to oppose the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. He differed from his right hon. friend the Member for East Fife and from his hon. friend the Member for the Elland Division. Again, he differed in one respect from the Report which he himself had signed. That might seem an extraordinary thing, but it was perfectly simply explained. The House would not be surprised to learn that the differences of opinion amongst members of the Royal Commission were very sharp, and if every member had insisted either in imposing his own views on the other members or in writing a separate Report there would have been a series of personal Reports and the labour of the Royal Commission would have been thrown away. His point of difference was in the matter of the prohibited areas, for he did not see how that scheme could possibly work. He signed the recommendation for the reason which he had given, and in order that the matter might be discussed in the House. The speech of the right hon. Member for East Fife was a very strong attack, and he heard it with the respect he felt for anything that fell from his right hon. friend; but he thought that one or two of the right hon. Gentleman's arguments were hardly sound. A great deal of time was given by the members of the Commission to the consideration of the question of Poor Law relief. Why was it that so many of these aliens took a comparatively small proportion of Poor Law relief? It was because of the extraordinary Jewish charities. The Jewish charities in the East End of London were probably the most lavish, most generous, most kindly, and certainly the most highly organised in the world. Any hon. Member who would take the trouble to look at his cross-examination of one of the gentlemen

closely concerned in the administration of these charities and the long list which this witness before the Royal Commission gave of these charities, would see that what he had stated was the simple fact. It was surely a little late in the day to introduce the argument about the Walloons and Huguenots. If his right hon. friend or other hon. Gentlemen who used that argument had been, as he had been, in the cities of the "Pale" in certain parts of Russia; if they had spent days, as he had done, in the purlieus of Berdicheff and other towns which sent their due quota of immigrants to the East End of London, he did not think that they would have been so ready to draw a parallel between the Walloons and the Huguenots.

In regard to the question of deciding who was an undesirable alien, he thought it was essential that that should be arranged by a Court of law. He would disapprove giving such authority to any single administrative official. It was impossible for him to support the Amendment of his right hon. friend the Member for Forest of Dean, because it was divided into two dissimilar and unconnected parts. He should like to support one part, but not the other. He yielded to no man in his desire that the right of political asylum in this country should not be restricted in the slightest degree. There was no desire, he believed, on the part of any hon. Member of the House to do so. They all wished that the right of political asylum should be continued unimpaired. It had always been our glory to accord that right. But with regard to the other part of the Amendment, which said that many of the evils complained of could be dealt with by the ordinary legislation to prevent sweating, that had come before the Commission again and again. His own opinion was that that was not so. A great deal of evidence on the point had been given, and the impression left on his mind was that it was practically impossible to turn the whole excessive alien population in the streets at the same moment, and unless this were done, the process would be, as a witness had said, merely putting a "legal ferret" into one burrow, when the rabbits would all bolt into another. The right hon. Baronet had spoken of the value to the United States

of the alien immigrants there; and in a passage of some eloquence had referred to "the strong arms and deft hands," of these immigrants having rendered great service to the American people. He would like to show the right hon. Baronet the other side of the picture. In the 27th Annual Report (1901) of the United Hebrew Charities, which was the representative Jewish body in the United States, and corresponded to the Jewish Board of Guardians in London, the following passage occurred—

"A condition of chronic poverty is developing in the Jewish community of New York that is appalling in its immensity. Forty-five per cent of our applicants, representing between 20,000 and 25,000 human beings, have been in the United States over five years, have been given the opportunities for economic and industrial improvement which this country affords, yet, notwithstanding all this, have not managed to reach a position of economic independence. 2,585 of the new applicants, representing 7 per cent. of the Jewish immigration to the United States during the year, found it necessary to apply at the office of the United Hebrew Charities within a short time after arrival. The statement can safely be made that during the year from 75,000 to 100,000 members of the New York Jewish community are unable to supply themselves with the immediate necessities of life."

and then the report went on to speak of—

"The horrible congestion in which so many of our co-religionists live, the squalor and filth, the lack of air and sunlight, the absence frequently of even the most common decencies, are too well known to require repetition."

and next the report went on to refer in very striking terms to—

"The results accruing from these conditions—the vice and crime, the irreligiosity, lack of self-restraint, indifference to social conventions, indulgence in the most degraded and perverted appetites which are growing daily more pronounced and more offensive."

There was, he thought, a very striking contrast between these facts and the glowing eulogy of the right hon. Baronet on the "strong arms and deft hands" of the alien immigrants to the United States. There was no reason whatever why British shipping interests should be injured, for a perfectly simple arrangement could be made for any amount of genuine transmigration properly supervised. He had come to the conclusion, after cross-examination of witnesses before the Royal Commission, that the figures in the census returns were wholly untrustworthy, while those refer-

ring to transmigration were forcical. He had tried to get in a paragraph to that effect in the Report, but his fellow Commissioners thought it too strong. His hon. friend the Member for Elland Division said that aliens became "good enough" citizens. He knew what a good citizen was, and what a bad citizen was; but not what a "good enough" citizen was. He asked himself what sort of "good enough" citizens lived under the conditions here existing. If his hon. friend would go a couple of hundred yards from the House, take a ticket by railway to the East End of London, which would be reached in twenty-five minutes, he would find railway time tables posted up there in Hebrew characters, the bills of the places of amusement distributed in the streets printed in Hebrew, and the public entertainments given in Yiddish. If he pursued his investigation a little further, he would discover a foreign Press of the most extraordinary character in this country, of which little was known—a Press in which was advocated with great impunity all kinds of revolutionary doctrine. He could not see how "good enough citizens" could be raised in such conditions.

The right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean drew an accurate picture of what took place in regard to the Spanish anarchists; but an inaccurate picture of what would take place under this Bill. The right of asylum was rooted in the minds of the British people; and any Home Secretary or anybody else, who set himself at defiance of that opinion would be swept out of office under all circumstances. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean made one remark which struck him as unjust and unkind. He was sure that it was not only contrary to the right hon. Gentleman's nature to make an unjust charge, but that it was not what the right hon. Gentleman meant to say. The right hon. Gentleman stated that those who supported this Bill were anti-Jewish, anti-Semitic. That was a great mistake; and he repudiated it. To him anti-Semitism was a most deplorable and abominable prejudice, and he would, under no circumstances, take part or lot in it. He always refused on the Commission to

use the word "Jew" in connection with alien immigration. It was a matter of indifference to him what were the religious views of these aliens. He judged them by their own personal character and their effect on this community; and he regretted that his right hon. friend should, in an unguarded moment, have made that charge. It should be remembered by those who opposed the Bill that a number of the most influential and enlightened members of the Jewish community were in favour of some measure of restriction. He stated that as a fact within his own personal knowledge. As an example of the mistaken views which prevailed among the opponents of the Bill, he might quote his hon. friend the Member for the Elland Division, who said—

"Nobody would desire not to keep out certain classes of those aliens mentioned in the schedule."

His hon. friend was not informed on this point. Let him look at the evidence given before the Commission by the Medical Officer of the London County Council. An answer given to a question put to him was an interesting example—he said it from no want of respect to that distinguished official—of what sort of position hide-bound red-tapeism led a man to take up. He asked the witness whether he would be willing to exclude certain persons on the ground of being personally diseased, and the witness answered, "Certainly not." He next asked if any person suffering from a contagious disease such as ophthalmia should be excluded, and the witness replied, "No, certainly not." He went further and asked if the witness would exclude men suffering from a loathsome contagious disease, and again the reply was, "No." Then he asked whether the exclusion should apply to persons suffering from any conceivable disease, and the reply was that it should not apply to any persons suffering from any disease that existed in this country, but only to cases of bubonic plague or similar diseases that did not exist here. That was an example of the extraordinary attitude taken up by certain opponents of restriction.

Looking at the provisions of this Bill, he honestly found it difficult

Mr. Norman.

to understand the attitude of anyone who opposed it. Surely the onus of proof ought to be with the other side. Why should England alone receive this unrestricted immigration, a large part of which was so undesirable? He made these remarks with the conviction that this immigration would increase very largely. There was no doubt whatever but that in the not distant future the flood of these undesirables would increase a hundredfold, unless restricted. Why should we alone be willing to receive them? Why should we alone suffer from their competition—in so many cases a very unfortunate competition? Why should we alone give up a whole quarter of our capital city to them? Why should we alone be compelled to employ a large proportion of our criminal administration to deal with them? And, lastly, why should we neglect the urgent warning of almost the entire body of metropolitan magistrates? If every country received its share of these alien immigrants it would be our bounden duty to accept our fair share of the burdens and to offer a helping hand, but it did not seem right that we, and our criminal administration, should bear it entirely alone. There was one other point which had not occurred to some of the opponents of the Bill, and that was the question of affording these aliens an asylum without any kind of questions being asked. Under existing circumstances prosecution or persecution of these people in foreign countries would be likely to continue, but if the refuge given by this country were to be closed, it would compel the authorities abroad to yield to the pressure of civilised opinion and to do something at home to mend matters. It had to be borne in mind that the restriction could not be estimated by the number of people actually turned back at the ports of landing, and that there were thousands of people who were deterred from starting by the American law. Then, again, the House should remember that we were sending abroad many of the best classes of our own people. Whole shiploads of our skilled mechanics emigrated to Canada, and if we continued to export of our best, and to receive the worst of other countries it would not be long before the quality

of our own people would be seriously impaired and deteriorated. For the reasons he had advanced, he would support the Bill, although he could not by any means regard it as a perfect measure, and he was ready to justify his action before any meeting of the working classes of this country.

*MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) said this was a subject in which he was deeply interested and to which he had given most anxious thought. He had approached the question without any feeling of bias, on the ground that a number of persons who might be restricted from landing in this country might be persons of the community to which it was his pride to belong. He had approached the subject as far as he could from the economic point of view, which he believed to be the only point of view from which it should be approached, and from which alone it could be properly solved. And let him say that he had not been thirteen years in that House without knowing that at all events inside those walls there was not a suspicion of what was called anti-Jewish feeling in the minds of any Member of that House. He did not think there was such an entire absence of prejudice against his community throughout the country. He believed there was in several places what was to him, and what he believed would be to many hon. Members, an unpleasant trace of that feeling, and he thought that feeling had been fed, if it had not been absolutely created, by the misleading statistics which had been disseminated throughout the country by popular speakers addressing platform audiences. He had had a good deal of experience of platform audiences, and the character and style of speeches and statistics which were addressed to those audiences. He knew that they must be prepared for misrepresentations, and if they wanted correct statistics they certainly did not go for them to a popular meeting on Alien Immigration, or Chinese Labour, or Public Education.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Or tariff reform.

*MR. COHEN: Or even on tariff reform. He was glad to be reminded

of that, because it was the last subject on which he should go for enlightenment to a popular meeting. He distinguished, however, between observations made in speeches to popular audiences and statistics given in the British House of Commons by the head of a great Department of State, and one, moreover, who was so invariably moderate in his language and accurate in his statistics as the Home Secretary. Therefore he did regret that in that House, with his authority, the Home Secretary should have given currency to statistics which were not slight exaggerations, but had been used by speaker after speaker to exaggerate actual facts by 1,000 per cent. He was quite sure his right hon. friend would be the very last man to mislead the House, and therefore he should look with great interest for his explanation. The only thing that occurred to him was that the right hon. Gentleman had totalled up the monthly Returns, which his hon. friend the Member for Sheffield was very fond of quoting, and that the Home Secretary had disregarded the warning published with those Returns, and which was repeated by the Royal Commission, who said that the net increase of the foreign population in this country of all classes was, in 1891, 9,000, and in 1892, 8,800, just a tenth part of what was represented. There was a statement in the Royal Commission Report to which he wished to draw the attention of his hon. friend the Member for Sheffield—

“It therefore appears that the number of persons shown in the Return as being alien immigrants in the sense above mentioned is of little value as a guide to the number of aliens remaining in this country.”

That was the subject into which alone they had had to inquire, and that was the subject which was alone any guide to legislation, and to giving effect to the diminution of the so-called too many aliens at present in this country. No doubt some hon. Member would say—I am sure my hon. friend the Member for Sheffield will say—“Even taking your view, an increase of 7,000 aliens in a year is too many.” It seemed to him, however, that 7,000 aliens in a population of 42,000,000 or 43,000,000 was an item which was not worth considering. The total foreign

population of this country was only five-eighths per cent., and it was a matter that need concern them but little. But numbers was not the only ground upon which legislation was desired. It was stated that there was congestion and that the immigrants displaced native labour and added considerably to the numbers of the criminal classes. He admitted a state of congestion both deplorable and discreditable in the East of London, but denied that it was greater, or even so great, as in other parts of London which were not affected by these immigrants. He knew something of this congestion, because for thirteen years he was president of the Jewish Board of Guardians, which had struggled day after day and year after year against this evil and which had at least done a little more than the local authority in arresting it. But when they desired to cure an evil they should correctly diagnose the cause, and in his opinion if they ousted a few immigrants they would not to any appreciable extent alleviate this frightful overcrowding in many parts of London, for the reason that they were not the cause of it. This overcrowding was caused by the erection of factories, the invasion of railways, and by the difficulty of the workpeople to find, as they must do, quarters in which to live near their work. It was there and there only must they seek for the cause. He did not consider the demolition of slum property an unmitigated evil, though it took away a great deal of the dwelling accommodation of these people, because it got rid of a lot of insanitary places.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON pointed out that one of the most important witnesses before the Royal Commission, Mr. Councillor Lewis, stated that the increase in the number of large industrial dwellings counterbalanced the dislocation caused by the erection of the factories.

*MR. SPEAKER said the question of overcrowding was not material except in so far as it was alleged to be caused by the pressure of aliens.

*MR. COHEN said with regard to the displacement of labour it was not disputed that these immigrants had created an industry which did not before exist and

Mr. Cohen.

had not therefore caused a diminution in the scale of wages. He did not say that some of them did not live in a disreputable way. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean had shown that they had increased the exports of furniture, boots, and ready-made garments, and contributed to the prosperity of those employed in those industries. He had argued, he hoped temperately, and from the point of view of numbers cogently, against the proposals of this Bill, nevertheless, he was not prepared to vote against it, for the reason that it sought to accomplish, though he doubted of its doing so, an object which had his most earnest support, namely, to keep criminal and other dissolute classes out of this country, and any Bill that tried to accomplish that was one which he would not vote against, however much he might differ from some of its provisions, and from this Bill he differed strongly in several points of method. The speeches of the right hon. Baronet and the hon. Member for Elland incorporated one Amendment, but affirmed two points which he did not feel able to support. The hon. Member for Elland was opposed to making poverty a reason for exclusion. He could not conscientiously support that attitude. During the time he was president of the Jewish Board of Guardians they had continuously refused their support to any immigrants who, after being here, failed to find any means of support. Although, as the House must know, these people were not cast on the public rates, the Guardians had always set their face against those who did not leave their country on account of persecution, but who came over here to better themselves, as the phrase went, and failed. He could not therefore associate himself with the hon. Member for Elland. He did not desire those to remain who could not maintain themselves and whose presence in this country could not do otherwise than add to the destitution and poverty already too rife. The right hon. Baronet had opposed this Bill because he was not satisfied as to the retention of the privilege of this country as an asylum to the victims of persecution. If he shared the view of the right hon. Baronet he would vote with him but he did not.

He did not believe it possible that any Party in this House would attempt to withdraw from this country the brightest jewel in its crown, and to reverse the traditions on which the history and glory of the country had been built. He believed the greatest protection against any such attempt would always be found within the four walls of the British House of Commons.

MR. STUART SAMUEL. (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel), speaking as a Jew, thanked the House for the sympathetic reception it had accorded the remarks which had been made in deprecation of the outrages in Russia and elsewhere; and cordially agreed that there was not the slightest trace of anti-Jewish feeling in the House, nor, speaking generally, in the country at large. The President of the Local Government Board, in opening his speech, said he hoped to make out an overwhelming case for the legislation now proposed, but so far from doing that the right hon. Gentleman had failed to make out any case at all. He had referred to the evils of overcrowding. Everybody would be in favour of the present condition of things being remedied, but it could not be said that that overcrowding was due to aliens. According to the Report of the Royal Commission, there were districts in Holborn where the percentage of aliens was only 3·29 of the population, while the overcrowding was 34·2; whereas in Whitechapel, with a percentage of aliens of 18, the overcrowding was only 12 per cent. Therefore, if the Government intended to proceed with their provisions regarding "prohibited areas," they ought to extend the restriction to natives—a proposal which would not be tolerated for a moment. If a Bill of this kind was to effect any good it was necessary that it should relieve a certain portion of the population of burdens under which they now suffered. The hon. and gallant Member for Stepney had referred to the matter in his letter to *The Times* as though the destitute aliens were the principal point involved. In the whole of Stepney the total number of cases in receipt of Poor Law relief, excluding medical relief, of aliens in 1901 was 526, and in 1902, 521. The ratio of percentage in Stepney generally was 7·9, whereas, among aliens

alone it was only 3·7. Moreover, between 1870 and 1900 the decrease in Poor Law relief throughout England and Wales was 23 per cent., and throughout the Metropolis 19·5 per cent., but in Whitechapel, the centre of the alien population, it was 60·8 per cent.

The next point was as to aliens being the propagators of disease. In the course of six years, no fewer than 27,000 aliens had passed through the Poor Jews Temporary Shelter in Stepney, and there had been only one case of sickness. That was surely a remarkable proof of the healthiness of those who arrived on these shores. Further testimony was afforded by the Jewish Home for Incurables, which took out of the workhouses all incurable cases other than those of tuberculosis and cancer. The total number of patients at present in that institution was only fifty-five. With regard to workmen being ousted from their occupation by aliens, it was difficult to arrive at any conclusion from the evidence given before the Royal Commission. A certain number of men must be displaced by any competition, but he submitted that, as the aliens were largely employed in work which the British workmen would not, and in many cases were not adapted to undertake, the competition was reduced to a minimum. He was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman suggest that the Bill might be modified in Committee. If the Government were to reconsider the questions of the prohibited areas, and of whether or not an alien was a suitable person—a point which went necessarily beyond the purview of any official, and would be the first step towards establishing a bureaucracy in this country—many of the objections to the Bill would disappear. Every well-conducted citizen would desire to see criminals excluded from this country, but at the same time care should be taken not to be unjust to those who had the same right to trial as every other person in the land. He hoped the Government would see their way to modify at any rate the two objectionable provisions to which he had referred.

*MR. FORDE RIDLEY (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said the Amendment which had been proposed was couched in very

mild terms, but in view of the speeches to which the House had listened, he could only express his surprise that the right hon. Baronet and his friends had not kept their Motion in the stronger form in which it was originally drafted. Hon. Members opposite ought to have had the courage of their convictions, and opposed the Bill openly. The right hon. Baronet, in explaining why he did not divide on the First Reading of the measure, said it was not usual to take a division on that stage of a Bill. Nevertheless the right hon. Baronet was one of those who voted recently in the division on the First Reading of the Licensing Bill.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I did not give that as the reason but as a reason. There are occasions when a Bill is so undoubtedly objectionable that it is advisable to divide against it upon the First Reading.

*MR. FORDE RIDLEY said that was the only reason the right hon. Baronet gave why he did not divide on the First Reading of this Bill, and he said it was not usual when he had not seen the provisions of the Bill. One thing to which the right hon. Baronet referred in criticising the statistics of the number of aliens who arrive in this country, was the question of the sailors. He referred to a large number of sailors being included in the figures which had been quoted. He had taken means to find out the number of sailors included in those figures, and he could only say that the result of his investigations had been that the number of sailors remained stationary from year to year. Therefore any increase in the figures could not be attributed to the fact of sailors being included amongst the figures given. The figure of 8,000 which the right hon. Baronet quoted of course applied to the increase and the increase only, and it did not apply to the total number of aliens, although from the way the figures had been used, many hon. Members might have been misled into thinking that 8,000 was the total number. Then the right hon. Baronet also referred to the children in the schools and to the Jewish boys in the Board schools in the East End of London. No one would be more ready than he to agree that

Jewish children born of Jewish parents, whether they lived in the East End of London or any other part of the country, were really good specimens of humanity. They were British subjects because they were born in this country, and he believed they grew up and became loyal British subjects. He did not think it was at all necessary for them to emphasise the fact that they were courageous and made thoroughly good English citizens, for when the right hon. Baronet referred to that matter and thus introduced the racial question into the discussion, that was something which he very much deplored. He knew it was difficult and almost impossible to keep this question out, but when they spoke of the opinion of the Jew and the Gentile and made statements as to what the opinion was of a Jewish child as such, he thought that it was only fair that they should always bear in mind that whatever the Press might say—and the right hon. Baronet had referred to most unfortunate letters and statements which had been published wherein the Jews as Jews had been adversely criticised, and the character of themselves and their children also called into question—he thought that the right hon. Baronet would do them the credit, at any rate, that on this side of the House they had done all they could to prevent this question being imported into the discussion. These scurrilous suggestions and abominable publications were in no way owing to any action, or words which they had given expression to, either in this House or outside upon the platform. He would remind the right hon. Baronet before he passed from this point that if these complaints were made he should recollect what a very great influence the Jewish community could claim to have upon the British Press and what a very large control they possessed over the newspaper industry in this great city.

The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Elland Division referred to what he called the very slight rise in criminal convictions. Was he aware that from the year 1900 to 1903 there were no less than 13,000 convicts, or an increase of 50 per cent. in the occupants of our prisons? That is to say that in the four years from 1899 to 1903 no less than 13,000 criminals were detained in His Majesty's

Mr. Forde Ridley.

prisons, and the cost of this large criminal class was not less than £30,000 a year. Hon. Members would see that this was not a slight matter and it was not a slight rise in criminal convictions. These criminal statistics were so grave a matter that they alone would be sufficient to justify His Majesty's Government in taking some steps to put a stop to this evil. The right hon. Baronet admitted the overcrowding, but other hon. Members who had spoken had attributed overcrowding to other causes than the influx of aliens, and had suggested that the question could be dealt with by the local authorities without the intervention of Parliament. If there was one advantage in a measure such as this, it was that it went to the root of the matter, and once and for all removed the cause which had had such a disastrous effect on overcrowding. The rector of Spitalfields, the Rev. Mr. Davis, who of all men in London, or in the East End of London at any rate, knew this question to the backbone, said—

“In regard to overcrowding, they are content to pay an exorbitant rent because of having secured rooms, and they intend to live under forbidden conditions. The landlord knows this when he lets the house to the tenant, because the rent he is to receive compels him to know it. The tenant knows it when he takes the house with the intention of subletting so as at least to live rent free, and the sub-tenant knows that the taking of a lodger or two in their rooms will not be forbidden.”

These are the words of the rector of Spitalfields, and no stronger words could be used to show what the effect of this overcrowding was, and how it did really succeed in forcing up the rents in those parts of London where the poor congregated, and where it was impossible for them to pay what was absolutely prohibitive and unfair. The result of this had been that large numbers of the British population had been turned out of those neighbourhoods in which it was absolutely essential that they should live in order that they might be near their work. He was sorry he did not see the hon. Member for Whitechapel in his place, but he knew, if any one knew, what an over-congested district was, and what overcrowding was. He represented a constituency which was entirely alien, and where they would hardly see the English

language written either in newspapers, posters, or timetables, or in any other printed matter, but where Yiddish was the universal language and where they might just as well be in Palestine as in London. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton had spoken weighty words upon this question and the effect it had had upon the working classes, and he knew this question thoroughly, for he had travelled widely. He was himself a member of the Royal Commission, and had himself studied and investigated all the evidence that was brought before the Royal Commission. The standard of living was undoubtedly lowered by the influx of these unfortunate creatures. Their standard of life was of course entirely different to that which was adopted by our own fellow-countrymen, and he believed there was not an hon. Member in this House, on whichever side he might sit, who would desire to see the working classes of their great city forced to live under such conditions as did these unfortunate aliens. By the very state in which they arrived they must of necessity fall a ready prey to the sweater, for they could do nothing else. At the very most they had a few shillings at their command, and it was a notorious fact that as soon as they arrived in this country they were preyed upon—he was afraid generally by members of their own community—and sweated, and they had to work long hours day and night for a starvation wage on which no British workman could possibly live and support a wife and family. This was a shocking state of things, and although they had had Committees and Commissions on sweating, they still had sweating with them; and if they were ever to put a stop to this disgraceful state of things which existed in the large overcrowded cities, it could only be by going to the fountain head, and cutting off the supply of these unfortunate people, who came here without any visible means of subsistence, without a knowledge of the language, and who became a prey to unscrupulous employers who desired to enrich themselves at the expense of these unfortunate people.

There was one other point in regard to the question which had not been referred

to by other speakers, and that was the effect this was having in certain districts, and especially in East London, upon Sunday observance. It was a most deplorable thing that Sunday should not only be turned into a day of ordinary commerce like any other day of the week, but that it should be the day on which of all others there should be more business done both in the streets and in the shops, and on which the people of whole neighbourhoods came out in their thousands to do their business. Not only did these aliens make it a day of business themselves, but they compelled, by the unfair competition thus set up, those who would like to spend Sunday as a day of rest to open their places of business in self defence in order that they might not lose their trade. He thought that was a point that should not be lost sight of in connection with this question. He desired to express his thanks to the Government for having introduced this Bill. He would just like to say that it did seem strange that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite who but a few weeks ago were expressing themselves in the most violent language against the introduction of alien labour into the Transvaal should this afternoon be found expressing themselves in equally violent terms in favour of introducing alien labour into their own country. Note the difference in the two cases. In the colony where they so much objected to the immigration of alien labour it was admitted that there was a great dearth of labour, and that it was necessary for the prosperity of the colony that there should be some means of stimulating industry, whereas it was admitted, on the other hand, that in this country the unskilled labour market was so overcrowded that it was almost impossible for our own people to find a subsistence. That was a strange anomaly, and one worthy of consideration when they thought of the great agitation supported by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite regarding the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal.

He hoped that this measure would receive the support not only of Members on that side of the House, but also of a great many hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side, for, after all, it was not a Party question. It was a question

which was outside ordinary politics. It was one which seriously affected the welfare of the working classes of this country. There was one suggestion he would make to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. He should be only too pleased if he would add a provision to the Bill that the fines imposed by the local magistrates should go in relief of the local rates, and not to the Metropolitan Fund. That would assist those who were anxious to deal with the question of overcrowding. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give that matter his careful consideration. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife referred to the obtaining of proof as to whether immigrants who arrived in this country had a visible means of subsistence. He did not think it was necessary to worry themselves about any question of that kind. Surely the onus of proof should be thrown upon the immigrant himself. Why should the authorities be put to any trouble to obtain that information? It was because he believed this was a wise and comprehensive measure, and one which would deal with a grave and admitted evil, and would be of the greatest possible benefit to the working classes of this country, that he would support the Second Reading.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he was one of the few on the Opposition side of the House who, though he did not altogether agree with the Bill as it stood, intended to give it support on the Second Reading. Although he represented an East End constituency, it was one which had practically none of the aliens of the class in question. Therefore he was entirely free in regard to that matter. Knowing something of the East End he felt bound to vote for this Bill, because he believed that the evils arising from the ever-increasing importation of aliens was doing an immense amount of damage to the working classes in that part of London. A great deal that had been said regarding the Bill exaggerated its scope and importance. To his mind it was not a Bill that would keep out all aliens, nor did he think that was the intention of it. He supported it because he believed that if it was administered in a proper spirit

Mr. Forde Ridley.

it would do much to discriminate between those who proved most undesirable additions to overcrowded districts and those who, for political reasons, sought an asylum in England. He was quite sure that no man in the House had any racial or sectarian feeling in this matter. They desired to deal with it on economic grounds, and not with respect to the race, language, or nation of the immigrants. A great deal had been said against the Bill, especially by the mover of the Amendment, in regard to the right of asylum. He did not think anybody believed that the right of asylum should be invalidated in any way at all. He agreed with the hon. Member for Wolverhampton when he said that this Bill, like previous Bills, would be administered with common sense, and while it would keep out those who formed the great exodus from Eastern nations, he hoped it would in no sense prevent the real political refugee from taking refuge in this country.

His right hon. friend the Member for East Fife made a great deal of the fact that the number of aliens living in this country was small as compared with the whole population, and that the annual immigration was not very extensive in actual numbers. He did not deny it for a moment. Nobody would deny that if the annual influx of aliens was scattered over all localities there would be no grievance, and that the Bill would be unnecessary. But they all knew that the difficulty arose from the fact that there was congestion of population in certain districts. He was not himself concerned to dispute the question of figures. He thought the figures given by some of the speakers were ludicrously small both in regard to the number of aliens in the country and the annual addition which was taking place. What the Commission said in their Report made it quite clear that the numbers now were much in excess of those in previous years, and that they were likely to show not a diminution but an increase. There had been a great deal of historical reference to the immigrants who came here in past times, but they were on a totally different plane from the class of immigrants to whom they were now referring. It was not a question of what happened 100 or 200

years ago. It was, unfortunately, a question of the last twenty, and especially the last ten, years. The kind of immigration had entirely altered, and in his opinion it was much more objectionable now than it was before. There were, however, two very serious blots on the Bill he would assist in removing in Committee. Far too much unrestricted power was given to the Secretary of State, and the provisions for dealing with the housing question were almost ludicrous. The principal objections to the unrestricted influx of aliens arose from the fact that in the last few years they had come, not from the Western countries from which in days gone by our industries had received assistance, but they came in increasing numbers from Eastern Europe, and were in religion, blood, character, social habits, and political ideas, antagonistic to British feeling. Taking the figures given in the Report for 1893, compared with last year, the total immigration of Poles and Russians had increased from 8,000 to 28,000, while the immigration of Germans, French, Norwegians, and Italians had all diminished. That was a very significant fact. The increase, so far as it went, was of the worst class of aliens, while the better class of immigrants was decreasing.

There was another point which had not yet been made by any previous speaker. They were told that the very large number of these immigrants to this country were only in transit to America. That was perfectly true, but what did it mean? The bulk of the immigrants had through tickets for America; and a very large number besides, as soon as they could save enough money, also went to America. That was to say, all the best and most enterprising of these immigrants went to America, and it was the refuse of the refuse of East Europe that remained in this country. That was a point of great importance. A great deal was talked about American competition, but if America was to be our great competitor, surely it was not desirable that America should obtain the best alien immigrants and leave the worst for this country. This was not a question of the whole country; it was a question of localities, of the increase of pressure, and the congestion which

was taking place in certain areas throughout London. In 1861 the foreign population of the Borough of Whitechapel was 7·7 per cent.; in 1881 it had risen to 13 per cent.; and at the present time, according to the Report of the Royal Commission, was 37 per cent. That surely was a very serious matter for that part of London. But that was not the worst of it. The foreign aliens were gradually absorbing fresh streets and fresh localities. Some connections of his own who were in business in the East End of London twenty years ago, built a street of houses for their workmen. At that time the alien immigration was limited and for many years they tried to resist it, but at the present moment there was not a single workman in these houses, and the street was full of Polish and Russian Jews. That showed how alien immigration was spreading gradually over the East of London, and absorbing street after street. They had heard something that afternoon in regard to the housing question. That was one of the most difficult problems which had to be faced. The London County Council had gone to great expense in dealing with the housing question, and at the present moment in their model dwellings in Boundary Street no less than 24 per cent. of the residents were aliens. He objected, as a rate-payer in London, being called upon to go to the expense of providing model dwellings for the unhoused population of the East of Europe.

With regard to the question of wages, his hon. friend had endeavoured very much to minimise it; that was to say, his hon. friend contended that the pressure on wages, sweating, and the conditions of employment could be dealt with in another way and that it did not increase in regard to particular trades. In some respects he endorsed his hon. friend's argument. But it was obvious that the Russians and Poles, coming to this country illiterate, ignorant of our language, and penniless, were bound to be the victims of the sweater, and, moreover, the conditions of life and labour to which they had been accustomed in the Ghetto were such that the pittance which the sweater gave seemed to them a satisfactory and reasonable wage. They had had a good deal

of queer economics of late, but it was new to him that when within a particular and somewhat restricted trade, there was an enormous influx of cheap labour that would not have a serious effect in breaking down the rate of wages in that trade! He agreed with his right hon. friend the Member for Forest of Dean that more might be done by factory legislation to deal with sweating; but that did not go far enough. If they could get rid of one reason for the existence of the sweating system, they would increase the likelihood of other legislation being successful. In regard to the practicability of dealing with this question, he had endeavoured to show that there was really a very strong case for dealing with it, not by way of absolute exclusion but by discrimination, and by discouraging undesirable aliens coming to this country at all.

They had been told, especially by his right hon. friend the Member for East Fife, that the scope of this Bill had been very much exaggerated, that all that was wanted was to lay down the legal proposition that we would not have undesirable aliens. That had been done in the United States, and it came out very clearly in the Report that the result was, not that many aliens were excluded from America—only 300 were sent back last year—but that at the source from which aliens were shipped, there was a filtering process which kept back those who were not likely to fulfil the requirements of the American law. He did not think himself that our position was exactly the same. At present there was every inducement to the alien to come to this country when he was driven out of his own by persecution, conscription, or by distress. His friends encouraged him, and sent assistance to him to come here where he could obtain a good rate of wages. Again, the cheapness and the facilities of the means of transit had enormously increased of late years. It was absolutely the interest of the steamship companies to get as many of these aliens as passengers as they could, because there was no liability on them at all. If this Bill passed, and the general principle was accepted, it would be found that the position would be reversed. The undesirable alien would be discouraged from coming by the

Mr. Sydney Burton.

stringent regulations governing his admission, and the steamship companies would have an enormous inducement to select only the best class of immigrants, in the knowledge that, if they brought any who were undesirable, they would be under the obligation to carry them back to the port whence they came. It was rather curious to learn from the Report that at Hamburg there were now two descriptions of emigrants—those for America, and those coming to this country. Both were under control, but the shipping companies discriminated between them. The former were carefully selected before being despatched, while the latter were not; and it was not too much to say that some who were rejected as unfit for America were sent over to England.

There was great exaggeration in regard to the difficulty of carrying out this legislation. There were practically only seven ports in this country at which immigrants arrived, and only four from which they came. Three of the seven ports might be left altogether out of account. Hull and Grimsby were merely ports of transit, so that Leith, London, and Newhaven were the only ports which would have to be looked after in regard to administration when the Bill passed. No less than 74 per cent. came to London from Bremen, Hamburg, and Libau. There were practically only eleven steamers a week which brought these immigrants; so that the administration of the Bill would be restricted to a comparatively few places and a few ships, and could be carried out without the stupendous difficulties that had been suggested by his hon. friends. He had to consider what to do on this Second Reading of the Bill, and as the Amendment of his right hon. friend, to the terms of which he did not strongly object and with part of which he thoroughly agreed, was a hostile Amendment which if carried, would destroy the Bill, he could not see his way to vote for it, though he should not vote against it. He should certainly vote for the Second Reading of the Bill which, in his opinion, contained the right principle and to which he trusted improvements in detail would be made in Committee.

***MR. PEEL** (Manchester, S.) said that in one sense the Bill had been very

vigorously dealt with by Members on the other side. Those who had listened to the speeches of the hon. Member for South Wolverhampton and of the hon. Member for the Poplar Division of the Tower Hamlets would be relieved of any anxiety they had in supporting the Bill. It was quite true that a very different speech was heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife-shire, but he by no means showed a very close acquaintance with the subject, which he treated in far too comfortable and far too easy a fashion. They not only wanted to establish some kind of filter for aliens who came from other countries, but they wished to prevent the backflow into this country of that particular class of aliens who had been rejected by the restrictive legislation of other countries. It was admitted that they had the right, if they liked, to prohibit altogether, or to restrict, the immigration of aliens into this country. What they had to decide, looking at all the facts of the case, and not looking only to the welfare of these aliens in other countries, was whether unrestricted immigration was or was not an advantage to this country. He had no objection of any kind to the mere coming in of Jews, and he thought it was rather unfortunate that the subject was raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean, because this was a much broader question than that of anti-Semitic feeling on which the right hon. Baronet said the objection to aliens was based. If they examined the principal trades in which these aliens were employed when they came into this country they would find, on the evidence of the leaders in those trades, that it was not in the more skilful branches, but mainly, if not entirely, in the unskilled portions that they were employed. In some cases, owing to the low wages which they accepted, the aliens could produce work more cheaply than it could be done by the improved processes and new machines which had been introduced. Could anybody point to any new process or to any new trade which had been introduced in the last twenty years by aliens? Several claims had been set up on their behalf, but in the case instanced of the ready-made clothing trade, and the cigarette-making

trade, they could not claim the credit for their initiation. The most important ground on which support should be given to the Bill was the necessity of keeping up the standard of living in this country. The difficulty of administering factory laws and of enforcing the sanitary regulations was enormously aggravated by the concentration in particular parts of towns of people who knew nothing at all about these things. Their whole standard of living, in fact, was entirely different from that of the people among whom they took up their residence. In considering this question the House was bound to pay regard to the effect that this state of things would have, by lowering the standard of living generally, on the health of the people, and, in the long run, on the industrial superiority of this country.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

ALIENS BILL.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [25th April] to Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'That,' in order to add the words 'this House, holding that the evils of low-priced alien labour can best be met by legislation to prevent sweating, desires to assure itself, before assenting to the Aliens Bill, that sufficient regard is had in the proposed measure to the retention of the principle of asylum for the victims of persecution.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*MR. PEEL, continuing his speech, said he wished to turn to another aspect of the controversy, and he did not think it would be seriously denied that a large amount of the competition of these aliens was in respect of the lower kinds of labour. That had been admitted by many of the witnesses who had given evidence before the Royal Commission, although a different story was told by a Mr. Lyons. Secretary

Mr. Peel.

to the Society of Garment Makers, who maintained that these aliens were mostly employed in what might be called the middle class of work, and not in the poorest and worst kind. The point was worth making, because it had been contended that we were undersold by these cheaper goods from abroad. Very often these goods were only cheaper in appearance, because they were made of inferior materials—in fact, they were shoddy. These goods were mostly made for export. But he thought there was in some foreign markets a reaction against shoddy goods sent to them, let him say from Germany; but British goods, by their excellence of manufacture and better stability, had been undoubtedly winning their way in foreign markets. The cheap and shoddy goods that were made by aliens and exported were not altogether a good thing for our name; it was not well that such goods should be associated with our exports. A great deal had been said as to the horrible misery inflicted by sweating in connection with alien labour, and the way in which it had been increased by unrestricted entrance of foreign labour; but that, after all, was only a contributory cause, and to restrict the immigration of these aliens was after all only one of the methods of dealing with the matter. He did not say that the question might not be dealt with by the increased stringency of factory legislation, but the idea of putting down home work was almost impossible of realisation. He pointed out the difficulties involved in the inspection of small factories run by aliens, and contended that even without aliens something of this sweating would go on, but the difficulty of dealing with it was enormously increased and enhanced by the continuous immigration of these aliens who, by their ignorance of our language, lack of skill, and want of knowledge of this country, were in more danger of being made the victims of sweating to a greater degree than the people of this country.

As to the trades unions, some figures had been quoted by the Member for the Forest of Dean, but if examined into it would be seen how almost impossible it would be to rely upon them. Mr. Llewellyn Smith had shown that even in cases where the wages in all the different sub-divisions of

a trade had increased, it might happen that owing to a change in the proportion of skilled and unskilled labour, the total wages might have decreased. Moreover, the figures could not be gathered from trade unions and large employers. The sweaters very naturally did not make any return. The hon. Member for Battersea would bear him out when he said the trades in which aliens were employed were little organised from a trade union point of view. That was a fact which he considered it very important to bear in mind in estimating the value of the figures quoted so confidently by the Member for the Forest of Dean. Those figures must, he held, be subject to many deductions. Alien immigration retarded the work of trade unions in raising the standard of living, and it also had a very serious effect in lowering wages and producing overcrowding, the evils of which had to be remedied at the cost of the ratepayer. A higher standard of life in the East End of London was rendered almost impossible owing to the continuous influx of these aliens. The Bill was not intended to exclude, but to sift alien immigrants. He sympathised with the feeling that we had established for ourselves a name and reputation for allowing everybody to come to this country, but that reputation should not be earned at the expense of our own people, and he thought it better to do something to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the poor than to maintain a tradition of unrestricted entry the price of which was the degradation of our towns.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) said the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had said he would not lightly violate the tradition of which this country was so justly proud, and his only reason for so doing was that the urgency had become so great that it was necessary to afford protection to our own people. But the speech of the hon. Member for the Forest of Dean, he considered, remained unanswered. He regretted that any vote on that side of the House should be given against the most cherished tradition of the Liberal Party, and he hoped that, notwithstanding the opinions expressed in debate, the Liberal Party would be officially represented in the division. He

had listened with considerable interest to what must be regarded as the principal speech which had yet been made from the Front Bench, and from what he gathered from the right hon. Gentleman the purpose of the Bill was confined to the exclusion of aliens who were undesirable persons in the sense in which that term was usually employed. If the Bill merely effected the exclusion of persons suffering from disease or addicted to crime, he would be prepared to support it, but this measure in its scope and power of action was capable of excluding aliens of whatever condition, however reputable and respectable they might be. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman was that there were a number of people who came to this country, especially from Germany, Russia and Poland, who were more or less associated with the criminal classes, or suffering more or less from disease, who were wasters and strays on the Continent. That was entirely in conflict with the Report of the Royal Commission. The Report of the Commission showed that 60 per cent. of the aliens who, under pressure, had immigrated into this country had a knowledge of skilled trades. According to the medical officer of the county of London, their health and physique were everything that could be desired.

The Bill was really aimed at the exclusion of these aliens from a trade union point of view. It was protective. But the effect of the introduction of alien immigrants employed in the cabinetmaking, tailoring, and shoemaking trades had, the Royal Commission reported, been beneficial in indirectly giving employment to native industry. This country in former years had derived enormous advantages from the entry of alien skilled labour; especially was this the case in the pottery and textile industries, the improvement in which was largely due to the introduction of foreign skilled labour. The aliens in the Metropolis were mainly occupied in the tailoring trade. Formerly the slop tailoring of London had been done by an Irish colony in Soho, but these people had not been driven to destitution by the aliens; they had drifted into occupations more congenial to them. The Bill would destroy the right of asylum which had hitherto existed in this country. It

would give the Home Secretary power to require certificates of character, but from whom would such certificates be obtained? From the police authorities of the country whence the aliens came? If so, what chance was there of a political fugitive from justice ever again finding an asylum in this country? He knew no sentiment that more deeply moved the public feeling in this country than this sacred principle of asylum. The Bill, too, would introduce a most abominable system of espionage, for a foreigner coming into this country would be obliged to remain under police surveillance for two years. He did not deny that the importation of a considerable number of aliens into a narrow and congested area of London had had evil results, but he denied that this was the *fons et origo* of the mischief in regard to labour. The remedy was not to exclude aliens, but to insist on proper sanitary conditions being observed by the local authorities.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said if this was panic legislation, as the hon. Member for the Elland Division had suggested, it was a panic which had been a long time coming. It was now sixteen years ago since the Select Committee was appointed by the House to consider the matter, and their Report, although it did not recommend immediate legislation, contemplated the possibility of such legislation becoming necessary in the future. He thought the Government had been much too dilatory in introducing such legislation, but congratulated the Home Secretary on the completeness of the measure. The late Lord Salisbury took a very strong view on this matter and himself introduced a Bill in 1894 in the House of Lords. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was not in the House when the hon. Member for Wolverhampton spoke; had he been, he did not think he would have persevered in the Amendment moved. There was considerable difficulty in arriving at exact figures on the question, and even the census returns were by no means satisfactory. But taking the census returns as the best that could be obtained, it appeared that in 1901 there were

286,925 aliens in the country, of whom 95,245 were Russians or Poles, and of those 53,537 were resident in London, 42,033 being in the borough of Stepney alone. There were also 53,000 Germans, of whom 27,147 were resident in London. It was true the number was small when compared with the whole population, but the evil was that they were concentrated in particular districts and in particular trades, and when the condition of affairs in Stepney, Whitechapel, and Shoreditch was considered, it would surely be admitted that it was incumbent upon the Government to do something to remove the terrible congestion there existing. All were proud of the fact that this country had afforded asylum to many men who had since risen to considerable distinction, and they were anxious that that right should not be interfered with. But this Bill had nothing to do with the right of asylum; it simply made provision with reference to the immigration of aliens, and gave to this country the right already possessed by every other country in the world, including our own self-governing colonies.

The evil was really a growth of the last twenty-five years. In 1903 the total number of aliens coming into the country was 82,572; 13,410 of these were sailors, and this introduction of foreign sailors to man the mercantile marine was one of the most serious factors of the situation. In 1902, 81,533, of whom 15,000 were sailors, came in, so that in the two years, after deducting sailors, 170,285 aliens landed in this country at the eastern ports. Some of these certainly proceeded subsequently to the United States, but no one had the least idea of how many did so, and it was, undoubtedly, the case that the worst remained here. What was the condition of the aliens arriving in this country? According to Dr. Williams, the medical officer for the Port of London, many of them were in a filthy, verminous condition. Surely it could not be contended that they were desirable immigrants? If the matter was impartially considered, there was not the slightest doubt that the introduction of persons such as those scheduled

Mr. Atherley-Jones.

in the Bill was eminently undesirable. It was not fair to the ratepayers of this country, and the Metropolis especially, that they should be taxed to support destitute aliens. Surely it was incumbent upon the Government to take measures to remove this terrible congestion of aliens in the East End of London. The right of asylum, of which they were all proud, was unaffected by the Bill. The Bill simply proposed to make provisions with respect to the immigration of aliens, and not only every foreign country, but every self-governing British colony had passed legislation of a similar character. If an alien committed an offence in a foreign country he was expelled. But in this country in 1903 there were 1,300 aliens in provincial prisons, and 1,915 aliens in the Metropolitan prisons, who were maintained at a cost to the taxpayers of £30,000, and when their time was up were released to prey again upon the community. Traders, too, suffered to an enormous extent. British shopkeepers were driven out of a neighbourhood because the aliens would only deal with their co-religionists, and, again, a large number of aliens went into bankruptcy with a large amount of unsecured liabilities. Not one single speech had shown that this Bill had anything to do with any anti-Semitic feeling whatever, nor was it directed against foreigners as a whole.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said the hon. Member who had last spoken had been the leader of the Government in this matter and deserved credit for the fact that the movement of which he had proved himself to be the stormy petrel had attained its present position after sixteen years of agitation. He had listened with some disappointment to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member as well as to other speeches. He could not see that they had made out that the existing evils were such as to justify the exceptional remedies which the House was asked to apply to them. He did not deny that a case might sometimes be made out for excluding aliens from this country; that it might be found that the entrance of the foreigner of a lower standard of life and social condition was undesirable because these people

could not assimilate with the established population of the country. But he was bound to say he did not think that any case had been made out for interfering with the free movement of population from one part of the world to the other, such as the peoples of California and Australia had for excluding Chinese. The general practice of mankind had been to allow the free movement of population from one country to another, and the mixture of the races had generally been found to be a good thing for the country where the races had mixed and had proved themselves capable of forming a civilised community. What was the case against the alien immigrant here? In the first place, he was entirely confined to the East End of London, and almost entirely to the borough of Stepney. Now they were asked to make a new departure, to set up a new condition of administration for the whole country for the sake of a small number of people living in one borough in the East End of London! Was there not a disproportion between the evil and the remedy? No case had been made out showing that any harm had happened to any part of England except Stepney. He once had the honour of representing Stepney in that House and he received a great deal of kindness there, but, after all, Stepney was not England, and they could not legislate for all England merely for the sake of one borough.

It was said that the Russian Poles who came here were the off-scourings of Eastern Europe. What was it they were guilty of? It was not ill-health or that they introduced epidemic diseases. The Jewish population were less apt to be attacked with epidemics than any section of Europeans. In Rome in old days the Ghetto was comparatively immune from plague, and in more recent years the Jews were more immune from cholera than the Europeans among whom they lived. Was the complaint to be urged against them on account of poor relief? The evidence of the chairman of the White-chapel Union showed that the locality was put to no expense for poor relief owing to the action of the Jewish charitable agencies in looking after their own poor, and if the House would refer to the figures they would find] the

remarkable fact that the percentage of alien paupers to total alien population was 2·4, while the percentage of paupers to the population generally was 7·9. Thus there was really no case at all as regarded poor relief. Nor was the case any stronger as to their influence on labour. The evidence showed that the development of the industries in which the alien had engaged had benefited in various ways, while the Commission said that there had been no proof forthcoming that there had been any serious displacement of English skilled labour. It was true that as a temporary measure, English labourers were undersold when the aliens had newly arrived and were in their transition stage; but after a few years they became capable of making better terms for themselves and did not permanently depress the labour market. The case really seemed to rest on the plea of overcrowding. He agreed that it was a serious evil, but it was not confined to Stepney. It was quite as bad in other parts of London and in other cities. The evil called for prompt and drastic treatment wherever it existed, but it could not be got rid of by relieving overcrowding in Stepney alone.

Then there was the case of crime. It was perfectly true that the aliens committed a greater proportion of crime than the rest of the population, but no attempt had been made to show that the crime attributable to aliens was due to the particular class against whom the Bill was directed. There was no evidence that it was, and there was a good deal of negative evidence to show that it was not. The criminals from whom we suffered did not come into the country in a destitute condition, and they would not be caught in this web of the Home Secretary's devising. He believed that the evil had been immensely exaggerated, and while the crime was confined to one particular part of London it was not an evil which needed the large general remedies proposed in the Bill. How were they going to deal with it. When he was at the Board of Trade nine years ago the matter had already been pressed on their attention with a view to devising some method by which at least the undesirable alien could be excluded, and at that time they were quite unable to find

any effective method. Was this Bill calculated to secure that end? Was the remedy not likely to prove worse than the disease? Among the remedies suggested by the Bill was the need for better statistics. The House was agreed on that point. It would no doubt be a great advantage to know the facts more fully than they did. Next, that there should be a thorough medical examination of aliens entering the country. It would be a costly and troublesome business, but in principle no one would object to this. He did not think it would be found that these immigrants were responsible for the introduction of contagious diseases. The third proposal was that persons who had been convicted of a serious offence might have added to their sentence the direction that when they were liberated from confinement they should be deported to the country from whence they came. That proposition would meet with no criticism, for every one who had spoken had agreed that the power was a proper one to vest in Judges, and perhaps in inferior tribunals. Then there was a fourth proposition, which he did not find in the Bill, but which was made by the Royal Commission and upon which also he thought they would all agree. At any rate, the point was one in regard to which some amendment was required.

Another proposition of the Bill was to deal with overcrowding by declaring certain areas to be prohibited for the reception of aliens. The more that proposition was looked into the more would it be found to be absolutely unworkable. The Royal Commission did not say a single word about the practicability of it. They threw the remedy down without endeavouring to prove that it was capable of application, and several witnesses evidently did not think it was capable of application. Another argument was that overcrowding existed in other parts of London, in Glasgow, Manchester, and many of our great towns. But why did it exist there? Simply because overcrowding was a general evil, and it existed partly because the law was defective, but much more because the local authorities would not put the law into force. He ventured to appeal to

Mr. Eryce.

the Home Office and to the Local Government Board to make a more serious effort than had yet been made to get the law put into force. If the local authorities could be kept up to the work, and if the minor amendments which might be needed to increase their powers were made, they could get rid of this evil altogether without all this moonshine about prohibited areas.

Then there was stoppage at the ports, the most important proposal of the Bill. Stop how? By inspectors acting under the Home Office, the ultimate decision resting with the Home Secretary. In this respect the Government had departed from the recommendation of the Royal Commission, which proposed that no one should be debarred from entry except by sentence of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, given on the production of something like evidence. That would be, at any rate, more consonant with the practice which had hitherto governed them in this country. But the Government threw that overboard altogether. They left the decision to the sole, unaided fiat of the Home Secretary, and, apparently, without any test of evidence. How were they to ascertain in any one of the classes to be excluded what was the character of the persons? He presumed it would be from the police of the country from which they came. He did not suggest that the Government had brought in the Bill with any intention of encroaching upon or destroying what an hon. friend of his called the sacred right of asylum, but he did think that they were putting into the hands of their detectives a very dangerous power, which, although they did not mean to abuse it, might, in other times, be capable of abuse, and which, at any rate, was a departure from one of the most sacred and cherished traditions of the British Constitution. Then, again, how was an inspector to know whether a man had visible means of support or not? He had got, at any rate, his arms and his brains, and many people who had got on best in this country had come in with nothing but their brains and their arms. There was no evidence in the Report of the Commission to justify the proposals of the Government. It seemed that the

measure was intended as a sort of scarecrow to frighten alien immigrants, which was neither a sapient nor a dignified course for this country to adopt. Such measures had been shown to be ineffective in the United States, where less than 1 per cent. of the immigrants who presented themselves were now turned back, although among them there were many who had come under labour contracts, and were, therefore, of the very class against which more than any other the United States enactment was directed. A strong view as to the impracticability of stopping the criminal at the ports was held by four of the highest authorities on the subject—Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Edward Bradford, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Albert de Rutzen. Was a plan which these authorities condemned likely to work?

There seemed to be a rather unreasonable prejudice against these aliens, who after a few years assimilated our civilisation and very often proved useful and capable members of society. He remembered when he was Member for the Tower Hamlets that one of the ablest men he had to deal with was a German Jew following the humble trade of a cigar-maker who spoke with a foreign accent, and was probably a pauper immigrant, but nevertheless he was an exceedingly able and honest man, and he at least made upon him the impression that amongst those people which they were apt to consider as an undesirable class there was often a great deal of talent. Upon one occasion at Sheffield he saw a foreigner who had some difficulty about his ticket on the platform at the railway station, and he discovered that he had lost his ticket. He questioned him in his own language, and, after he had interceded, the officials allowed him to proceed on his journey. He turned out to be a shoemaker, and he had nothing but the little bundle he was carrying, but nevertheless he was an exceedingly bright fellow who was going to his brother in Manchester, and he felt perfectly certain that that man would be a valuable acquisition to the population of Manchester. The remedy proposed appeared to be not only utterly disproportionate to the evil which existed, but at variance with the best traditions

of our legislation. This was really a sham Bill, and he strongly suspected that its authors knew it would not work, but had introduced it only to meet a popular cry. The President of the Board of Trade had said that there was a strong feeling upon the subject, but he might very well have used the same argument in regard to the action of the Roumanian Government who persecuted the Jews. He could not admit that the existence of this strong feeling was a sufficient reason why this House should legislate by bringing in a sham Bill to be placed upon the Statute-book.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): It is not my desire to take up an undue length of time in the discussion to-night, but I think there are certain questions which the House will expect me to answer, and which have been expressly directed to me in the course of the debate. Therefore, with the permission of the House, I will reply as shortly as I can to those criticisms, and then very briefly give the reason why I think this Bill should receive a Second Reading. The right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean has very courteously called attention to an obvious inaccuracy which I made in introducing the Bill, and I thank the right hon. Gentleman for having given me the opportunity of admitting the inaccuracy. The figures I gave were quoted in the Alien Immigration Returns published by the Board of Trade under the heading "Aliens, not described as *en route* to places out of the United Kingdom," and were obviously far greater than the numbers which, according to the census returns, could be reckoned as having ever lived in this country. It has been suggested that at the bottom of the Bill there is an anti-Semitic feeling. Might I, on my own part and on the part of those who have introduced the Bill, deny emphatically that we are influenced by any racial or religious feeling? I entirely agree with the denunciations which have been made by the hon. Member for the Elland Division of the inhuman treatment which has been

Mr. Bryce.

too often accorded to the Jews in Eastern Europe, and I would not be slow to make my acknowledgment of the advantages which in the past we have received from their presence in this country and the benefits which they have conferred upon it. I would like to add my meed of praise of the very excellent example which they set us in the way in which they look after their more distressed brethren. The hon. Member for the Elland Division and the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean suggested in the Amendment which they have brought forward upon the Second Reading of this Bill that the whole of the evils of which complaint was made might be met by a more stringent administration of the laws relating to sweating. I venture to say that however excellently these laws are administered, and even if they are amended to the extent which many hon. Members desire, they will in themselves be unequal to dealing with the problems which the House is called upon to face. The evils of unrestricted immigration are not confined to sweating. The Royal Commission in their Report state that they think that—

"The greatest evils produced by the presence of alien immigrants here are the overcrowding caused by them in certain districts in London and the consequent displacement of the native population."

The whole of the figures have been gone into and they have been quoted on both sides of the House to-night. Of the 286,925 aliens resident in this country in 1901, there were in the borough of Stepney alone 54,310. My hon. friend the Member for Stepney has reminded the House that that does not include the whole case. To that number you have to add those who were born in this country of alien parents, who are naturally not included in the Return. In these figures you have a very good proof of the inconvenience not only of this great immigration of aliens, but of their congestion in one particular district. My hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green alluded to the fact that within the last six years 107 streets in Stepney have passed wholly into the occupation of aliens.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman state the population?

***MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS:** The figures are to be found in the Report. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to proceed without interrupting my argument. These 107 streets in the borough of Stepney have passed wholly into the occupation of aliens. What, therefore, is the condition of these streets and houses? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife asked the House to look carefully into the evidence as well as the Report of the Royal Commission. I am quite certain that if the House accept his advice and look carefully into the report of the evidence given before the Royal Commission they will see what is the condition of the streets and houses which have been entirely taken over by this alien population. There are rooms and cellars too often occupied by more than one family, used as workshops in the day and as sleeping places at night. The Commissioners gave an instance of ten houses of fifty-one rooms which were occupied by 254 people. The house owners, or house builders, often aliens themselves, buy up property after property in that district, and on account of the higher rents aliens offer to give, the landlords turn out the occupying tenants and, therefore, you have not only all the evils of overcrowding, but the worst state of those evils. I venture to think that this overcrowding, with all its concurrent evils, is a matter which has certainly a claim upon the attention of the Government. It not only leads to the displacement of the native population, but is becoming a very serious menace to the maintenance of law and order.

The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, and other speakers on the other side of the House, in the course of the debate have maintained that if this Bill should pass this country will no longer be the sanctuary for the victims of persecution. Well, there is certainly nothing which is further from the wish of the Government than to bring about any change of this character. This country has always

been the asylum for the persecuted and the oppressed, and I venture to think that it would be a great breach of national hospitality if we were now, and for the first time, to close our doors against political refugees and against those who solely are the victims of political tyranny. I maintain that there is nothing in this Bill which can possibly by any stretch of imagination be said to keep out that class from this country. The right hon. Baronet said that he could give instances of cases in which this would be the effect. He said that under this Bill, as far as he understood it, men such as Dalou, Prince Peter Kropotkin, and the brothers Reclus would have been prevented from having a home in this country. To all these we were only too proud to give hospitality, and we should welcome men like them in the future. Nothing will be put in the regulations (which I may point out are to be laid before the House) which would prevent refugees of that character coming as freely to this country as they have ever done in its history. The Government fully realise the advantages which this country has received from refugees—refugees from France and other countries who brought with them a knowledge of art and trade which has greatly benefited our manufactures in the past. All we desire to do is to prevent aliens of the characters described in the schedule of the Bill from coming to this country and causing inconvenience and suffering to our own population. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fifehire, for whose opinions and criticisms I have the highest regard, has carried on with great success the office which I have now the honour to hold. I am bound to lay the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman very carefully to heart. He tells me that there are no precedents whatever for the action which it is proposed to take under this Bill. I am not going to rake up precedents, but I think he will remember that there have been Alien Acts in the last century in which the power that is now asked for has been exercised. Even greater powers were asked.

MR. ASQUITH: For a temporary emergency.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: No; more than temporary. If the right hon. Gentleman will refer to the debates on the Second Reading of an Aliens Bill in 1816, he will find that powers of a very stringent character were asked for; and as a fact a drastic measure were carried. It is not however the precedent on which this Bill is based, nor, I confess, until the right hon. Gentleman raised the point was I aware of the fact that it existed. The right hon. Gentleman says that these powers are too great to be given to any individual. Well, I would point out that these powers are to be exercised under regulations, that these rules will come automatically under the provisions of the Publications Act, which provides that after having been published in draft they shall be laid before Parliament for forty days where they can be discussed and dealt with like any other rules that are laid before this House. Further than that, the Secretary of State, whoever he may be, will always be responsible in this House for any action he takes, and his conduct can always be criticised and, if necessary, his salary can be reduced on the Estimates which are yearly brought forward in the House. My hon. friend the Member for Fulham made, I think, with great force one criticism with regard to the carrying out of the provisions of the Bill. That is to say, he criticised the provisions of Sub-clause (3) of Clause 2, which gives the Secretary of State power to act in respect of aliens in this country who may have been here for not more than two years. I admit that there is a distinction to be drawn between the cases aimed at in this Sub-section and those provided against in Sub-clause (1). If you are to deal with the latter you must deal at once, because if you do not take immediate action the alien will have landed, and the ship will have left, and it will be impossible to deport him in the same ship to the country from which he came. With regard to the other cases, when the alien is already here I think it is quite a question whether efficient steps could not be taken through the medium of a Court of Justice. The criticisms on Clause 4 were dealt with by my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board in connection with

the Department for which he is responsible. I need only say that we shall be quite ready to accept any reasonable Amendment.

I am glad to find that there is one portion of the Bill which, I think, meets with the general approbation of the House of Commons, and that is the clause dealing with the deportation of aliens who have been convicted of crime in this country. I think there can be no doubt that the crime of this country would be very considerably reduced if a portion of the sentence passed on aliens in this country was that they should be obliged to leave the country or be dealt with under the Vagrancy Acts. From all the reports which I have received, not only from Judges, but from chairmen of quarter sessions and police magistrates, I am quite certain that if these provisions were carried out there would be a very large decrease in crime in London and in many of our big towns, and that they would effectively deal with a large amount of petty crime. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the crime committed by aliens is largely and chiefly larceny and small offences and not very serious crime; or, at all events, not murder or crime against the person. But it is to be remarked that judging from the number of their previous convictions there is probably a larger class of habitual criminals among aliens than among any other class of the population, and I think it is only fair to the citizens of this country that if aliens come up, as they sometimes do, eight, ten, or twelve times, that they should have in future as part of their sentence the sentence of deportation. I only now desire to point out that in addition to the arguments which have been used in favour of the Second Reading of this Bill, we think it is an anomaly that this country, almost if not quite alone among the civilised countries of the world, should have no power of excluding or expelling any class of alien or aliens, however injurious their presence may be in this country. It is that power—that power of expulsion—which is exercised by other civilised States, by our own Colonies, even by such a small dependency of this country

as the Channel Islands; and I venture to think that we shall not get efficient protection from the evils which are so rightly complained of by those who take an interest in this alien question unless we are empowered to take measures against the unrestricted immigration of what is often an evil class. I have pointed out that we have no desire whatever to interfere with the entrance of any foreigner as such to this country. All we desire to do is to remove this class of undesirable aliens who bring no credit whatever to this country, but who bring in their train many evils from which we think the working classes of this country should be preserved.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said the Home Secretary concluded his speech by stating as a reason why they should pass this intolerable Bill, that we were the only country that had not passed this kind of legislation. It was because this was the only civilised country that did not possess this kind of legislation that he was proud of being a Briton, and if we put ourselves abreast of other countries in passing this pettifogging restrictive legislation he would consider whether he should take a passage to some land resembling the country he used to know. We were losing some of the characteristics of a free people, and nothing indicated this more than the fact that because a few poor Jews came to this country and worked for low wages, and were supposed to be a nuisance to British workmen, this Bill was necessary. The British workman did not make half the complaint that factious politicians nervous about their seats did. Because a few poor Jews, flying from tyranny and oppression and countries where bad economic conditions existed, came to this country was no reason for a Bill such as this. He saw no reason for excluding the poor Jews. He would pass an Aliens Bill for the rich Jews of Bayswater, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, Park Lane, and Throgmorton Street. But the Government dare not include these people in the schedule to the Bill. The political

power and financial influence of these rich Jews were so great that they could pull the Government from Dan to Beersheba. We had a debt of £250,000,000, and we had lost 22,000 precious lives, and we would lose South Africa because of the rich Jew. He would include him in the schedule of this Bill, not because he worked for a living, but because he suborned politicians. [Cries of "No."] Did they doubt it? Let them look at the Cape Committee Report. The rich Jew suborned judges and corrupted Parliaments, made raids, organised rebellions, and did not hesitate to do things to make himself still richer. In so doing the rich Jew was bringing upon this country untold harm which poor Jews would not do if they could, but by virtue of their condition they were unable to attack us.

To hear the hon. Member for Sheffield one would think that this was a new question. Let him read Cobbett's "History of Parliament," and he would find that from the fourteenth century down to the eighteenth there were the Sir Howard Vincents of those particular days who made equally ridiculous statements and advocated equally ridiculous and futile legislative repression. The fact was that every fifteen or twenty years some tariff reformer in disguise, some full-blown protectionist, some grand Imperialist, set up a crusade against the poor foreigner; but to the credit of the British House of Commons it had invariably resisted all attempts to persecute or oppress a man simply because he was a poor Jew and an industrious workman. The hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield, who had bluffed the Government into carrying out his views, ought to be Prime Minister. He ran the show both on protection and on destitute aliens. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said that this Bill had been too long in arriving, and that the first Bill on this subject had been sketched out by the late Lord Salisbury. But that Bill, and others suggested, were not of the character of the present measure. They dealt with criminal aliens. Fresh statu-

tory power was not required for that. The Chief Commissioner of Police could do it, and the port sanitary authorities could grapple with the disease aspect of the question; that did not require a Bill of this inquisitorial character. If this Bill passed, some French John Bunyan would be bagged, and some German William Shakespeare, who had done a little poaching, would be stopped. or his certificate would be suspended. He did not know what would happen to the Irish Members; they might be deported! Look at the futility of this measure. They were told to imitate America. Well, he had been to America, and he had a great respect for that new and enterprising country; but he would rather be found dead in England than alive in New York. That was real patriotism. What was the result of the system in America? Of the 634,000 emigrants who went to the United States last year only 400 were sent back to Europe, and they were imbeciles, idiots, and undesirable persons. That probably accounted for the transient character of the Tariff Reform League. Only twenty-three were sent back to the United Kingdom as criminals. It was wasting the time of the House of Commons to ask them to pass legislation of this kind when that was the case. They were asked to imitate the Colonies in this regard; but when the Colonies, and some people in this country, asked that the Lascars should be given the same accommodation and the same measurement on board ship, the Colonies had been blamed by a certain class of politicians for going too far. The diminishing birth-rate and declining population were evidence that the restriction of immigration into the

Mr. John Burns.

Colonies had been a failure; and he believed [that if a Labour Ministry was formed in the Australian Commonwealth, instead of restricting immigration, they would take an opposite view, for there was nothing like responsibility for enlarging the mental horizon.

Supposing President Kruger had, six years ago, passed a Bill of this kind against destitute aliens what pictures of tyranny and oppression would have been drawn. But the modern Tory out-Krugered Kruger. The extraordinary thing was that the Tories who talked when in opposition about freedom and liberty, when installed in office were disposed to make this country the most bureaucratic, as it was likely to be the most military, nation seen during the last forty years. The hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield said, "Look at the dirt of these people." But dirt was no test of character. The other day he was walking across St. James' Park with a very representative Member of the House of Lords, who was dressed in an unconventional style. His companion would not have suited the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield at all, and as they passed he could not help over-hearing one of the park keepers remark, "Why, John has picked up one of those park tramps." Untidyness of dress was no test of moral virtue, and neither was dirt a test of character. If hon. Members doubted him let them ask the officers and soldiers who had been compelled to do their duty under circumstances in which everyone of them would have been declared unclean and destitute. It was ridiculous that because men were shabby or dirty, after being three or four nights on board ship, that they should be declared incompetent to be citizens.

Then, the hon. and gallant Member said, "See how criminal these people are." That argument answered itself. The more criminal these aliens were the less competitive they must be to the honest British working man in a free industrial market. They were told, "Look at the number of them who are bankrupt." If so, that disposed of the charge that they were beating the British shopkeeper out of the market into the workhouse. There could be no mistake about it; if this Bill wanted to help the British workman and be made a real Alien Exclusion Bill, it should provide for the deportation of every alien who worked at an honest livelihood. The fact was, it was only a front shop window Bill, prepared for the general election, and for East End constituencies, and perhaps for the East End of Manchester. It would not apply to Scotland, for no Jew could live there. This Bill was in the same category with Old-Age Pensions, the Small Houses Bill, and the Prison Labour Bill.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Hear, hear!

Mr. JOHN BURNS: The hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield said "Hear, hear." Well, the total amount of convict labour goods imported into this country last year was £183 14s. 1d.; and before the Bill was passed the amount was about as small. The Prison Labour Bill whispered the promise of exclusion to the ear of the British workmen, but broke it to his hope after it became law. If it was wanted to get rid of the foreign criminals he would give a word of advice to the Home Secretary. Sir Richard Webster passed through the

House, at two o'clock in the morning, a Bill known as the Bullies Bill, and within twenty-four hours 600 bullies and *souteneurs* from Piccadilly, Regent Street, and Soho voluntarily took the train for Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere. Why was it that they had come back? It was because the Home Secretary and the police were not continuing to enforce that Act with the pluck and vigour which they had shown within the first week after it had passed. If that Act were enforced as it should be, the bulk of the dangerous foreign criminals, of whom so much had been heard, would be got rid of in twenty-four hours. In fact nine-tenths of the cases which constituted the justification for this Bill could be dealt with by the police, by the medical officers of health, and by the port sanitary authorities, without requiring new legislation. Were the 42,000,000 of people in the United Kingdom to impotently confess their inability to grapple with not more than 100,000 Jewish craftsmen, scattered in four or five towns, and more than half of them located in one London constituency. The Jews were less than 1 per cent. of the total population of Great Britain and Ireland, and in France they were less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. To what extent did the foreigners compete with the British workmen? They had got rid of the second-hand clothing trade, by inventing new ready-made clothing to take its place. What were the trades of the people against whom the Bill was aimed? They sold ice-cream and chest-nuts, turned organs, and carried on many other minor callings in which he, for one, did not wish to see the British workman shine; and some earned their living by waiting at table. If the

persecuted from other lands could do that kind of work, because the Briton would not do it—and that in the main was the cause—no injustice was done at all. The objectionable clause in the Bill was that which referred to persons having no visible or probable means of support. What was the standard of visible or probable means of support? He knew lots of good men who under that definition would be turned away from our shores. Supposing America or the Colonies were to interpret the law in that way against those of our own race, it would prevent half the Irishmen getting into America at Castle Garden, and thousands obtaining a footing in Canada and other parts of the Empire. Did it mean that a man must be well-dressed? If so, it would not keep out the criminals who came from Paris, Vienna, Buda Pesth, Cairo, and especially the Bessarabian Jews, who are always well dressed, but who were so criminal that they had been slung out of South Africa altogether. They would let in clean, well-dressed, and apparently respectable criminals, but keep out the brawny, honest, though poverty-stricken alien.

Let us look at this matter from the point of view of ourselves. We were an emigrating nation, and would be for some years to come. If we adopted restrictions of this kind, it would be an incentive to other countries to be still more restrictive, which was the general tendency at the present day. Where was the grievance? With the exception of the hon. Gentleman who represented Stepney, it was admitted not to be large. It was not national. It was proportionally small, and was not relatively growing. What was more, the British

Mr. John Burns.

workmen, to their credit, were not very much alarmed at it. We had very few foreign paupers, and therefore on the score of pauperism there was no ground for this legislation. And as regarded health, these aliens were perhaps the worst portion of the world's population for criticism. In the whole of London there were only 55 Jewish incurables, and these were not on the rates. In regard to lunatics (he spoke of those who were responsible for 18,000 lunatics in London), although lunacy amongst the Jews was slightly more than normal, it was not so much so as to warrant this Bill. It was true that the proportion of alien criminals was above the normal figures for the native population, but that was explained by the fact that a larger proportion of the foreigners taken into the calculation were adults.

He came now to the chief point, viz., the dispossession of British labour. He maintained that that was grossly exaggerated. In the last ten years, in all the trades in which aliens were employed, wages had been increased, and hours reduced, while the exports of their products had increased to an extraordinary extent. Curiously enough, the workmen in the alleged evicted trades did not feel half so keenly on the matter as the hon. Member for Stepney did. The difficulty was confined, roughly speaking, to the East End of London, and mainly to Stepney. There the dumping of aliens had accentuated many social and industrial difficulties; but if the foreign aliens were to live in a self-constituted Ghetto, which he regretted, it was surely better to have them gathered in one district than widely scattered. He would not advocate that by compulsion, but if they chose to do so of their own free will that

was well. He maintained that the East End Jew was sober and non-criminal. The only fault he had to find with him was that he had none of the vices of the free man. He yielded to authority with ox-like submission. He was patient, thrifty, sober, and industrious to an extent which made his gorge rise; but to the extent that he did that he had disarmed all the arguments which had been brought against him, such as that he was criminal, that he was a charge on the public rates, and that he was lazy. He ventured to say that this difficulty was adjusting itself. There was not the overcrowding in the East End of London that there was some time ago. It was not true that the local authorities were not dealing with this question. Between 1891 and 1901, the number of tenants of one-room tenements in London had fallen by 81,000. There were not more than 80,000 to 100,000 Jews in East London, and yet 25,000 new houses were being built every year. An hon. Member opposite said that the Jews were overcrowding the whole of London; but in St. Giles, St. George's Hanover Square, and in Holborn and in other districts in the West End, the overcrowding was even greater than Stepney, Whitechapel, or St. George's-in-the-East. If we would put an end to the evil, let us establish fair-rent Courts, as they had done in Ireland, extend the powers of local authorities, facilitate communication, stop the doing of work at home, abolish sub-contracting and the like. If they wanted to stop overcrowding they should bring in a Bill giving local authorities more power to deal with this problem. If they wanted to distribute these people, let them give power to the London County Council to provide cheap, rapid,

and universal tramways over Westminster and the other bridges. But there were other methods of meeting the difficulty. They should kill home-work altogether; make it impossible to have work carried on in tenements where people eat, lived, and slept; they should totally abolish sub-contracting, do away with child labour, and, above all, let the Home Secretary issue a regulation abolishing the Sunday market in Petticoat Lane. There was another thing to do, and it was to make each employer in the East End give their employees one day's rest each week. If that were done they would diminish the number of undesirable persons in that part of London.

His last point was that hon. Members had told them that there was a feeling growing up in this country against the Jew. That was not the case with the industrious poor, but it was true that there was an anti-Jewish feeling growing up elsewhere. It was mostly propagated in newspapers owned by Jewish proprietors and was advocated by, rich Jews who, having made their money out of foreign countries, settled here and forgot their poorer compatriots. But amongst the great bulk of the British working people there was no anti-Jewish feeling, although there was a feeling of resentment against the South African Jew, and against the mere financier who was a criminal not included in the schedule of this Bill. They were the men who were stimulating this anti-Jewish feeling. So far as the bulk of British working-men were concerned, they were too good and too considerate to do anything but offer a welcome to men who had fled from persecution in their own country. They wished this country to be regarded as an asylum for the oppressed

of other nationalities. If the rich Jews supported this Bill against their poor fellow-countrymen they would do them an injustice. Nine-tenths of the aristocracy worshipped the Jew; one half of them were dying to marry Jewesses; and if Jews were coming to this country in increasing numbers it was due to the fact that the rich Jew, the Stock Exchange Jew, had opened up to his fellows in all parts of the world an example of what could be done if they were rich, and because the Conservative Party had made the Stock Exchange a new Jerusalem and Park Lane a new Mount Pisgah. This Government was not showing justice to the poor Jew, who was a hard worker, and was by no means a danger to the community.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said the hon. Member for Battersea appeared to be suffering from "Jew on the brain." For fourteen years he (Sir C. Rasch) had been the representative in that House of Tilbury Docks, and he always endeavoured to get all the information in his power. In the East of England people were tired of this incursion of 20,000 aliens every year, who swarmed the labour market, brought down wages,

and crowded the gaols. They felt that this species of imported manufactured goods ought not to be dumped upon them any longer, and that, if they were, they ought not to take them lying down. Had there been time, he would have liked to traverse some of the arguments of the right hon. Baronet Sir Charles Dilke, for whose knowledge he had the greatest respect. Although the right hon. Gentleman's knowledge of Paris was extensive and peculiar, there were other people who knew that city quite as well as he did. It had been said that several political refugees from France, who found an asylum here, were eminent and virtuous men. There were other communists also who did their best to come here, but because they did not run away in time, were caught and very properly shot. For his part, he would welcome any Bill which would have the effect of keeping out political refugees of that sort, some of whom had succeeded in getting here, and had done the country more harm than good.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 241; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 92.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Alhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Joceline Fitzroy
Bailey, James (Waltham)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
Biggild, Arthur
Bigwood, James

Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropshire)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worcester)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry

Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)

Mr. John Burns.

Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
 Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dimdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
 Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Ferguson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manc.)
 Fielden, Edward Brooklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.)
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gordon, Maj. Evans. (Tower Hamlets)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby-(Salop)
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Gretton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Guthrie, Walter Murray
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Marq. of (Lancaster)
 Hardy, Laurence Kent, Ashford
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Stafford, N. W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hogg, Lindsey
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hunt, Rowland
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.

Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N. R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol, S.)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 McCalmont, Colonel James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Moon, Edward Robert Percy
 Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Norman, Henry
 O'Neil, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Parker, Sir Gilbert
 Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne

Reid, James (Greenock)
 Richards, Henry Charles
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rose, Charles Day
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tynside)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Ure, Alexander
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield)
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton and Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
 Atherley-Jones, L.
 Barran, Rowland Hirst

Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bell, Richard
 Black, Alexander William
 Boland, John
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry

Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
 Burke E. Haviland-
 Burns, John
 Cameron, Robert
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.

Causton, Richard Knight
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Elibank, Master of
 Ellice, Capt. E. C. (S. Andrw's Bghs)
 Ellis, John Edward (Notta.)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Eve, Harry Trelawney
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Fitzmaurice, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Gilhooly, James
 Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Harwood, George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Langley, Batty

Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Long, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morley, Charles (Breckonshire)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose)
 Moss, Samuel
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
 O'Dowd John
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Partington, Oswald
 Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
 Power, Patrick Joseph

Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehy, David
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. B. (Northants)
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 White, George (Norfolk)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Charles Dilke and Mr.
 Trevelyan.

Main Question put, and agreed to:—
 Bill read a second time, and committed
 for this day.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT [DEFICIENCY ANNUITY].

Resolution reported, "That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts."

Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That this House doth agree with the
 Committee in the said Resolution.

And, it being after Midnight, and
 objection being taken to further Pro-
 ceeding, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed this day.

On the Motion for the adjournment of
 the House.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRE-
 TARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A.
 ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Welling-
 ton) said it might be convenient for hon.
 Members to know that the Government
 proposed to take the Report stage of
 the Budget Resolutions on Wednesday
 instead of the Bishopric of Southwark
 Bill.

Adjourned at ten minutes after
 Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 26th April, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of Richard Jaeger's Patent—(Petition for Bill) ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to introduce the Bill. Read, and agreed to.

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Great Northern and City Railway (Extension of Time) Bill; Corbridge Gas Bill. Reported, without Amendment.

South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [H.L.]; Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Shipley Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Hampton-in-Arden Gas Bill; Great Eastern Railway (Steamboats) Bill; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Mid-Cheshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]. The Lord BALFOUR informed the House that the Promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. The orders made on the 26th of February and Friday last discharged. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with.

Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Provisional Order. Ordered, That the evidence taken before the Committee of this House on the Bill for the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway Act, 1900, be referred to the Commissioners appointed under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to inquire into the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Draft Provisional Order, 1904.

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on

the Table. The orders made on the 4th and 24th of March last discharged, and Bill committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill; Wolverhampton Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Southend Water Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Ellenborough be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Rosmead; read, and agreed to.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz., E. Romney, E. Lytton, L. Bateman, L. Hamilton of Dalzell, L. Glanusk (Chairman); agreed to, and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Wednesday the 4th of May next at eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 53.)

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEM RAILWAY BILL.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): My Lords, there is a Motion standing in my name that Standing Order No. 93 be considered in order to its being dispensed with in respect to a Petition of the East Ham Urban District Council. I may explain that this Petition was late owing to a misunderstanding as to the date on which the Bill was read a first time in your Lordships' House. It was not thought that it would be read a first time before the Easter recess, and the opponents did not notice that it had so been. I have seen the parties in the case, and both the promoters and the opponents of the Bill are agreeable that the Petition should be presented. In those circumstances, I move that the Standing Order be suspended and that the Petition be allowed to be presented.

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 93 be considered in order to its being dispensed with, with respect to a Petition of the East Ham Urban District Council."
—(Lord Balfour of Burleigh).

On Question, Motion agreed to,

Leave give to present the said Petition.

NEW BILL.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE ACT, 1882,
AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend Section 82 of the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882. Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 52.)

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEM RAILWAY BILL.

Committed; The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3144. United States (Texas).

No. 3145. Germany (Chemnitz).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL
[H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The EARL of HALSBURY): My Lords, your Lordships have constantly discussed the question whether some legislation on this subject is not required, and by the consent of both sides of the House it has been agreed that some legislation is required. There is a great and advancing evil which it is necessary to meet, and it is urgent that steps should be taken to diminish what has been described as a canker which is eating away the commercial honesty of a great many classes in this country. Your Lordships are familiar with the provisions of this Bill. I have taken means to ascertain the reception which the Bill met with in the House of Commons, and I have accepted, with one exception, the Amendments which were made in Grand Committee. That, of course, ought to clear the way for the complete acceptance of the Bill. The exception is one which I shall insist upon as essential to any such Bill—it is the veto of the Attorney-General. I am unwilling to be a party to anything that will promote evils even worse than the corruption which the Bill is intended to put down. I do not think that any one who has not examined into the subject can appreciate the extent to which a Bill of this kind might be used for the purpose of blackmail unless this provision was inserted. It is the fear of being accused that the blackmailer avails himself of. One of the Amendments suggested as an alternative to the veto of the Attorney-General was that an indictment under this Bill should be part of the legislation in respect to what is called the vexatious indictment procedure. That

is not a sufficient safeguard against blackmailing, because if the case went before a magistrate there would be publicity of the accusation, and it is publicity that the blackmailer makes the great instrument of oppression. If, however, the blackmailer has to obtain the permission of the Attorney-General, there will be no publicity if the law officer of the Crown decides that it is not a case in which a prosecution should be instituted. Moreover, a blackmailer is the last person in the world to pay a visit to the Attorney-General to ask for his permission to proceed with a prosecution. I hope your Lordships will read the Bill a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Chancellor*).

***LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD:** My Lords, my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack knows the estimation in which I hold his opinion in matters of legislation and how strongly I am disposed to support this Bill. But I must say that I heard with great regret the statement which the noble and learned Lord has just made, because I fear that, if the provision to which he has referred is persisted in, the Bill is not likely to pass into law. I do not think my noble and learned friend can be aware how widespread is the view among commercial men and the legal profession against the safeguard which he thinks so necessary, and I am afraid he does not recognise what is the fact, that the House of Commons will decline to pass the Bill with this provision in it. I am informed that it is strongly felt that if this safeguard—this so-called safeguard—is inserted, the Bill will, for all ordinary purposes, become nugatory. I have no doubt that where there are important prosecutions to be supported, persons in a position to employ solicitors will be able to secure the Attorney-General's fiat; but the chief object of this Bill, so far as I have understood it from its inception, is to produce, if possible, a more honest method of dealing in every-day life. Even in domestic matters we know of great evils that spring from this system of secret commissions, and persons are daily defrauded by those in

their households who really ought to be their guardians. If a man in the country wished to bring to light some such evil, the initial step under this Bill would not be to take proceedings at once and let the matter be determined then and there before a magistrate. No; he would have to employ a solicitor who in his turn would have to engage an agent in London, file affidavits, and marshal all the evidence to be adduced. This substantial expense would have to be incurred before the fiat of the Attorney-General could be obtained, and all this, perhaps, in order to bring to light an offence of a domestic character. Do your Lordships really think that any ordinary person will undertake to go through this process in order to institute a prosecution for an offence under the Bill. Why, I ask, is this exception made in this case? I cannot see how the possibilities of blackmail can be greater in these prosecutions than in others. Persons can be given in custody straight away for embezzlement and other serious offences, yet under this Bill it will be necessary, even in small matters of a domestic character, to adopt the cumbrous procedure set forth. The matter, of course, is in the hands of my noble and learned friend, but I fear that, with this provision in it, an obstacle is created to the passing of the Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: All I can say is that experience shows that blackmailing is on the increase, and I will not be a party to any Bill which does not contain the safeguard that I have indicated. I may add that those who have preceded me in introducing measures of this character have come round to my view on this point, and your Lordships have twice passed a Prevention of Corruption Bill containing this provision, against which no new reason has been given.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

WARSHIP TRIALS.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I rise to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he has considered the damage to local fisheries that may be caused by the trials of warships on the new measured

mile off Polperro ; whether he has taken, or will take, the opinion of fishery experts on this subject ; and what proposals are to be put forward by the Admiralty for compensation to the local fishermen for any damage done during the course of such trials to the fisheries or to their boats and gear.

The facts on which my Question is founded can be briefly stated, and, I think, involve no controversial matter. The Admiralty are in need of a measured mile somewhere in close proximity to Plymouth for the purpose of the speed trials of His Majesty's ships of war. I believe that the original intention was to have this measured mile somewhere in Whitesand Bay. There were also proposals for it to be between Rame Head and the Eddystone Lighthouse, and, so far as the fishermen were concerned, I am sure that locality would have been the one they would have greatly preferred. The Admiralty, however, after careful consideration, have come to the conclusion that the most suitable place is off the fishing village of Polperro, and arrangements have been made for the measured mile to be located there. The Admiralty have bought certain pieces of land on the rocks, on which they have erected two of the most successful eyesores that have been put up in any part of Great Britain. That, however, is no part of my business, though it does seem a pity that ugliness should necessarily be conjoined with utility. I am afraid the noble Earl opposite may hear a good deal of this subject from that brotherhood of artists who make their home on the Cornish coast, but I will not say any more about it.

The point I wish to bring out is what I believe to be the justifiable anxiety of the fishermen on the coast—in Fowey, Looe, Polperro, and the other fishing villages. All these little ports on the coast are inhabited by the same sort of fishermen—fishermen with small undecked or partly-decked boats, who rely for their fishing on the waters close to the shore, probably largely within the territorial waters. The measured mile is, as I understand, to be within a mile and a half of the coast off Polperro. A mile and a half at sea is a very short distance indeed, and I

Lord Tweedmouth.

think your Lordship will realise what a disturbance in the water one of these great battleships going along at full-speed must necessarily make.

The fishermen are anxious on three grounds. First, they are anxious as to what the result may be to their comparatively small boats. They are afraid that the wash of these great vessels will subject them to some danger, and they also think that even boats lying in the harbour of Polperro itself—which is nothing but one of those little inlets running into the land so common on the Cornish coast—will be damaged by being knocked together as the result of the wash of these large men-of-war being, as it were, focussed up the channel of the inlet. Next, they are afraid of the actual disturbance to the fisheries themselves on the fishing grounds which these boats frequent, and in the centre of which this measured mile is to be located. It will be said, no doubt, that the trials of these ships will only take place on perhaps twenty or thirty days during the year. That may be so, but what I want the House to remember is this, that the real harvest for the fishermen on this coast, as in many other places, occurs when a big shoal of migratory fish is on their particular fishing ground. That is especially the case off the coast of Cornwall. These fishermen rely for their important harvests on the occasions when shoals of pilchards, mackerel, and the like are close in shore and when they can get at them. I do not think it requires great knowledge to realise that, if a big shoal of pilchards or mackerel was on the particular ground through which this measured mile runs at the time that a great battleship was being driven full speed through it, the fish would almost inevitably be dispersed, and the fishermen would lose their great chance of a large haul. That is one point. I will not press the possible damage that might be done to other more regular forms of fishing, but even to those there is a risk of some damage.

I now come to the danger of damage being done to the gear of the fishermen. The migratory fish to which I have referred are caught by drift-nets, which are set in the water at the depth at which the fishermen judge that the

particular shoal is at the time. The usual depth to set drift-nets for pilchards and mackerel is from eighteen to twenty feet below the surface, and the damage which will be done to a fleet of nets by a great battleship running down the centre of them is obvious. It is, of course, a necessity that the Admiralty should have a proper site for a measured mile. I grant that at once. But if it involves loss and damage to other of His Majesty's lieges it is the country at large which ought to bear the responsibility for the cost. The case calls for a very favourable and a very kindly and generous consideration, and I would press it all the stronger on my noble friend because these fishermen are to a large extent the very class from which the Navy draws many of its best men.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): My Lords, There is no class of civilians in this country for whom the Board of Admiralty naturally have greater sympathy than for the fishermen around our coasts. What the noble Lord has said in respect to them is perfectly true and the Board of Admiralty always has, and always will approach any question affecting their welfare as one of great interest to themselves and as indirectly affecting the welfare of the Navy. But so far as I am in a position to form an opinion, the alarm to which my noble friend has given expression is really unnecessary, and at all events premature. This is not a new question. The question of a particular site for a measured mile course—the need for which, of course, my noble friend fully admits—is a very old-standing question, and the site we are now discussing was fixed upon no less than six years ago, after very prolonged examination, as the best possible site. There has never been any secret in the matter. There was some difficulty in obtaining land on which to erect the leading marks, owing to the architectural difficulties to which my noble friend has made allusion, and it was only within the last few months that this land was finally acquired and these leading marks were begun to be erected. Although the question was raised six years ago, and although there was no mystery about it, it was only when the leading marks were practically

finished and the measured mile was about to be used that any objection was made. My noble friend has not raised the æsthetic question and therefore I will not deal with it, but in respect of the fishing he has not mentioned that this water is very deep. It is a deep coast and this question of possible injury to fishermen's gear has not been neglected. I am advised, however—and so far as I am in a position to form an opinion, although I am no expert, I am rightly advised—that the chance of injury to fishermen or their gear is very improbable. That being the case I cannot undertake to answer a hypothetical question as to what compensation the Admiralty would be prepared to give for injury which has not arisen, and which I do not think is likely to arise. I can only say, and my noble friend Lord Spencer will confirm me, that whatever questions as to injury to fishermen by His Majesty's Navy have arisen in the past, the Admiralty has never dealt with such questions either unsympathetically or in a niggardly manner.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.

Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

SALE OF INTOXICANTS TO CHILDREN BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment.

House adjourned at Five o'clock,
to Thursday next, half-past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 26th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Central Railway Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. As amended, considered; a

clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Commons Regulation (Marrow) Provisional Order. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Marrow Downs, in the parish of Marrow, in the county of Surrey, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes and Mr. Victor Cavendish.

Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Oxshott Heath, in the parish of Cobham, in the county of Surrey, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes and Mr. Victor Cavendish.

Commons Regulation (Marrow) Provisional Order Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Marrow Downs, in the parish of Marrow, in the county of Surrey," presented, and read the first time: to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 163.]

Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order under the Inclosure Acts, 1845 to 1899, relating to Oxshott Heath, in the parish of Cobham, in the county of Surrey," presented, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 164.]

Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Provisional Order Bill. Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway Bill, in Session 1900, be referred to the Commissioners appointed under the Private

Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to inquire into the Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Draft Provisional Order.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Municipal Corporations Bill. Second Reading deferred from Monday next till Friday, 6th May.

London, Camberwell, and Dulwich Tramways Bill. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Doncaster Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Auchterarder, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.

Petition from Middleton, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law: from Builth Wells (two); Northumberland Heath; Toynnton St. Peter; Rugely Lower Edmonton; Turvey; Sale (nine) Enfield; Bowes Park; Ashton-on-Mersey (three); Sawtey; Brighton; Bradfield; Hackney; Deptford; Radcliffe; Southsea; Southwark (two); Stafford; Paignton; Wood Green; Portslade; and Hammersmith; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Galashiels, against; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Paisley, against; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Croydon, against; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Seedley, against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Taunton, against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898.**

Paper [presented 25th April] to be printed. [No. 141.]

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (SUPERANNUATION) ACT, 1898 (SCOTLAND) 1899.

Paper [presented 25th April] to be printed. [No. 142.]

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Copy presented, of List of Agricultural Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, with a Copy of their Instructions as to Procedure and a Prefatory Memorandum [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

County Courts Act, 1888, and Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879. Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 26th April, 1904, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court [by Act].

EXCHEQUER BALANCES.

Return ordered, "showing how the Exchequer Balance has been strengthened or depleted in each of the five years ending the 31st day of March, 1904."—(*Mr. McCrae.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**London Telegraphists — Hours of Duty.**

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that at an office in Highbury telegraph clerks are compelled to perform duty from noon to 10 p.m. one day and 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. the next; and, if so, whether, seeing that the Tweedmouth Committee expressly stated that telegraphists were to have nine clear hours at home in between duties, and in view of the fact that London clerks are compelled to live some distance from their homes, he will direct an alteration of duties which will permit the rules of the Department being complied with.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The arrangement in question has been in force for many years at Highbury and elsewhere, and is in many cases preferred by the staff. If the counter clerks and telegraphists at Highbury wish for an alteration, they should apply in the ordinary manner, and there will be no difficulty in rearranging the hours of attendance so as to bring them into conformity with the recommendation of the Tweedmouth Committee.

Patent Office — Proposed Branch in Ireland.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that there is no branch of the Patent Office in Ireland for Irish business, he is prepared to favourably consider a proposal for the setting up of such a branch for the convenience of Irishmen.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I am not prepared to consider this proposal. There are serious administrative difficulties, and as only 1·6 per cent. of the total number of applicants for British patents during the last nine years were resident in Ireland, it is clear that the amount of fees that would be received from Irish patentees would not be sufficient to justify the expense of establishing a separate branch of the Patent Office in Ireland.

Board of Trade — Proposed Branch in Dublin.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that there

is no separate branch of the Board of Trade for Ireland, he is prepared to favourably consider a proposal for the establishment of such a branch in Dublin.

(Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.) I do not know of any circumstances which would render such an arrangement desirable.

Dealing in "Futures"—Suggested Stamp Duty.

MR. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will consider the advisability of imposing a stamp tax on all future option and warrant contracts concerning foodstuffs, cotton, metals, commodities, or shares which are non-existent; and whether he has any official information which will show whether the imposition of such a tax would provide revenue sufficient to enable him to remove the proposed increase of taxation on tea.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) After carefully considering this Question, I have come to the conclusion that it would be impossible to distinguish in a tax between those contracts which the hon.

Member wishes to discourage and those which ought to be exempt from the duty, for the difference between the two classes of transaction is not in their form but in the minds of the parties concerned.

Legal Expenses of Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

MR. HUMPHREYS-OWEN (Montgomeryshire): To ask the hon. Member for West Salford, as Church Estates Commissioner, whether the sum of £8,540 10s. 1d., entered in the Common Fund Account of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England under the head of legal expenses, includes the sum of £3,037 14s. 6d. entered in the summary of trust accounts as cash paid for legal expenses; and whether he will state the total legal expenses of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in each of the ten financial years last past.

(Answered by Sir Lees Knowles.) The following Table contains the amounts paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England for legal expenses for the ten years ending 31st October, 1903, as shown in the Reports to Parliament.

	Common Fund.			In respect of sales of glebe and other trust accounts.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Year ending 31st October 1894.	7,887	11	1	4,640	18	4	12,528	9	5
„ „ 1895.	7,424	4	9	3,371	4	0	10,795	8	9
„ „ 1896.	9,853	2	2	2,573	18	2	12,427	0	4
„ „ 1897.	7,097	11	11	3,068	14	10	10,166	6	9
„ „ 1898.	6,543	12	5	2,592	7	2	9,135	19	7
„ „ 1899.	7,352	5	2	2,437	3	7	9,789	8	9
„ „ 1900.	6,576	7	1	2,675	13	4	9,252	0	5
„ „ 1901.	7,158	19	5	2,660	0	1	9,818	19	6
„ „ 1902.	10,136	10	0	2,030	4	4	12,166	14	4
„ „ 1903.	8,540	10	1	{ 3,037 14 6 } { 16 7 10 }			11,594	12	5

Payment of Grant to Evening School Teachers in Queen's County.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when the

grant to teachers of evening schools in Borris-in-Ossory, Castletown, and Rathdowney, Queen's County, will be paid; and whether he is aware that the examinations were held last February, and that no payments have yet been made.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I am informed that the grants have now been paid.

War Office and Cottages in Wiltshire.

LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE (Wiltshire, Cricklade): To ask the Secretary of State for War if fifty of the cottagers resident in the villages of Netheravon, Fittleton, and Figheldean (Wiltshire) have received notice to quit their cottages from the War Office, and if he is aware that there are no other cottages to which these people can remove, and that a feeling of alarm exists in consequence throughout the district; and if he will undertake that no immediate step shall be taken to compel these people to leave their homes.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) No such notice has been given from the War Office. Certain War Department cottages are required to accommodate pensioner grooms employed at the Yeomanry School at Netheravon, and it has been decided in consequence that, while expulsion should not be resorted to, compensation would be given to such of the tenants as would be willing to give up possession by the 21st June, 1904.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Railway Companies' Liability.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the effect of the decision of the House of Lords in "Manchester Railway Company v. Brown" upon the provisions of the seventh Section of The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1854, which enacts that every railway company shall be liable for the loss or injury to goods occasioned by the neglect of such company, and that every condition made by a railway company contrary thereto shall be null and void; and, if so, in view of the losses which traders are suffering as the result of this decision, will he state whether the Government contemplate legislation in the matter.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): If the case to which the hon.

Member refers is that of "Brown v. the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company," I would point out that the decision of the House of Lords thereon was given more than twenty years ago. The Legislature has expressly provided by the Act mentioned that it shall be for the Court to determine the reasonableness of the conditions of contracts modifying the liability otherwise imposed upon Railway Companies by Section 7 of that Act, and the Government do not contemplate amending legislation.

MR. PIRIE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the President of the Board of Agriculture recently promised a deputation that he would look into the matter with a view to rectifying the grievance?

[No answer was returned.]

Swanwick Colliery Accident.

MR. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been directed to the accident at the Swanwick Colliery, Derbyshire, on the 29th March, by which three men lost their lives, and to the verdict of the jury at the adjourned inquest on the 12th April; and, if so, will he state what course he intends to take in consequence of the defects in the apparatus, as found to be the cause of the accident, owing to the omission of duty by those appointed to supervise and keep in proper order such apparatus; and whether he will undertake in the future to issue instructions to prevent such negligence.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.): Yes, Sir; and a report on this accident has been received from the mines inspector for the district, from which it appears that there had been no omission of any statutory duty on the part of the management of the mine—in particular the examination of the machinery, conductors, ropes, etc., required by the rules had been duly made. The accident appears to have been chiefly due to the fact that the conductors and

other gearing in the shaft were old and worn though not to such an extent that they could have been condemned as unsafe. The inspector states that the necessary steps have been taken to put the shaft and gearing in a satisfactory condition and that cages of an improved pattern are to be substituted for the old type previously in use.

Scottish Board of Manufactures.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland what action he has taken, or proposes to take, to carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on the Board of Manufactures.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): I can only refer the hon. Member to my answer given on 4th February of this year to a Question by the hon. Member for Glasgow College Division.† Inquiries are in progress as to the best method of giving effect to the several recommendations of the Committee but they have not reached the stage in which I can give any more definite information to the hon. Member.

Mullingar Resident Magistrate and Lunacy Cases.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. P. D. Sullivan, the resident magistrate stationed in Mullingar, some months ago gave instructions to the clerk of petty sessions and the police authorities there to notify him of all cases of lunacy occurring in the petty sessions district requiring investigation before magistrates, in order that he might attend same; whether there were various other magistrates in the township who, as a rule, had hitherto conducted such inquiries; and, if so, will he say whether Mr. Sullivan is entitled to sit in every such case; and whether he is aware that Mr. Sullivan takes the chair at every petty sessions at Mullingar without consulting the other magistrates present, although some of them may be senior to him; and, if so, will he say if he is entitled to do so.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix, 350.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): At my right hon. friend's request I will reply to this Question. The resident magistrate was made aware some months ago that the local justices complained of the inconvenience of being required to investigate these more or less formal matters out of petty sessions. He, thereupon, requested the clerk of petty sessions to inform him when applications for the committal of lunatics to be made out of petty sessions were about to come on, in order that he might attend and dispose of them. This was done to convenience the local justices. It is not the fact that the magistrates in the township of Mullingar have, as a rule, investigated such cases; the resident magistrate has always taken part in such investigations. It is not the practice to formally elect a chairman at every Court of petty sessions at Mullingar. All the magistrates who attend the Court have expressed to Mr. Sullivan their wish that he should preside when present.

President of Queen's College, Cork.

MR. HAYDEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the exact amount of time during each term in the past three years spent in the college by the President of the Queen's College, Cork.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): There is no official record kept of the absences of the Presidents of the Queen's Colleges. I have already stated that the President of the Cork College has made it a rule to be in Cork during term except when public business connected with the National Board of Education, or business connected with the Royal University (of which he is a member), or considerations of health, have obliged him to be elsewhere.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Can the right hon. Gentleman say if it is not the fact that this gentleman resides almost entirely out of Cork, and is very seldom there at all?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have said it is the case that he is frequently absent.

MR. JOHN REDMOND : What salary does he receive?

MR. WYNDHAM : I cannot say.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Does he take any part whatever in the teaching. Has he any degree for any University?

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order!

MR. JOHN REDMOND : He does nothing at all.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick) : He just lives in Germany.

Land Purchase in County Fermanagh.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that some years ago two holdings in the townlands of Knockmannoul and Drumconnis, near Ballinamallard, in the county of Fermanagh, were sold to the tenants under the Land Commission and that the landlord has not yet received the purchase money, although the tenants are paying their instalments to the Land Commission; and, if so, will he state the cause of this delay.

MR. WYNDHAM : The sum advanced for the purchase of these holdings was £375. The guarantee deposits amount to £79, and the balance was absorbed in the redemption of head rents, costs of sale, and payment of charges affecting the lands sold. No residue remained for the vendor, who remains in occupation of the remainder of the property.

Arms Act in County Fermanagh.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether county Fermanagh is still proclaimed under the Arms Act; and, if so, will he now withdraw the proclamation, having regard to the peaceable state of the community.

MR. WYNDHAM : The proclamation in force in Fermanagh extends only to the carrying, not the keeping, of arms. A person of good character who requires to carry a gun for legitimate purposes

experiences no difficulty in procuring a licence. Out of 190 applications for licences in the past twelve months only seven were refused. The reply to the concluding inquiry is in the negative; the proclamation is simply a measure of police regulation.

Grants to Irish Fisheries.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland has recently made an annual grant of £100 towards the conservators of the Bann fisheries at Coleraine, and that the Department has arranged to shortly turn some 85,000 Loch Leven trout into the tributaries of Lough Neagh; and whether he will recommend the Department to lay down young trout in the River Erne also.

MR. WYNDHAM : The Department has granted a sum of £100 to the Coleraine Board of Conservators in aid of the protection of the fisheries of Lough Neagh. It has also contributed a sum of £20 towards the purchase of trout ova for the lake, on condition that an equivalent sum be raised by voluntary subscription. The Department is quite prepared to consider an application for a similar grant in the case of Lough Erne, should the conditions be found to warrant it.

Persecution of the Jews in Limerick.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can give information as to the steps being taken by His Majesty's Government to ensure protection of life, property, and freedom of trading to the Jewish population in Limerick.

MR. WYNDHAM : The position of the small Jewish population in Limerick has engaged the most careful and anxious consideration of the Government. When the exhibition of hostility to the Jews first manifested itself the police received special instructions to use their best efforts to protect them in their person and property, and in a

number of cases the police have prosecuted to conviction individuals guilty of the offence of molesting them. The Limerick Jews are a well-conducted section of the community, engaged for the greater part in small trades or businesses and dependent for their livelihood on the goodwill of their customers. They have been visited from time to time by the police who have encouraged them in every possible way. The police will spare no effort to check disorder and put a stop to any overt acts of illegality directed against the Jews which may come under their notice.

Mr. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the cause of the trouble is to be found in the usurious exactions of these Jews?

[No answer was returned.]

Irish Estates Commissioners.

Mr. LEAMY (Kildare, N.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that a number of originating applications and requests are lying in the office of the Estates Commissioners unexamined and not formally received owing to the insufficient staff; and whether steps will be taken to secure that they shall be examined and formally received on the day on which they are brought in, as was always done in the Land Judge's Court and formerly in the Land Commission.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There has been some little delay in dealing with such applications. But such delay is unavoidable and incidental to the working of a Department so recently constituted. The question of the sufficiency of the staff is at present under consideration.

Government Building Contracts in Ireland.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, whether he is aware that contracts are given away to English and Scotch firms for the building work and other operations in connection with the Board of Works in Ireland, without being put up to competition or advertising for tenders for the work; whether the new supper room at Dublin Castle, the

servants' rooms at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, and the new stationery offices at the Custom House, Dublin, have recently been executed by contractors outside Ireland without competition or tender; will he explain why this practice is being carried on; and will he say whether he has seen the correspondence between the Master Builders' Association and the Board of Works protesting against the continuance of this treatment of Irish contractors.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The usual rule is to obtain competitive tenders, but circumstances of urgency arise from time to time, and make it necessary to depart from this rule. The facts as to the temporary supper rooms and servants' rooms were explained by my predecessor on the 14th July last.† The annexe required for the stationery office was urgently needed, and was obtained from a Glasgow firm, which was in a position to supply it promptly, as it deals specially in this kind of building. I have not seen the correspondence referred to.

Mr. NANNETTI: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the same thing has been going on for the last four or five years, and that thousands of pounds have been thus expended which might more advantageously have been devoted to Ireland.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I can add nothing to my answer.

Railway Season Tickets and Income-Tax Deductions.

*Mr. SLACK (Hertfordshire, St. Albans): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware of the fact that the holders of railway season tickets who reside in the suburbs or towns near London, and who are assessed for the payment of income-tax upon their salaries, are not allowed to deduct the cost of such tickets from their annual assessment, whilst persons in business and assessed for income-tax upon their business profits are allowed to include

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxv., 570.

the cost of season tickets between the same towns and London in the amount of their business expenses, and thus obtain relief in respect of this outlay; and, if so, whether he will make provision to enable all such season ticket holders to secure exemption.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Courts have held that expenses incurred in travelling from the place of residence to the place of business cannot be allowed as deductions from income for purposes of assessment to income-tax. But expenses incurred in travelling from the place of business to places at a distance for the purpose of effecting purchases or other subsidiary transactions clearly stand on a different footing and are rightly recognised as trade expenses.

Tea Duty in Ireland.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state the total amount received from the tea duty in Ireland up to 31st March, 1904, or next nearest possible date.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I am not quite clear as to the meaning of the hon. Member's Question, but I may tell him that the total amount of duty received on tea in Ireland for the financial year 1903-4 was £340,022.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman happen to have the amount of the Treasury estimate of the tea duty on the tea consumed in Ireland?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, I have not the figures, but if the hon. Member will put a Question down I will try and get him the information.

Evasions of Stamp Duty by Railway and Shipping Companies.

MR. PIRIE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to cases in which the payment of the stamp duty on the forwarding notes used by railway and shipping companies has been evaded by such companies;

and, if so, whether, seeing that under the heading agreement or memorandum of any agreement in Schedule 1 of the Stamp Act of 1891, where the subject-matter is of the value of £5 and above, forwarding notes are liable to a stamp duty of 6d. each, he will say what action he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have received a letter calling attention to one case of alleged evasion, and the matter is now being inquired into. If the hon. Member will give information as to any cases which have arisen within his knowledge, I will have them looked into and see how they should be dealt with.

MR. PIRIE: Is it not the case that there is systematic evasion?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not think it is, but if the hon. Gentleman has any evidence of systematic evasion I shall be glad to be furnished with it.

MR. PIRIE: I will do so.

War Office Contracts for Arms and War Material.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what quantity and value of arms and war material has been given to contractors during the last financial year that could have been produced in the Government workshops.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FOSTER, Belfast, W.): Detailed information concerning the allocation of orders as between the Ordnance Factories and the trade has always been treated as confidential and I am not, therefore, in a position to give the hon. Member a reply to his Question, but, generally speaking, these orders were in the proportion of one-third to two-thirds.

Machinery Standing Idle in Government Workshops.

MR. CROOKS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what the productive power is of

the machinery now standing idle in Government workshops; if he will consider the possibility of arranging to keep all Government machinery at work before allotting work to contractors; and if he will state how many men have been discharged or suspended, and the number on short time, in consequence of orders being placed with contractors.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Taken as a whole the factories at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, are producing slightly over one-third of their possible output when fully employed in time of peace. The Waltham Gunpowder Factory is fully employed. As regards the Small Arms Factories I am not able to reply as the current year's orders will modify the existing conditions. As regards the general policy it is an established principle, well supported by the experience of recent years, to utilise the resources of the trade as well as those of the Government factories and to reserve for an emergency the full productive power of the latter; the policy advocated by the hon. Member would certainly involve us in a very dangerous situation during a great war. As regards the last part of the Question, since the 1st April, sixty-nine men have been discharged, 185 suspended, and seventeen men are working short time in the Gun Factory, but it is not possible to assign the reductions of particular individuals to the placing of orders with the trade.

Yeomanry Inspection.

MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the number of Yeomanry regiments officially inspected by the Inspector-General of Yeomanry in the years 1902 and 1903; and what is the amount of the salary, allowances, and travelling allowances of the Inspector-General and his aide-de-camp during the same years.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: In 1902 the Inspector-General of Yeomanry inspected seventeen Yeomanry regiments and twelve in 1903. The figures referred to in the second part of the Question are as follows:—1902, £1,015 5s.; 1903, £950 2s.

MR. PEEL: As these figures show the cost of inspection to come to something

like £100 per regiment will the right hon. Gentleman take steps to modify the system?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I think the later Return shows that there is a modification.

The German Emperor's Visit to Gibraltar.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the German Emperor, during his stay at Gibraltar, was allowed to visit galleries, forts, or defences which ordinary English visitors are not allowed to inspect; and since when have English visitors been allowed to go up to the signal station; which of the galleries did the Emperor inspect; and how many of the lower galleries have been open to English visitors.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Under paragraph 2, Appendix V. King's Regulations the responsibility for ensuring the secrecy of works of defence is vested in the General Officer Commanding on the spot. No information, therefore, on the points raised in the Question has reached the War Office, and it is not proposed to question the discretion of Field-Marshal Sir George White in the matter.

SIR CARNE RASCH: Then where can I get the information?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The hon. and gallant Member will find all the information he requires in the Regulations I have quoted. It is a matter which rests entirely in the discretion of Sir George White.

The Director of Personnel.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what are the duties and the emoluments of the Director of Personnel; what is the number of the staff which he will have under him in his department; and how many persons were employed under the former scheme upon the same work, and what was their total remuneration.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The duties of the Director of Personnel are very similar to those hitherto performed by

the Deputy-Adjutant-General and the emoluments will be the same. As regards the staff, as the work of the Adjutant-General's department is now being rearranged, any comparison, such as that suggested cannot be made at the present time.

Northern Nigeria.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will lay upon the Table the despatches relating to the fighting in Northern Nigeria, in July, 1903, which resulted in the capture of Burmi and the death of the ex-Emir of Sokoto.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I am informed by the High Commissioner that I may expect to receive at an early date, a further despatch on this subject. When that reaches me I shall be in a position to consider the question of laying Papers on the Table of the House.

Gold Output of, and Native Labour available for, the Rand.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, what has been the gold output from the Rand for March in quantity and value, and how does it compare with that for February, also the amount of native labour on the Rand mines for March and for February.

MR. LYTTTELTON: The gold output for March was 308,242 ounces, value £1,809,329; for February 289,502 ounces, value £1,229,726; the amount of native labour for March, 72,340, for February, 69,966.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Then why do you want the pigtails?

[No answer was returned.]

Education in Ceylon.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will say what is the number of children of a school-going age of Mohammedan parents in Ceylon: how many of such children are receiving instruction; also how many children in

Colombo do not attend school, and what are the reasons for their non-attendance.

MR. LYTTTELTON: Neither the census report for 1901 nor the departmental report classify children receiving school instruction in Ceylon under the head of religion. The census report shows that in Colombo there were, in 1901, 35,405 children between the ages of five and fifteen, of whom 9,747 were receiving instruction. Education is not compulsory in Ceylon.

Prosecution of Mr. Tilak.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, looking to the expenditure of public money upon the criminal prosecution of Mr. Tilak, he will state whether, before undertaking this prosecution on the recommendation of Mr. Aston, the district Judge, the Bombay Government took the advice of their law officers; and whether he is aware that Mr. Aston's civil decisions, in the case out of which the criminal prosecution arose, were upset by the High Court.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): As I stated in my answer to the hon. Member on the 14th inst.,† I have no official information in regard to this case; but if he will refer to the reply which I then gave, he will see that, as I have every reason to think, the prosecution was not undertaken by the Bombay Government on the recommendation of Mr. Aston, but was instituted by the direction of the Judge himself. This direction, as I said, he had power to give under the Act which I cited.

MR. SCHWANN: May I offer the right hon. Gentleman a copy of the Judges' decision which I have just received from India?

[No answer was returned.]

Congo Free State—Trade Difficulties.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he is aware that persons trading in

† See page 188.

the Congo Free State, under the provisions of the Ordinance of the 29th August, 1896, have had their property and merchandise confiscated; and if, in view of the fact that the guarantee of the Congo Free State to foreigners of the right of navigation, commerce, and industry has been rendered null and void by the Free State having declared the country private property, he will state what steps the Government propose to take in conjunction with the other Powers that were parties to the Convention.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): We have received no information of the character described, but an inquiry is being made. As the hon. Member is aware, the question whether the system of trade now prevailing in the Congo State is in harmony with the provisions of the Berlin Act is one of those to which the attention of the Powers was drawn in the British Circular of the 8th August last.

British Traders in the French Congo.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean):** I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state how it is that the definite proposals of His Majesty's Government as to the claims of British traders in the French Congo, and the hardships wrought by the concessionaire régime, which have long been under the consideration of the French Government, are not dealt with in the recent arrangements with France; and whether it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to press for early action by the French Government in reference to the concessionaire system in the French Congo.

EARL PERCY: It was not found possible to include in an agreement dealing with general questions of an international character, the private claims to which the right hon. Baronet refers. We understand, however, that the claims of the British firms are in principle admitted by the French Government, and advantage was taken of the opportunity afforded by the recent negotiations to

express to the French Government the earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that an equitable settlement of the questions in dispute might speedily be arrived at.

East Africa—Jewish Colonial Trust.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the Papers relative to the cession of territory in East Africa to an alien race will be laid upon the Table of the House.

EARL PERCY: I have again referred to the correspondence relating to the proposed grant of land to the Jewish Colonial Trust; much of it is of a confidential character, and while the question is still undecided it would be undesirable to publish the Papers.

Irish Sub-Postmasters' Remuneration.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether any complaint has been made to him of the inadequacy of their remuneration by sub-postmasters in Ireland; whether any Departmental Committee has inquired or is inquiring into the matter; and, if not, will any such inquiry be undertaken.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): No such complaint has at present reached me. The question of the remuneration of sub-postmasters generally, especially at the smaller offices, has recently been under review and an improved scale of pay, including a higher minimum, has been brought into force. No Departmental Committee has inquired nor is inquiring into the matter and I do not propose to institute such an inquiry.

Port of London Bill.

MR. PEEL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he proposes to proceed with the suspended Bill for the Port of London.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): In answer to my hon. friend I have to say that the Government Amendments to this Bill are ready and will be put down shortly,

and I hope to have at no distant date an opportunity of proceeding with the measure.

The Recommendations of the Esher Committee.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he intends to lay before the House a Memorandum showing how far the recommendations of the Esher Committee have been adopted; and whether opportunity will be afforded of discussing that or a similar statement.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The recommendations of the Esher Committee for the creation of an Army Council with an establishment of directors and other departmental officers have been adopted, and all steps necessary to giving effect to the reorganisation consequent thereon have been taken. The recommendations of the Committee for the rearrangement of the military commands and administrative districts within the United Kingdom, and the devolution of work to those commands, are being examined by a Committee which will shortly Report to the Army Council. I take it there will shortly be an opportunity for discussing the subject on the War Office Vote.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Will some reasoned statement be made for the guidance of the Committee, so that we may know exactly what recommendations have been adopted.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am quite prepared to consult with my right hon. friend as to that. At first sight it would appear, however, to be an unusual and inconvenient proceeding. I think the explanation will be found in the Papers already in the hands of hon. Members. Still, I will leave the matter in the hands of my right hon. friend.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that the recommendations of the Committee can be properly discussed under the Vote for the War Office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not consulted the authorities of the House on the point. I have merely thrown out the suggestion that the question could properly be raised on the War Office Vote.

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Has the right hon. Gentleman any statement to make as to the business for the rest of the week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, as my hon. friend the Member for the Wellington Division announced on the adjournment of the House last night, to-morrow will be devoted to the Report of the Budget Resolutions. On Thursday Part I. of the Civil Service Estimates will be taken, and on Monday I trust we shall be able to conclude the proceedings upon the present stage of the financial proposals of the Government.

MR. BUCHANAN: Is there to be the usual Resolution about the permanent debt charge?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I think the hon. Gentleman is under a misapprehension. I do not recollect any such Resolution being habitually moved, and it certainly is not necessary this year as I do not propose to make any alteration in the fixed debt charge.

MR. LOUGH: Why is the Report of the Income-Tax Resolution being taken before that of the tea and tobacco duties?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It is done in the supposed interests of the convenience of the House.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne): May I ask the Prime Minister whether he has yet made arrangements for taking the Second Reading of the Licensing Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot fix a date at present, but I think it will be a very early one.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will kindly give us ample notice of the date?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hereby give notice that I will bring it on at the earliest date I can contrive.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: That is very vague.

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SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Weights and Measures Bill: Mr. Gerald Balfour, Mr. Bousfield, Sir John Brunner, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Sir Walter Foster, Sir Michael Foster, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Mr. Kearley, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Mr. McCrae, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Herbert Robertson, Mr. Spear, Mr. Stuart Samuel, and Mr. Toulmin.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had nominated the following Member to serve on the Standing Committee for the consideration of all Bills relating to Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, which may, by Order of the House, be committed to such Standing Committee: Mr. Hunter Craig.

Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILLS.**SHOP HOURS BILL.**

"To provide for the Early Closing of Shops," presented by Mr. Cochrane; supported by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas and Mr. Bonar Law; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 165.]

VALUATION BILL.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I rise to ask for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law with respect to valuation authorities and the effect of, and procedure for, making valuation lists and for making certain amendments in the law relating to valuation which are necessary for the purpose of promoting uniformity of valuation as between valuation authorities. The subject is very complicated and very dry, but more important than those Members who have not found it necessary to give their personal attention

to local government may suppose. Both political Parties are committed to the reform of local taxation, but it would be impossible successfully and satisfactorily to carry out that object unless we first deal with the law which governs the valuation of the property upon which local rates fall. I do not think that I need do more than briefly explain the present system. Excluding London, which has a law of its own, there are in all counties two assessment authorities which assess for different purposes—the county authority which assesses for the county rate, and the union authority which assesses for the poor rate. In addition there are powers held by the borough councils, so that there might even be a third assessment authority for the same area. Consequently there are several authorities charged with the duty of assessing, they have no means of consultation and joint action, and thus there are the widest possible variations in practice. The assessments themselves vary in a most remarkable degree, and often in the same county they differ greatly, so that in adjoining unions you may have properties precisely similar in their character and in their surroundings contributing to the similar rates on different assessments. The inequities which have thus resulted led to the appointment of the Royal Commission. In addition, perhaps, I ought to say that these inequities also occur in county and other boroughs. The City of Liverpool embraces three or four unions, the City of Birmingham certainly includes more than one, and thus you have this extraordinary injustice that within the same municipal area where the expenditure is presumably for the same purpose, three or four different valuations are made by different union assessment committees. These are some of the inequities which, as I said, led to the appointment of the Royal Commission.

In the Bill the Government have adopted in the main, with some slight modification, the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The Report of the Commission recommended the application to the rest of the country of the system existing in London with certain alterations. That system is one which has worked with considerable

success, and the Government propose to apply it to the rest of the country, modifying it to suit the needs of different parts of England and Wales, and slightly altering it in London, so as to make the new system uniform. We propose that there should be, in the first place, a single authority for valuation and assessment purposes, instead of the numerous authorities which now exist, and, in the second place, we propose to bring about uniformity of valuation and assessment. We propose that the valuation authorities should be the county council, and in the case of county boroughs, the county borough council. That will give a single valuation authority. In order to secure uniformity, we propose that the Surveyor of Taxes shall have the right to be present at the meetings of the valuation committees, which I will presently refer to. We propose that the valuation list shall be submitted to him, and if he has reason to believe that the valuation is an improper one he will be entitled to make his own valuation, which will stand unless it can be shown on objection to be unjust and improper.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, N.): Shown to whom?

*MR. WALTER LONG: To the valuation committee. Under the London Act there is a scale of deductions. It is desirable that the deductions to be made from gross estimated value should be general and established by this House rather than left to the discretion of local authorities, who view the question from such various standpoints. Therefore we propose to adopt the London system as far as possible. We put in the Bill a schedule of deductions to be made from the gross estimated value, and give power to the valuation authority to vary those deductions only in special cases where exceptional reason can be shown. It will be within the power of the valuation authority to divide their area into districts and to appoint valuation committees for such districts. Those districts will have to include one, or more, urban or rural district, and in certain cases, where local conditions require it, there is power to give representation on the valuation committees to boards of guardians within the area. The Bill proposes that valuation committees shall be appointed for areas containing a population of not less than 50,000,

and in the case of a non-county borough or urban district that a population of 50,000 shall be a separate district area for the purposes of the Act. Probably this question of population will give rise to more difference of opinion than many other provisions of the Bill. While I should be glad to see the number adhered to, I do not regard it as a fundamental part of the Bill, but I ask the House to give it their friendly and careful consideration, having regard to all the circumstances. The majority of the district committee must be representatives of the valuation authorities, and, in the case of county boroughs, they must be members of the town council, but, in the case of a county, the county council may, if they please, select persons to represent them from outside their body. There is an additional power to include the guardians if necessary in certain cases, and for a county to appoint joint committees in adjoining valuation districts. In London the County Council will be the authority and the metropolitan boroughs and the City will be the valuation districts, and the numbers of the committee will be fixed by the County Council. The majority of the members of the district committees will be drawn from the borough councils, and the guardians in London are to be represented on the committees. The valuation and assessment will be quinquennial. The valuation list will be conclusive for all purposes. The deductions will be set out in the schedule to the Bill. The only other two points I need mention are alterations in the law of appeal and the law as regards railways and canals. The appeal to quarter sessions will remain but the appeal to special sessions will be abolished, and the Government propose to deal with railways and canals in a separate measure if necessary and feasible.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the law with respect to Valuation Authorities and the effect of, and procedure for, making Valuation Lists, and for making certain amendments in the Law relating to Valuation, which are necessary for the purpose of promoting uniformity of Valuation as between Valuation Authorities."—(Mr. Walter Long.)

***SIR HENRY FOWLER** (Wolverhampton, E.) said that everyone who was interested in the question of local taxation must agree that the first step to be taken was an alteration in the law of assessment. Nothing was more unsatisfactory in our municipal and local government at present than the contradictions, the anomalies, and the inexplicable difficulties which arose with reference to assessment. He had no opposition to offer to the reasons which the right hon. Gentleman had given for an alteration of the law. He hoped that the House would approach the question without Party feeling, as it was a measure of local reform which ought to be carried out. Differences of opinion would doubtless arise as to details, and the progress of the measure through Committee would have to be carefully watched, but in its general principles he thought the House should grant leave for the Bill to be introduced.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Attorney-General, and Mr. Grant Lawson.

VALUATION BILL.

To amend the Law with respect to Valuation Authorities, and the effect of, and procedure for, making Valuation Lists and for making certain amendments in the Law relating to Valuation, which are necessary for the purpose of promoting uniformity of Valuation as between Valuation Authorities; presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 166.]

EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL.

***THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION** (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University) said he desired to ask leave to introduce a Bill to make provision for the case of default on the part of local authorities in the performance of their duties as respects elementary schools, and to introduce a procedure in addition to that which existed under the Act of 1902, but more prompt and effective and cheaper. He hoped to explain the measure in no

acrimonious or controversial spirit. Before the Act of 1902, the Board of Education possessed the power in the case of voluntary schools to take measures for the establishment of a School Board if the managers showed themselves unable or unwilling to conduct a school in the way in which an elementary school should be conducted. If a School Board failed to comply with the conditions under which elementary schools should be conducted, the Board of Education could declare the School Board in default and appoint other persons to do the duties of the School Board—persons whom they nominated and could displace at their pleasure—until the default was made good. What were the circumstances now? A local education authority, from motives which he did not question or criticise, determined that it would not appoint managers on the board of management of elementary schools. It declined to sanction or to consider the appointment of teachers, to make provision for the supply of coal, books, and other necessities of the school, and it did these things without alleging the schools to be unnecessary, or offering to provide a substitute. The managers complained to the Board of Education; the Board of Education communicated with the local authority; and correspondence of some length took place unsatisfactory to all the parties concerned. After a time the Board decided that a public inquiry should be held. Notice had to be given, and this occupied time. The Commissioner held a public inquiry, which also occupied time and cost money to the local authorities. In due time the Commissioner digested the evidence and sent in a Report to the Board of Education. The Board then had to consider what order should be made in the circumstances. Having made their order, the local authority next considered whether it would obey the order. If it determined not to obey the order, the Board had then to consider whether the severe penalties available in the circumstances should be put in operation. In the meantime, what was happening to the schools and to the children? The schools had no properly constituted body of managers, and the children were going without teachers, without coal, without books, and

without apparatus. It was obvious that such a state of things could not be allowed to exist. He therefore asked the House to give the Board of Education the powers necessary to meet the facts he had described.

In the first place, the Bill gave power to the Board, where the local authorities were in default, to make an order which would render valid the things done, such as the appointment of a teacher, which, owing to the default of the local authority, would be invalid, and where the managers, in order to satisfy the necessary requirements of the school, incurred expense, to repay to the managers the money they had expended. The money so repaid to the managers would be a debt due to the Crown, and without prejudice to any other remedy, might be deducted by the Board from the amount of Parliamentary grant payable to the local authority. The remedy had these advantages: it was prompt and effective, it involved the minimum interference with the action of the local authority who had the whole area of education open to them, except in so far as the Board intervened to do certain acts and order certain payments; it had this further advantage, that it stopped automatically as the evil stopped. As soon as the local authority made good the default and supplied the necessities for the school, circumstances would resume their ordinary course. This mode of remedy for this kind of default would be necessary at any time in respect of any school in any part of the kingdom; but it would be childish to ignore the fact that the matter had been brought home to the Government by what had recently happened in Wales. The Board knew what the cause of the trouble was. It was the religious difficulty which haunted and troubled our system of elementary education. In a debate which took place before Easter a desire was expressed on both sides of the House that some settlement of their religious difficulty might be found. He could not say how earnestly he echoed that desire. He endorsed every word that had been uttered on the previous evening by the President of the Board, speaking at Carnarvon, and in the debates on this Bill no word would fall from him which would kindle one spark of ill-feeling or

prejudice a settlement such as would meet the wishes of all. But differences of old standing could not be settled in a day, and he had to think of the schools and the children. The Government could not stand aside; and while religious parties were settling their differences the House would not wish and the Welsh Members surely would not wish to see the children of the poor going without the small comforts and appliances in the elementary schools, and thereby losing the benefit of the system of elementary education which the House had done so much to further.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to make provision for the case of default on the part of Local Authorities in the performance of their duties as respects Elementary Schools." — (*Sir William Anson.*)

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said it was a remarkable thing that within a couple of years of the passing of the Education Act a Coercion Bill of this kind had to be introduced to enforce it. They had been told that the Education Act was working smoothly in all parts of the country, but here was the admission being made by the Government that the Act was a failure as far as Wales was concerned. He had not a word to say as to the tone of the speech of the hon. Baronet, but he was bound to take note of the character of the Bill and to take exception to certain statements which had been made. The hon. Gentleman said there were parts of Wales in which no teachers had been appointed, where there was no fuel supplied to the schools, and he asked how it came about that this was not done? As a matter of fact there was no part of the country where that was done and where the schools were not better off than they were prior to 1902. The county councils had faithfully administered all the funds placed at their disposal by Parliament, which meant that the schools were in a much better position than they were in 1902, because they were getting in addition the grant in aid, every penny of which was paid to the schools. It was exceedingly unfair on the part of these managers that they should ask the House

of Commons to believe that the Welsh county councils were withholding funds which Parliament had placed at their disposal for the benefit of these schools. If the children were left without fuel all he could say was it was a disgrace to the managers and not to the Welsh county councils.

Undoubtedly there had been a misunderstanding with regard to some counties. He thought personally that the county of Carmarthen ought to have appointed managers and superintended the appointment of teachers. At the same time it was perfectly well known what the feeling was in Wales. Even Churchmen were prepared to accept the decision come to by the county councils. Having regard to the fact that there was a state of considerable bitterness and that the present law was not agreeable to the bulk of the Welsh people, they were disposed to allow matters to remain in *statu quo* until Parliament considered the full question. That was the view of certain Bishops with the exception of one. In Carmarthenshire practically the whole of the council were prepared to accept that policy except three, and even the leaders of the Church party were prepared to accept it. He, therefore, asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be better to leave matters as they were. When the hon. Gentleman announced his intention to send down a Commissioner to Carmarthen to hold an inquiry he appealed to him to instruct the Commissioner to inquire into the whole of the educational condition of the county, and he was under the impression that the Commissioner would do so. The Commissioner was an exceedingly able man and was perfectly fair, but when the county council wanted to present the whole of their case he said he had no instructions. When the county council appealed to the Commissioner to hear the case on behalf of the Nonconformists who were the great majority of the population, the Commissioner said he had no instructions. The hon. Gentleman, therefore, did not know what was the state of things in Carmarthenshire. The hon. Gentleman said the county councils were acting thus without alleging that the

Mr. Lloyd-George.

schools were unnecessary, but they did allege after a careful report by a competent surveyor that all these schools were insanitary and the Board of Education did not challenge that assertion. The bulk of them were insanitary and not fit to send children to. One of the points of the county council was that the Board of Education ought not to administer the Act until the managers had put the schools in a sanitary condition. Would hon. Members believe that the Commissioner actually refused to hear evidence as to whether the schools were fit to send the children to, or not, although the county council was prepared with expert evidence. Was it surprising that in Carmarthen the county council was unwilling to accept the responsibility of enforcing an Act which was driving children to schools which were insanitary and unhealthy and not fit for the purpose for which they were designed.

That was the situation. The Government would have been better advised if they had faced the real situation. There was no demand in Wales for the enforcement of the Act as it stood. He desired to call attention to the state of the Government Benches, for there was only one Welsh Member sitting on the Ministerial side, and he was retiring at the next election. Did that show a real demand for this Bill? Would it not have been better if the Government had inquired into the real facts, for they were dealing with a population which was sincerely desirous of working any Education Act which would advance education and administer it fairly between all classes. The Intermediate Education Act had been administered in Wales without a single complaint from Churchmen and the county councils were appointing Church teachers and also Catholic teachers. The Government were simply wasting the time of Parliament by a Bill of this sort which would simply convert the Board of Education into a debt-collecting agency. It was an undignified and unstatesmanlike proceeding, and he appealed to the Government to get the whole facts of the situation and introduce legislation that would

settle the question upon terms which would be acceptable to the vast majority of people of all creeds and all sections in Wales.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 262 ;
Noes, 110. (Division List No. 93.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Aird, Sir John
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Mich. Hicks
Bignold, Arthur
Blake, Edward
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Crean, Eugene
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Donelan, Captain A.

Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farrell, James Patrick
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r
Ffrench, Peter
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ryse Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (Somers't, E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)

Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Kilbride, Denis
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
Leamy, Edmund
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeh, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick

Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Raakin, Sir James
 Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
 Ratcliff, R. F.
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ridley, Hn. M.W. (Stalybridge)
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Roche, John
 Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford

Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Sheehy, David
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H.C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Sullivan, Donal
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J.G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
 Thompson, Dr. EC (Monagh'n, N)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuff, Charles

Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A.C.E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E.R. (Bath)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Cameron, Robert
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Cawley, Frederick
 Crombie, John William
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dobbie, Joseph
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Edwards, Frank
 Ellice, Capt. EC (S. Andrew's Bghs)
 Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Foster, Sir Michael (Lond. Univ.)
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Harcourt, Rt. Hn. Sir W. (Monm'th)
 Harwood, George
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.

Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Lough, Thomas
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
 McCrae, George
 McKenna, Reginald
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morley, Charles (Breckonshire)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose)
 Moss, Samuel
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 Palmer, Sir Chas. M. (Durham)
 Partington, Oswald
 Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Price, Robert John
 Rea, Russell
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard

Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Rose, Charles Day
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C.R. (Northants)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T
 Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh. N.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J.T. (Huddersf'd)
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
 Mr. Causton.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir
 William Anson, Mr. Walter Long, and
 Mr. Attorney-General.

EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL.

“To make provision for the case of
 default on the part of Local Authorities

in the performance of their duties as respects Elementary Schools," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 167.]

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Continuance of additional customs duties on tobacco, beer and spirits.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the additional customs duties on tobacco, beer, and spirits imposed by sections two, three, four and five of the Finance Act, 1900 (including any increased duties imposed by section five of that Act), shall continue to be charged until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

*MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said there were some important Questions which he desired to put to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at this stage of the Budget. He thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the consideration he had given to the Committee in extending the time they had to look into the matter raised by the Resolutions. He had touched on some of these questions in the very interesting statement he made in introducing the Budget, but all he said was only enough to stimulate their curiosity. The right hon. Gentlemen had a very depressing statement to give with regard to the produce of those duties which were the great branches of revenue on which the country depended. Wine was not included in the Resolution now before the Committee, but he might be allowed to mention it as an illustration. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the wine duty had been unsatisfactory for some years past. What was the reason of this? It was because the increased duty which was imposed at a moment of emergency had been continued for many years afterwards. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might learn from

this the lesson, often taught in finance, that if they raised a duty too high it would cease to be productive. The example that had been set in the case of the wine duty was only too likely to be followed in respect of those other duties with which the Resolution dealt. The duties put on in 1901 were to be continued. Why were they put on? They were put on to meet the expenses of the war. The war had been over now for two years, and yet the duties were to be continued. In the case of tobacco the war duties were to be increased by other proposals which the Committee could not discuss at this stage. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the Committee that Customs and Excise had fallen £1,500,000 short of the estimate formed by the Treasury at the commencement of the year. That was a terrible falling off in one branch of the revenue, and he thought there must be other explanations of it than the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given. He told them that so far as the beer duty was concerned the wet summer had tended rather to stimulate the consumption of tea, but it might also have stimulated the consumption of spirits, yet the spirit duty had realised £850,000 less than the estimate. When these duties were raised to an extreme point they ceased to be productive. Had the Treasury any reason to suppose that if these duties were restored to the old level of three or four years ago they would produce a better revenue than they did now? Had the Treasury fully considered the proposed increases from the revenue point of view, and was the Chancellor of the Exchequer perfectly sure that he would get more money out of them? The Government were pursuing a different course from that which any previous Government had pursued at a time of this kind. Taxes hitherto put on for a war were taken off as soon as they were not wanted for that special purpose. This was the proper stage to receive from the Chancellor of the Exchequer any explanations he had to give with respect to these striking features of the year's finance.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said the Committee would possibly have remarked with regard to the tobacco

duty that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was, as it were, making two bites of a cherry. The Resolution passed on 20th April raised the permanent duty on tobacco. The right hon. Gentleman had already told them that he intended to raise the duty on cigars from 5s. 6d. to 6s., and this Resolution authorised the raising of the additional 6d. He confessed he had been puzzled to understand why the tobacco duty had been put into two Resolutions, but he thought he saw the reason now. The intention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to add to the permanent duty imposed by the Act of 1898, which was 5s. 6d. a lb. on cigars, an additional duty of 6d. as a temporary or annual addition. But he did not see that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had any Resolution in regard to the provision for the drawbacks. He presumed that all the drawbacks which were allowed under the Act of 1900 were intended to be allowed under this year's Act; and, if so, the Resolution, as it stood, was incomplete and required additional words referring to the drawbacks being allowed. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would satisfy him on that point. Or was he to understand that that portion of the clause could be put without a Resolution? That might be so; at any rate he wished to be assured that the drawbacks were to be provided for this year as in 1901. He came now to the merits. It was true, as stated by the hon. Gentleman opposite, that this tax was imposed as a war tax in 1900. He remembered very well the speech of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Member for West Bristol, when introducing the additional duties on beer, spirits, and tobacco. The right hon. Gentleman stated that they were imposed by the necessities of the State arising out of the war, that he meant the war taxes to be paid for, so far as he could, by all classes of the community, that the additional duties imposed were temporary, and that they would be remitted when the war was over. It was for that reason that the right hon. Gentleman made them not permanent but annual. Well, two years had elapsed since the war was over, and it was proposed to continue these duties for another year. The effect would be

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

that they would have existed not for one year but for three years after the war was over and done with. He did not think that that was according to the original contract. He recognised the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but these duties were very considerable. Had the Chancellor of the Exchequer made any calculation as to the amount altogether of these additional duties last year? If the right hon. Gentleman could tell the Committee that, they would see what extra amount he was asking the Committee to give him in a year of peace. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to afford some justification for the continuance of these duties under the present circumstances.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he wished to call attention once more to the fact that they were brought down to the House year after year without knowing what Resolutions were to be proposed. He had never known any defence offered for that practice. There might be good reason for withholding the first or second Resolution on the Budget night; but why they should be asked to go blindfold into the debate on the other Resolutions he had never been able to understand. He wished to call attention to the fact that these taxes were imposed as war taxes. What the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in 1900 was that they were meant to meet a temporary necessity, to meet war expenses. But they had been continued from that time to this. They were being made permanent by mere repetition. Annual repetition continued for ever was equivalent to a permanent tax. The hon. Member for Lynn Regis asked what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had got from these taxes last year; he asked what the right hon. Gentleman expected to get from them this year. He knew that the right hon. Member for West Bristol in 1900 estimated that the additional duties would yield £1,750,000. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer know how far that had been realised last year? It was well that the original character of this taxation should be kept before the Committee, because it reminded the House and the country what it had had to pay for the disastrous expedition in South Africa. They were paying now

in peace, and were going to continue to pay, a contribution which, in fact, was made for a war, the cost of which had been £250,000,000 sterling and which had resulted in the acquisition of two territories which involved £4,000,000 additional expenditure. So long as this clause appeared in the Budget Bill the country would not be without a reminder of the crime and folly of which it was guilty in the year 1900-1.

There was another point to which he wanted to call attention on this Resolution. He admitted that he did not challenge the moral reasons which were given for this kind of taxation on intoxicating liquors. Apart from the moral question, he regarded the tax on spirits, with which he was concerned, as a bad tax because it was indirect taxation on commodities consumed by poor people. All such taxation was, to his mind, unjustifiable; poor people had not the means to pay it. He held that no householder who was not in receipt of £1 a week was able to bear taxation; but when their tea, sugar, tobacco, spirits, and beer were taxed, these poor people were taxed without their knowing it. Although there might be good moral reasons why the consumption of beer and spirits should be taxed for war purposes, that did not relieve such taxation from the odium that it was indirect and pressed on the poor. There was special cruelty in that sort of taxation, because it was imposed on the consumers of the commodities and passed by persons who lived better. Was it tolerable that the House should place heavy duties on beer and spirits at the very moment that they were asked to make to the vendors of beer and spirits a present of a vast monopoly value caused by the fact that licences were being restricted in number? The licence duties had not been altered for nearly a quarter of a century. During that period the number of licences had been enormously increased, but in the last ten years they had fallen to 1 in 279 per head of the population from 1 in 331 per head of the population. Licences were being restricted in number, and the monopoly value was accordingly increasing; yet there was no increase in the licence duties. That was an anomaly which ought not to pass without obser-

vation; and it was mainly to call attention to it that he had asked leave to address the Committee. He wished to bring out the difference in treatment between the commodities themselves and the vendors of those commodities. Twenty years ago publicans' licences yielded £1,500,000; last year the yield was only £1,750,000, notwithstanding the development of the country during that period. Twenty years ago the combined Excise and Customs duties on beer and spirits amounted to £27,000,000; last year they produced £39,000,000, or £12,000,000 more, which was taken out of the pockets of the people. The monopoly value of licences increased as they became more and more restricted in number, and yet they only yielded an increase of a £250,000. That was unfair and unjust in every way; and he hoped that an opportunity would be given at some stage of the Budget Bill for proposing in substitution of this tax, or the tea tax, or the income-tax, a scheme of licence duties which would take the monopoly value out of the licences and hand it over to the Exchequer. The Licensing Bill now before Parliament proposed to perpetuate this abominable state of things; and, if that Bill passed, the House would not have that free hand in dealing with the licence duties which they now possessed. Therefore every opportunity should be taken of proposing that the House should definitely consider whether it was fair to the people that this vast source of public revenue should be left in private pockets, and whether the time had not come for the State to say that it would take the value of the monopoly which it itself had created. That would add £8,000,000 or £10,000,000 to the revenue without any further taxation at all.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) dissented.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Did the right hon. Gentleman himself make an estimate?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, I have.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he was extremely glad to hear it, as it was

the first time he ever had such an admission from a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Both the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors admitted the anomaly, but refused to inquire into it. The right hon. Gentleman himself said the other day that no further inquiry was necessary, from which he assumed that, since the right hon. Gentleman's accession to office, an inquiry had taken place, which, however, had not been divulged to the House. He hoped before the Second Reading of the Budget Bill the right hon. Gentleman would be prepared to lay before the House the results of that inquiry, and would be able to state how much revenue would be added to the income of the State if a duty were imposed on licences which would exhaust the monopoly value. Mr. Caine, who was for many years a Member of the House, undertook an inquiry himself; and he came to the conclusion that the monopoly value of publicans' licences, instead of being £1,500,000, the sum which they now yielded, approached £9,000,000 or £10,000,000; and the anomaly became simply grotesque when the Government, after asking Parliament year after year to load the poor with taxation and to load the middle classes with taxation, now persisted in making a present of millions a year to one class of the community which could not be credited with the monopoly of patriotic feeling. [AN HON. MEMBER: Oh!] That class had a monopoly of the liquor traffic, but they had not a monopoly of patriotic feeling. He was endeavouring to enter a caveat on behalf of the State for the vast revenue which was derived from the one great monopoly which now existed in this country, and which should not be left in the private hands into which it had fallen.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer should really give the Committee some statement of the policy which the Treasury intended to pursue. The extra beer and spirit duties which were imposed originally for war expenditure produced in 1903 nearly £3,000,000. The extra tobacco duty produced in the same year about £1,400,000, making a total of nearly £4,500,000. He wished to know why the Chancellor of the Exchequer now asked for that amount. All the

Mr. Edmund Robertson.

expenditure which now devolved on the country with regard to the war was that which was included in the fixed charge for the National Debt; and that had only increased £4,000,000. They had already agreed to duties imposed ostensibly for war expenditure amounting to the large sum of £20,500,000. If they took the duties imposed for war expenditure alone they amounted to £25,000,000 a year, of which the £5,000,000 now asked for was a very small part. Of the larger amount the extra income-tax produced £10,000,000, the remainder being taxation on the consumer. He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer why in reimposing taxation this year he did not take into consideration that last year, when taxation was remitted, a remission of £10,500,000 was given to the income-tax payer and only £2,500,000—the corn tax—was remitted on indirect taxation. In reimposing taxation the right hon. Gentleman had adopted the very curious plan of reimposing £2,500,000 on the income-tax payer, leaving him a gainer by £8,000,000, while he reimposed the whole of the £2,500,000 remitted last year, on the indirect tax payer. To propose that the income-tax payers should be relieved to the extent of £8,000,000, while the indirect tax payer received no relief at all, was not a fair financial plan to put before the Committee. When the right hon. Gentleman asked them to impose this extra £4,500,000 of taxation in addition to the £20,500,000 to which they were already committed, the Committee were entitled to demand some statement of policy from the Government, and some further explanation of this extra taxation of £25,000,000, of which, he submitted, only £5,000,000 were due to war expenditure, while £20,000,000 were required to meet the increase in the ordinary peace expenditure of the country. If that submission were correct, the position seriously demanded the attention of the House and the country? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would to-day let the Committee see that he realised the gravity of the position, and that it could be alleviated only by a reduction in the ever-increasing ordinary expenditure of the nation.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyll) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could give any reason why the

amount of revenue derived from the licence duty was so small. Every Member of the Committee knew how valuable a licence was, and how small was the annual income received by the State directly from that source. Was there any reason for that anomaly other than the fact that a licence had always been looked upon as an annual property.

***THE CHAIRMAN**: The hon. Member is anticipating the debates on the Licensing Bill.

MR. AINSWORTH thought the point was germane to the question raised by the hon. Member for Dundee. It was well that the Committee should constantly keep in mind how much of the present taxation was due to the late war, and on that point he asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could not in some more rapid fashion get rid of the necessity for extra taxation arising from that source. Could not some portion of the expenditure of £250,000,000 be recovered in the shape of cash?

THE CHAIRMAN intimated that the hon. Member's remarks were not relevant to the Resolution before the Committee.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said he was asked why it was now necessary to continue this taxation, which in the first instance was undoubtedly imposed as war taxation during the continuance of the war. If hon. Members bore in mind the observations of his right hon. friend, his predecessor in office, in 1901, the continuance would not take them by surprise. His right hon. friend at that time gave notice that, supposing the war came to an end at an early date, the ordinary expenditure would not permit him to remit the additional taxation imposed for war purposes, which included, by the way, an income-tax of 1s. in the £.

***MR. McCRAE**: In the following year additional taxation was imposed.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN agreed that that was so, but it was imposed with knowledge of the fact that the great expenditure was not wholly due to the war but to a permanent increase in the ordinary peace expenditure.

The calculations of the hon. Member for Edinburgh were substantially accurate. In was true that in the main the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to provide for peace expenditure upon a higher scale than was necessary twenty, or even ten, years ago. But the earlier complaint of the hon. Member was not that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was too severe in continuing existing taxation, or even in imposing fresh taxation, but that he took too lax a view of his duties as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The complaint was that he raised too little, rather than too much. That being so, it was surely not too much to ask that when he was raising taxation the hon. Member should not make the task more difficult by criticism which did not represent his true views. The hon. Member agreed that, our expenditure being what it was, this money must be raised; and he did not suggest that, so far as the money involved in this Resolution was concerned, it was raised unfairly.

***MR. McCRAE**: I deny the necessity for the expenditure.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was coming to that point. It was said we ought to reduce our expenditure. But the proper place to advocate and support reductions of expenditure was in Committee of Supply, and not in Committee of Ways and Means. The latter was simply the follower of the former. Having voted the money in Committee of Supply, they must be prepared to provide the ways and means. The expenditure being what it was and the revenue such as he forecast last week, it was impossible to find the money in any way less injurious to the consumers. The hon. Member for Dundee spoke of the particular Resolution as being an irremediable injury to the poor. He should like to hear what the hon. Member for Camborne thought of that. The hon. Member further laid it down as a canon of sound finance that all incomes below a certain very modest sum should be absolutely exempted from taxation in any form, direct or indirect.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I did not say quite that. What I said was

that incomes below £50 could not bear taxation, in the sense that there was no margin for it. £1 a week may be taken as the minimum wage, and taxation upon that sum involves the irremediable wrong of taking from the poor that which is necessary for their sustenance.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that taxation upon beer and spirits, with which the present Resolution dealt, would not be a less irremediable evil if imposed directly instead of indirectly. If the views of the hon. Member were to prevail they would prevent the raising of any indirect taxation at all except upon articles of pure luxury used only by the well-to-do. He invited the hon. Member to devise a tariff imposing indirect taxation exclusively on articles of luxury used by the well-to-do without incurring the censure of his friends around him, and without infringing the doctrine of free trade or the principles of our present financial system. He thought that the hon. Member would find this to be a very difficult, not to say an impossible, task. The hon. Member proposed to exempt all very small incomes without giving effect to the old Liberal maxim that taxation and representation should go together. It would be dangerous in these days, when political power was more widespread than ever before, to give effect to the doctrine that taxation and responsibility dependent on the exercise of political power should be more limited. Whatever system of taxation were adopted indirect taxation would be necessary. He did not believe that any responsible person on either side of the House would suggest that they could do without indirect taxation, least of all upon such articles as beer and spirits. As to the Resolution referring to the duties and the drawback, he pointed out that the Resolution was necessary, because the imposition of the duty placed a charge on the taxpayer. No Resolution was necessary for the drawback, because it involved no charge.

A raising of the licence duties had been advocated, but he thought that the question would be more conveniently discussed on the Licensing Bill.

He could not add anything to the explanations he had already given as to the

Mr. Edmund Robertson.

fall in the revenue. There was no doubt that the character of the seasons had a good deal to do with the receipts from beer and spirits. Recent licensing legislation and increased care on the part of all concerned in the trade had also done something to decrease the consumption. But when full allowance had been made for both these causes they must set the rest of the change down to people having had less to spend in the past year than in previous years. That was never a satisfactory thing, but it would probably be some consolation to hon. Members that if the people had to retrench their expenditure it had been carried out on articles like beer and spirits, but not much on tea, sugar, and tobacco. A Question was asked why, as the income-tax payer received a greater portion of relief last year, he had not put the whole burden on him this year. In his opinion that would have been a gross injustice, and would not have been an even division of the burden among the people. The income-tax payer paid during the war a larger portion of the whole year's expenditure than he would have paid if the peace ratio had been preserved. He was, therefore, entitled in proportion to the sacrifice he made during the war to the first relief in peace, and his predecessor had recognised that need. The effect of his proposals this year was to restore the proportion of direct and indirect taxation to what it was in the year before the war. So far, therefore, from altering the basis adversely to the indirect taxpayer he had actually put both the direct and indirect taxpayer in the same position of proportion as existed in the year before the war. But the real fact was that all were indirect taxpayers in a greater or less degree, and it certainly was a great mistake to speak of the income-tax payer as if he were universally well-to-do. The pressure of taxation on the man with a small income was very heavy, and he was entitled to relief in regard to the direct as well as the indirect portion of that burden. He believed that in the present financial situation the advisability of passing this Resolution was not seriously questioned.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said this was one of the very few occasions upon which they could criticise effectively the finances of the country. Many hon. Members would remember occasions when the Government were defeated upon proposals similar to these, and it was recognised that criticism had a more direct effect upon the financial policy of the Government in Committee of Ways and Means than in Committee of Supply. With regard to the particular Resolution under discussion he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had rather missed the main point which had been raised by the speakers who had addressed the House from the Opposition side. They thought that these particular additional duties stood in quite an exceptional position as compared with any other part of the extra war taxation imposed from the year 1900 onwards. The right hon. Gentleman quoted an extract from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol delivered in 1901, but he did not quote what he said when he originally imposed the duty. No language could be stronger than the words used by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol upon that occasion, because he said distinctly that the indirect taxation he proposed in 1901 was a temporary addition to the existing taxation. The duties they were now discussing had ever since occupied the exceptional position in which they were placed by the Member for West Bristol when he imposed them. What they complained of now was that neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor his predecessor made any statement to the House on which the country might look forward to getting rid of the bulk of the war taxes or to reducing substantially the vast debt placed upon the country by the South African War. These additional duties were imposed for war taxation and they were given their limited duration on that account. Upon this question he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone a step backwards, and they were disappointed to find that not only were the taxpayers to continue to bear this additional war taxation, but also to bear an increase in the tea duty. Besides this, the right hon. Gentleman had practically told them that they could not look forward to these taxes

being considered as special war taxes in the future, and that they must be looked upon as being required for the ordinary financial necessities of the year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had also told them that they must make up their minds that the scale of national expenditure had permanently increased, and that for the purposes of meeting that permanently increased charge the taxpayers must look forward to these war taxes becoming part of the permanent burdens of the country. That was a serious outlook for the taxpayers, and it was a great disappointment in view of the promises held out by the predecessors of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said the point raised by the hon. Member for Dundee was not the matter of increasing the cost of a licence, but whether taxation should not be transferred from the beer duty to the licence. That was a point of some importance, although he did not think it was so important as his hon. friend made out, because very soon the duty on the licence would fall upon the consumer, or a great part of it at any rate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that this was not the proper place to talk about economy, and that they ought to do it by moving reductions in Committee. There was, however, one thing which they could not do in Committee by moving reductions, and that was to impress upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer the very important duty he had to perform in putting pressure upon the various spending departments to curtail their extravagance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had more power to curtail the expenditure than hon. Members had, because he could employ men to investigate the proposals made to him in a way they could not possibly do. The House had always relied upon the pressure which the Treasury could put upon the spending departments to reduce expenditure. When a private Member found a case of extravagance, as was the case with regard to the War Office the other night, and when they appealed to everybody to help them to obtain a reduction, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not support them, but, on the

contrary, said the extravagance was quite proper. The right hon. Gentleman not only opposed them when they asked for a reduction in expenditure, but when the proposals of the Government came forward in Committee of Supply he backed up the spending departments. The result was that when they moved a reduction the Government majority was called in and they were voted down. This was the only time when they could really enforce the necessity for economy upon the Government. However earnest private Members might be in their desire for economy, the only way they could secure it was by compelling the Treasury to put pressure upon the spending departments, and the only time they could do that effectively was when the Government were asking for money. Not only was he of the opinion that duties put on in time of war ought to be taken off as soon as possible, but he believed that such duties would be unnecessary if the Treasury would exercise proper control over the various spending departments.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said he agreed with the hon. Member for Lichfield that it was in Committee of Supply action should be taken to enforce economy, but, however strongly those who were in favour of economy protested, in specific instances, in Committee of Supply, the Government were always bound to carry their point. It was practically unheard of that in Committee of Supply Members of the House were able to effect the slightest economy. In the debates on the Budget questions in regard to extravagant expenditure could be raised and discussed, and when the Government found the impossibility of raising money they would themselves enforce economy on the departments. He had no doubt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be an efficient instrument in so doing. He wished to impress on the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he should pay more attention to the vast reservoir of taxable wealth that existed in the monopoly value of licences. Reference had been made to the matter, but he did not think that sufficient attention had yet been paid to it. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman had been considering the matter and that

Mr. Courtenay Warner.

he had appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into it.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon. Member had misunderstood him. He did not say that a departmental inquiry had been instituted.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I put a Question specifically and definitely whether there had been an inquiry into the value of these licences.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said there was no departmental inquiry of any sort. He had made an inquiry himself, the steps being taken on his own account. Nothing of the nature of what was known to the House as a departmental inquiry, had taken place. Of course the results of the inquiry would form the basis of the proposals in the Licensing Bill.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS said it would be satisfactory if the House were informed of the result of the inquiry which the right hon. Gentleman had made, and also whether those of whom he had made inquiry had expressed any opinion as to the value of these licences. There was not a Member of the Committee who did not know of specific instances in which enormous sums over and above the structural value or the business value of licensed houses had been obtained. They wanted to know what was the accumulated value of the whole of the licensed houses in the Kingdom, because that was absolutely a pure gift by the State to "the trade." Not only was it property that was properly taxable, but it was property that belonged to the State in its entirety. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who made this inquiry, should inform the House of the value before the Bill came on for discussion.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) asked if he would be in order in calling attention to the tobacco duties at this stage.

*THE CHAIRMAN said that that Motion had been passed by the Committee. [AN HON. MEMBER: Speak on the Report stage.]

MR. BROADHURST said that the increase of two years back was a very hard tax on the users of common tobacco, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would carry out some system of taxation on values instead of on weight, there would not be such just cause for complaint. The two right hon. Gentlemen who preceded the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when at the Treasury, gave him some reason to hope that efforts would be made to vary the taxation of tobacco on its values. He received a statement the other day from a firm which did a great deal of trade in tobacco and the manufacture of cigars, and he had had many communications since the Chancellor's Budget on this question, and he wished he could induce the present Chancellor to give some promise that he would have further investigation made, at his leisure, to see if something could not be done to adjust the tax.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he thought he had made a step in the right direction by the changes he proposed in regard to foreign cigars and cigarettes this year. He was not averse to putting a higher tax on what was an article of greater value or greater luxury. Of course, the difficulties were administrative—difficulties of collection. Any attempt to convert duties into *ad valorem* instead of leaving them as specific duties was opening wide the door to fraud. He would look into the matter, however, though he did not think there were any of his predecessors who had yet seen their way to carry out the wishes of the hon. Gentleman.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said the empty state of the House would not lead one to understand that they were discussing a very serious matter. It was surely a very remarkable thing that in a time of profound peace they should be renewing the war duties and practically making the admission that it cost as much to govern this country in time of peace as in time of war. Surely something must be wrong on the face of it when such a position as this was brought before the House of Commons. As to these duties he was not quite sure whether he was not the person referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer a few

minutes ago. Very likely he was, but he was not personally affected by it. The Government could put any amount on these articles without affecting him, but they did affect Ireland, which felt the strain of taxation far more than England did. They were taxing a poor country when they taxed Ireland; they were taxing a rich country when they taxed England. The whole question would have to come up on the Second Reading of the Budget Bill. Why should the Chancellor of the Exchequer not face the question of the licence duties? Why was it that that particular class of the community were exempt? They did not pay the taxation on spirits and beer. They would imagine to hear them talk at their meetings that they did. He wished they did. It was the people who paid. Here was a source of taxation ready at the Chancellor's hands. It was admitted that the licences in connection with this costly and valuable monopoly—valuable to them; costly to the country—were not high enough, and that the country did not get a fair return for the monopoly. Why did not the Government see that they got some return? Then they could spare the people of the country taxation of some of the articles which pressed very heavily on the poor. But no; that monopoly was not to be touched. On the contrary it had to be enriched, and he hoped that on the the Second Reading of the Budget the whole question would be threshed out, and most assuredly the Chancellor of the Exchequer might make up his mind that the Irish question would be seriously dealt with on the Second Reading.

MR. LOUGH said that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that there was no extravagance and the Prime Minister cheered him. The country was in a situation of the greatest gravity, and the Committee had got no explanation of it. His point was that when taxes were suddenly raised for an emergency, the House had to accept them. The House did accept these taxes, but under the promise that they would be taken off after the war. Another objection to such emergency taxes was that they were not thoroughly thought out; and they were not suitable

to become part of the permanent fiscal system of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to look to the fact that the yield of the duties on tobacco, beer, and spirits was falling off. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he hoped the yield would be better next year; but how did he know that the decrease might not be greater? His contention was that these emergency taxes were of too high a character and he was not in the least satisfied with the answer the right hon. Gentleman had given. The hon. Member for Dundee had suggested one remedy, but his remedy was economy all round.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said that before the division was taken he should like to explain the reason why he would vote against the Resolution. It was not a question whether these taxes ought to be continued on the present occasion, because he thought beer and spirits were properly subjects of taxation. It was certainly true, as had been said by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, that it was not the licensed interest that paid these extra taxes; it was the consumers. The protest which, in his judgment, ought to be made was against the somewhat alarming statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That right hon. Gentleman's position now was different from that of his predecessor in office. Then

they had violent protests against an increase of the beer and spirit duties from the licensed victualling and brewing interests. They were silenced by the statement that it was only a temporary measure; that these taxes would be taken off as soon as the war was over. It seemed to him a remarkable thing that one Chancellor of the Exchequer should throw over the declarations of a previous Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were told that night that there was not likely to be any reduction in these taxes, because public expenditure had increased to such an extent that the word "economy" must be taken out of their vocabulary. That was the danger. Where was this expenditure going to end? They were going on almost doubling national expenditure, and there was not very much hope, so far as the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was concerned, that there was going to be any material reduction. He protested against this absolute closing of the door to economy. The question was whether war taxes were to be continued as peace taxes. To many Governments that would be a direct inducement, on some occasions, to set aside any question of peace in order that war might be lightly entered upon.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 249; Noes, 119. (Division List No. 94.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Waltham)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bell, Richard
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.

Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc)
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis

Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. EC. (S. Andrew's Bghs)
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.

Mr. Lough.

Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.)
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of L'n'd'nderry
 Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
 Harwood, George
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
 Heath, James (Staffords.), N.W.
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somers't, E.)
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hunt, Rowland
 Jebb, Sir R'chard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kearley, Hudson, E.
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.)
 Kimber, Henry
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Kitson, Sir James
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
 Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Acorington)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdona, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Maysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Pease, Herbt. Pike (Darlington)
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Perks, Robert William
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretyman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Rea, Russell
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)

Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb' Tyneside)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thompson, Dr. E. C. (Monagh'n, N.)
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield)
 Wallace, Robert
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland-Hood and
 Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William Cork, N. E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Austin, Sir John
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Beaumont, Wentworth, C. B.
 Blake, Edward
 Boland, John

Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Cameron, Robert

Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Craig, Rober Hunter (Lanark)
 Crean, Eugene
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)

Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rosendale)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift

MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McArthur, William (Cornwall)
McCrae, George
McFadden, Edward
McHugh, Patrick A.
McKean, John
McKenna, Reginald
McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nusey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Palmer, Sir Chas. M. (Durham)
Partington, Oswald

Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick, Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C.R. (Northants)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
Lough and Mr. Buchanan.

Continuance of Additional Excise Duties on Beer and Spirits. six and seven of The Finance Act, 1901, shall continue to be charged until the first day of August, 1905."—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

2. Motion made, and Question put,

"That the additional Excise duties on beer and spirits imposed by sections The Committee divided:—Ayes, 255; Noes, 116. (Division List No. 95.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Waltham)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manchester)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christchurch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bell, Richard
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.

Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Bracey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worcester)
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham

Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E. C. (Sandwich)
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)

Fardell, Sir T. George
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
 Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tyne'm'th)
 Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
 Harwood, George
 Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
 Heath, James (Staffords, N. W.)
 Heaton, John Heaniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somers't, E
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hunt, Rowland
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
 Kimber, Henry
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N. R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage

Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lyttleton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Maconochie, A. W.
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 McCalmont, Colonel James
 McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
 Maxwell, W. J. H. Dumfriesshire
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Perks, Robert William
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymen, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Rea, Russell
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rolliet, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter

Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux.
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thompson, Dr. EC (Monagh'n, N.)
 Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
 Wallace, Robert
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und Lyne
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland-Hood and
 Mr. Ailwyn Fellows.

NOES.

Abraham William (Cork N. E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Atherley-Jones, L.
 Austin, Sir John
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Beaumont, Wentworth, C. B.
 Blake, Edward

Boland, John
 Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Burt, Thomas

Cameron, Robert
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Cendon, Thomas Joseph
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
 Crean, Eugene
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Delany, William

Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Doogan, P. C.
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Ffrench, Peter
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Kilbride, Denis
 Labouchere, Henry
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry

MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Palmer, Sir Charles M. (Durham)
 Partington, Oswald

Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Rigg, Richard
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
 Sheehy, David
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C. R. (Northants)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donald
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Wilson, Henry, J. (York, W. R.)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
 Thomas Esmonde and Cap-
 tain Donelan.

AMENDMENT OF LAW.

Moved to Resolve, "That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Debt, Customs, and Inland Revenue."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. GIBSON BOWLES considered that this was a most proper Resolution to propose. He remembered one year when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol attempted to do without it but in the end he had to bring it forward. He should vote for it with the greatest possible pleasure.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to tell them what this Resolution meant. He understood that they could discuss upon it any business of a financial character.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the object of this Resolution was to enable changes to be proposed in their financial system which were not covered by the Resolutions which had already been proposed. If they did not pass this Resolution it would be impossible for

hon. Members interested, and who had given notice to discuss certain questions, to make any proposals such as a Motion to repeal the coal duty. This Resolution simply enlarged the scope of the debate in the subsequent stages of the Finance Bill, but he did not imagine that on this Resolution which was merely an enabling Resolution, that it would be in order to discuss their financial system at large.

MR. McKENNA asked if they could discuss the coal tax now upon this Resolution?

*THE CHAIRMAN: It is obvious that it would not be possible upon this Resolution to move any Amendment the effect of which would be to abolish the export duty on coal. The proper time to do that would be on the Committee stage of the Finance Bill. I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer has quite accurately interpreted the meaning of this Resolution, which is that it places it within the power of the House when the Bill reaches the Committee stage to move such Amendments as those which the right hon. Gentleman has described; although such matters may be discussed now the

Committee cannot come to any decision upon them.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) asked if this Resolution was intended to cover, and did it cover, the introduction of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. He wished to know if the Government proposed to introduce any Amendments to the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill this year.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said this Resolution referred only to the ordinary Budget Bill. He was not quite sure what Amendments the hon. Member was referring to. He did not think he should have to propose a new Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, and probably it would be for the convenience of the House that he should bring in an omnibus Bill dealing with the various points connected with the revenue, but that question would come on at a later stage. This was an ordinary formal Resolution enabling hon. Members to make proposals in Committee on the Budget Bill upon questions not included in the Resolutions which had already been passed.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES pointed out that the Finance Bill of 1894 embraced all that was included in the old Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, and although the Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to throw some doubt upon the matter, he supposed the measure would still be called the Finance Bill.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is so.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES contended that the Finance Bill must contain not only the proposals of this Bill but also the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. He did not understand his right hon. to say that he absolutely intended to introduce a second Bill. He hoped he did not mean that.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said this Resolution was for the Finance Bill which was framed entirely upon the model of its predecessors. There were some matters connected with revenue, Excise, and Customs, which were from time to time brought to his notice. Into some

of these matters he had not yet been able to go with the care which the circumstances demanded, but what he did know was that he had received strong representations from chambers of commerce and other bodies, that certain amendments of the law were necessary, quite apart from his Budget proposals of this year. All he wished to do was to reserve to himself the right to deal with these matters if, upon proper examination, he found it necessary or right to make proposals to the Committee. He was certainly nursing no designs for upsetting our financial system.

MR. LOUGH hoped the hon. Member for King's Lynn would not allow himself to be turned from his purpose by the gentle speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Committee were not accustomed to having two Bills in one year. It was true they had a second Bill last year, but—

*THE CHAIRMAN said that question hardly arose on this Resolution, which clearly would not enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring in any Bill but the Finance Bill. The time to raise the question of the undesirability of bringing in a Customs and Excise Bill in addition to the Finance Bill would be when the former was brought in.

MR. LOUGH hoped that, if there was any intention of bringing in such a Bill this year, the measure would be introduced at an earlier period than was the case last session, when a Bill was passed, under protest, in the middle of the last night of the session.

MR. BUCHANAN was understood to say that the object of this Resolution was to enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make certain alterations in the present system for which Resolutions in Committee of Ways and Means were unnecessary. If hon. Members desired to discuss those changes in Committee of Ways and Means, now was their opportunity for doing so. He was not aware that any such changes had been adumbrated or suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, but he thought the Committee ought to reserve their right of discussing the proposals, if necessary, on a subsequent occasion.

*Mr. McCRAE remarked that in his Budget speech the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when dealing with the National Debt, placed the amount of the contribution to the Sinking Fund at £5,149,000, whereas the estimate given by his predecessor last year was £6,600,000. In reply to a Question recently the right hon. Gentleman had named yet another figure. It would probably save a considerable discussion on the Finance Bill if the right hon. Gentleman could now make it clear how much the contribution to the Sinking Fund in the year just closed really was.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that last week he had to give the Committee a great number of figures, and he could not trust his memory to repeat them without notice. It was to the advantage of the Committee that whatever he stated should be accurate; therefore he hoped they would excuse his answering off-hand. He would look the matter up for the hon. Member.

Mr. McKENNA said that in his Budget speech the right hon. Gentleman said the amount under the fixed debt charge devoted to the payment of debt was £5,149,000, but since then, in reply to the hon. Member for Lynn Regis, he had put the amount at something over £6,000,000. Doubtless the two statements could be reconciled, but, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not be cross-examined on the Question Paper, he pressed the right hon. Gentleman to explain from memory, if possible, how the discrepancy arose.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said there would be plenty of opportunities for referring to this matter. If the hon. Member for Edinburgh placed a Question on the Paper he would endeavour to explain the matter, but it was not desirable that he should give the figures from memory.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES pointed out that it had been ruled over and over again that Questions referring to former debates in this House could not be placed on the Paper. Was there any way by which they could get round that Rule?

*THE CHAIRMAN said he could not be a party to "getting round" any Rule of the House.

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Debt, Customs, and Inland Revenue.—
(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

Committee to sit again to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS [21ST APRIL].
Resolution reported.

INCOME-TAX.

"That Income-Tax shall be charged for the year beginning the 6th day of April, 1904, at the rate of one shilling."

Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. DALZIEL thought the present opportunity might with advantage be taken of asking for some fuller explanation of the action of the Government in reducing the income-tax by fourpence in one year and imposing another penny in the next. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon must have imagined that he would have a much stronger following in the Cabinet than proved to be the case. In the case of the ordinary man in the street the first impression he had about the matter was that the Government did not know their own minds, because one year they reduced the income-tax to 11d. and then, without any good reason, another penny was placed upon the income-tax. He thought they ought to have some fuller explanation in regard to this unsteady attitude of the Government. He wished to know what the attitude of the Government was with regard to graduation. Almost invariably the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his sympathy with the general principle of the graduation of income-tax, and they had had the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol in favour of

taking some action in regard to it. Were they now to understand that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had closed the door altogether so far as any inquiry with regard to this matter was concerned? The occasion was more opportune now because the right hon. Gentleman had announced the appointment of a Committee to consider the income-tax question. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was to be Chairman of that Committee, surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer might extend the reference to the Committee so as to enable them to inquire also into the question of graduation. He wished to know were they to regard the right hon. Gentleman as a friend of graduation? He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do something in the direction of having some investigation with a view to a still further extension of the principle of graduation.

*MR. McKENNA said he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would again make some reference, based upon the income-tax returns, to the general prosperity of this country as compared with other countries. The income-tax figures afforded a striking illustration of our prosperity as compared with Prussia, but our figures were not complete. The returns of the Inland Revenue showed that 792,000 persons were individually assessed to income-tax, but the amount paid by them was only one quarter of the whole amount raised. There was no means of estimating from the Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners what the total number of persons paying income-tax was. It was possible that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be able to give to the House some estimate. It was an extraordinary thing that in Prussia, which had a population very nearly the same as our own, there were only 400,000 income-tax payers with an income of over £150 a year, whereas in this country 792,000 persons paid but a quarter of the total income-tax, and many income-tax payers had an income over £160 a year. They had got in this country a taxable income out of all proportion to the taxable income in Germany. With regard to the question of graduation in Prussia, a very

stringent system of graduation was adopted which carried the tax down to incomes of £45 a year. In spite of the assessment being so low there were only a little more than 3,000,000 persons assessed altogether, which was an indication that the bread-winners of at least half the population did not reach an income of 17s. 3d. per week. It was conceivable that they might compel every person to make an individual return of his total income. If they published the return it would be more or less true, and upon that basis it would be possible to graduate the income-tax, but unless the returns were published they would have no guarantee that the statements would be accurate. He suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that he should consider the possibility of publishing the income-tax returns so that they could all take an interest in seeing that their neighbours gave accurate returns of their incomes. It would be astonishing to find how in certain trades incomes would go up by leaps and bounds if the returns were published. There were certain trades which at the present time scarcely came under the income-tax law at all, and did not make any return. He did not think the surveyors of taxes pursued people home sufficiently, they did not inquire as to what rent they paid because they might very well assess upon the basis of their rent. He knew of cases in which £45 and £80 a year were paid in rent and no income-tax had ever been paid. He had been told by a surveyor that £50,000 a year was lost to the income-tax in London alone through builders foremen not being assessed. He thought the ordinary income-tax form ought to be more intelligible. It should be an offence for which a man should be made to suffer if his form was not properly filled in. Where no form was filled in inquiries should be made as to the amount of rent which the assessable person paid. If those methods were pursued they would get a more or less accurate individual return.

*MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said he had taken some interest in the question of the income-tax and the speech made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the year 1902 he himself

raised the question of the graduation of the income-tax and he got a vague sort of suggestion from the then Chancellor of the Exchequer to the effect that if possible the question should be inquired into by the Committee which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was then going to appoint. Next year the subject was raised by his hon. friend the Member for Flint Boroughs, and on that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, said he did not wish to refer the question to the same Committee which was going to be appointed, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who was to be the Chairman of that Committee, said he hoped to offer an opportunity of taking evidence on that subject. Now the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was to have the Chairmanship of the Committee which was not yet in existence. They were now told that the Committee was not to inquire into the question of graduation. He thought they had been rather put off with expectations during past years. This time, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come to the conclusion that the matter must be looked at seriously. He supposed that what had brought him to that opinion was the speech made the other day by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so certain that his officials could prove the inutility of attempting a graduation of the income-tax he might as well have an inquiry into the subject, and let it be proved to everyone interested that the scheme was impractical, for, after all, they were faced with the rather serious situation that in peace time the income-tax was to stand at a shilling. It had actually been raised from the lower point to which it got after the conclusion of the war. It was really a very important circumstance that the small income-tax payer knew that in peace time there would be a shilling income-tax without any prospect of it being reduced, and that in war time it would be raised to something very much above the normal. It began to look as if a shilling would be the normal unless some way could be found of relieving the small income-tax payer. Under these circumstances it would be well that the small income taxpayer should feel some certainty that the large income-

Mr. Trevelyan.

tax payer could not out of his luxury pay more than he was doing at present. The arguments of the right hon. Gentleman in the speech in which he put forward the official view that a graduation of the income-tax was not desirable were not convincing. He said that it would be inquisitorial. That was an old argument, but after all there were classes in the community who had to declare their incomes as it was. He could not think that there would be any serious objection to making people belonging to a class who obviously possessed large means declare their possessions. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that they would offend powerful interests by it, and that it would be unpopular. Perhaps they would offend powerful interests, but they would hardly make it unpopular, because if they were to succeed in levying the tax it would only result in increasing the popularity of the tax, by making it unnecessary in time of peace to lay this excessively heavy burden on the small taxpayer. The last argument the right hon. Gentleman used was that he did not think it would be worth doing. He thought the figure the right hon. Gentleman named as the money which would be got out of the graduation of the income-tax was £1,500,000. He did not wish to discuss at this point the deductions which he proposed to make in reaching that figure.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That was the maximum without deductions.

***MR. TREVELYAN:** I thought that was after deductions.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have made no estimate of deductions. I said that was the highest figure we expected to get, and that you must make allowance for evasions.

***MR. TREVELYAN** said that assuming £1,000,000 would be got in the first instance from the tax, it did not seem to him that this was a sum to be altogether despised. Of course in the finance they had had in recent years when £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 were spent on new battleships at a time when our supposed possible enemies were in such a condition that if they

entered into war they would be unable to fight with their full force, the Government thought nothing of £1,000,000, but in the good old economic days the addition of that amount from any tax would have been thought a considerable matter. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might give a little more consideration to the feeling which was very largely prevalent in the House that this tax would be a desirable one if it were possible, and would put it to the test of examination by the Committee he proposed to appoint.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) said he had always entertained the opinion that although a graduated income-tax was very beautiful in theory it was really almost impossible to carry it out. He would not say that it was entirely impossible, but it would be very difficult to accomplish. They had at present in the death duties a kind of deferred or accumulated income-tax that was graduated. He wished that, instead of putting a penny on the income-tax at the present juncture, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had raised the death duties, as he thought they would in some measure bear raising. It would be a much less objectionable system if some Government official were appointed to hear and decide appeals, and a further appeal might lie to a higher referee. At present it often happened that a man who appealed against his assessment had to show his books to his trade competitors, which was a great injustice. He would hail with delight the appointment of such an official. He thought the poorer class of people frequently suffered great hardship by paying income-tax which they ought not to pay. This arose from their ignorance of the way to appeal against the tax. He hoped the procedure in this connection would be shortened and made more easy so that persons who were not liable would be able to get remissions without the long procedure to which they had been accustomed in the past.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) held that if graduation was a sound principle in the case of the death duties it was sound in the case of the income-tax. At present rich men did not pay proportionately so much as men who were only moderately well off, and a distinction ought to be made between income from investments and income

from trade or professional sources, as the spending power of the latter income was less than that of the former. A person who derived his income from a trade or profession would wish to lay by something for his wife and children, whereas one who derived his income from investments was not obliged to do so. It seemed to him that the question of graduating the income-tax should not be absolutely excluded from the inquiry which was to take place under the Chairmanship of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon. The inquiry should be of the broadest and widest character. His hon. friend had suggested that the incomes ought to be published. Why should they not be published? Why should a man be ashamed to let his income be known, unless he wanted to defraud his creditors. In most cases these incomes were got honestly, and in some cases dishonestly. Many people followed the advice of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant to "make money honestly if you can, but make money." There were a very great number of persons who are called by the common term "snobs." They were ostentatious people, and delighted in being thought wealthy. He believed that the revenue would profit considerably if such people were obliged to state their incomes publicly; they would put themselves down as being worth a great deal more than they were. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had always opposed letting the public know what was the income derived from land. These sort of people lived in swaggering style in large country houses, when they had mortgaged the whole thing, and had nothing to bless themselves with. The consequence was that when a man wanted to buy an estate he had to spend large sums of money which went into the pockets of the lawyers in investigating titles. It was on that account the present bad land system was maintained. There were other cases in which the revenue would profit. Very often when a person's income was going down hill, he was rather inclined to increase his credit by wishing it to be believed that he was making a great deal of money. He remembered fifteen or twenty years ago the case of the failure of a private bank in London. The private banker had

been insolvent for a long time, and made a good thing out of it. When he was dying he said to his sons, whom he had taken into partnership, "Do as I did, always. Do not tell anybody about the true condition of affairs. Directly the breath is out of my body go and pay a large amount of probate duty." The sons followed this advice, and lived in wealth and splendour for many years.

In the same way there might be a gain from taxing persons who wanted to keep up their credit. It was done in the State of New York, where there was a tax upon capital which was practically an income-tax. Suppose a man had got £100,000 invested in perfectly good securities which yielded him £4,000 a year he was taxed on the produce of the £100,000. But the man who got £4,000 a year from his profession or trade was only taxed according to the number of years value of that £4,000, which might be ten years or something of that sort. The whole thing worked out infinitely better than the English system, where no distinction was made between incomes derived from investments and money derived from trade profits or the exercise of a profession. He thought accumulations should be taxed far higher than they were, because, after all, why should a man have money from his father or his mother? There was no particular reason for it. While a man was on this planet he was the owner of his own money. But when he went out of the planet he had nothing more to do with that money. The State said in this country "We will carry out your testamentary disposition of your money"; but in other countries the State said, "We will oblige you to leave it to your children." As a matter of strict right, all that money ought to go entirely to the State. The existing practice was a concession made to those who disappeared out of this world.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is getting a good deal beyond the income-tax.

MR. LABOUCHERE said he was afraid he was; but from the discussion which had taken place between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for King's Lynn, he seemed to

gather that upon this Resolution hon. Members might talk on everything they liked.

MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Gentleman that by general agreement the discussion on the income-tax is on the footing that it is a continuing tax.

MR. LABOUCHERE said he was glad that the Speaker had given that ruling. He had been getting tired of the vague and general observations of hon. Members. Therefore he said, "Let us get to business." He regretted he had been somewhat out of order; although he would have liked to have gone on and explained to the House the primary principles of property.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) said that while he cordially agreed with the suggestion that there should be a graduation in the income-tax, he differed from the hon. Gentleman who introduced the subject as to the method. So far he agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton that a man dependent on a professional income, and who had children to provide for, should pay less than a man who had no family. He would say that bachelors who could spend their money as they liked, or waste it, should be handsomely taxed; that a married man with a large family, say, of ten children, should pay less than a married man with only two children; while a married man who had no children should be taxed very severely indeed. Hon. Members might laugh, and he knew that bachelors would not like his plan; but he believed that it would have the support of the vast majority of the people of the country. He wanted this system of a graduated income-tax to be brought home to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if the right hon. Gentleman wished to bring in a perfect income-tax graduated so as to be approved of by every member of the community. He made a present of the suggestion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bring it before the Committee which was to be appointed to investigate into the whole question.

Mr Labouchere.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the hon. Member for Northampton desired rather to postpone meeting his obligations to the State until he went to another planet. He confessed he preferred to keep the income-tax as at present, and to take the contributions of the hon. Member for Northampton at once. In Committee he explained the reasons for which it appeared to the Government impossible to refer the question of graduation to the Committee which they were appointing. He did not believe that the proposals for graduation or differentiation which had been put forward were practicable, or would bring any appreciable relief to the revenue. Mr. Gladstone argued strongly against differentiation, and the Member for West Monmouthshire only a couple of years ago said that the objection to graduation was not so much on principle, but that as a matter of administration it was impossible. It would, the Member for West Monmouthshire observed, make it necessary to call upon everybody to declare the whole of his income, and that was an extremely disagreeable thing. If we took such a step we should find it impossible to ascertain whether taxpayers made a true return or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire pointed out that the great advantage of the income-tax at the present time was that so much was collected at its source. That was our safeguard. If we destroyed it or largely increased the extent of the inquisition which we now had to make into the means of individual taxpayers, the measure would be most inimical to the continuance of the income-tax and most damaging to its yield. The hon. Gentleman below the gangway had asked whether he could supplement the comparison which he had drawn between the wealth of the country in the present year and its wealth twelve or fourteen years ago. He was afraid he could not add anything to that comparison, which he believed to be perfectly accurate. The hon. Gentleman raised some further question with reference to the evasion of the payment of the income-tax by some of those who should pay it. The question of evasion was the first point in the reference to the Committee over which his right hon. friend the Member for Croydon would preside. Of course there was a certain amount of evasion. It took place in those cases where it was

not possible to catch the income at its source, and where it was necessary to some extent to rely on a personal return. In some of those cases he believed there was very considerable evasion. His right hon. friend gave an instance which was of a sensational character, and he himself had heard of similar instances from friends of his own. They must not, however, expect immediate results in this matter from the recommendations which the Committee might make, nor must they put their ultimate expectations too high, because, after all, of the whole amount of income liable to tax only a small portion was self-assessed and liable to evasion. He hoped his right hon. friend and his colleagues on the Committee would be able to do something for the revenue in that respect, and also, perhaps, to do something to alleviate or remove the grievance of income-tax payers in other directions.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not see his way to refer the question of differentiation and graduation to the Committee, all the more as they had had some encouragement from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol the other day. Although a year or two ago the right hon. Gentleman refused to consider the question from a practical point of view, he now thought it was worthy of consideration; and he hoped the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would consider the matter. He did not understand the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that the principle of differentiation and graduation was wrong if it could be applied; and as they now asked only for an inquiry he regretted the question was not to be referred to the Committee. He even yet hoped that the right hon. Gentleman might take that course. If he refused because it might have the effect of deferring a decision on the other questions submitted to the Committee, that was a reasonable ground; but the Committee could be re-appointed and given a mandate to consider the question. The other day the right hon. Gentleman told the Committee that in his judgment the effect of attempting to graduate the income-tax was to be disastrous to the tax as a great

instrument for yielding revenue; but he would point out that the tax was already graduated by the present system of abatement. He would suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should consider, if he had an opportunity of introducing another Budget—and he would prefer the right hon. Gentleman to have that good fortune to any other right hon. Gentleman opposite—whether the present system of graduation as shown in the principle of abatements might not be usefully extended. They were all agreed as to the desirability of graduation; the only question was how far it was practicable. It was a matter of equity, as rich men were better able to pay a larger proportion than poor men. The present was not an inappropriate time at which to follow the lead of such an able and experienced financier as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, especially as indirect taxation was being increased. The principle of abatement might well be extended from £700 to £1,500 or £2,000.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he objected on principle to the graduation of the income-tax. To his mind it would be most unjust to the taxpayer and most injurious to the State. He also believed it would interfere with the collection of the tax, now one of the easiest and cheapest of taxes to collect. He would point out to the hon. Member that a rich man might have children, relations, and a number of other persons dependent on him, although he himself would not consume a greater part of his income that would be consumed by a man with £500 a year. After all, a rich man could only eat one breakfast, and from that point of view alone it would be unjust. Further the Income-tax Commissioners pointed out in their Report for 1902-3 that the gross income brought under the review of their Department was £866,000,000, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, that was only about one-half of the income of the country. The income of the country might, therefore, be taken at £1,800,000,000, all told. Of that £1,800,000,000 only £600,000,000 was taxed at all. In other words, two-thirds of the income of the country did not pay income-tax at all. Therefore, as it was, it was bad enough on the third that paid; but if graduation were adopted the

only result would be that a greater burden would fall on a third of the one-third that now paid, and a larger proportion of the tax would be paid by a smaller number of people. That would be extremely dangerous, as the object was to have as large an area and as small a tax as possible. The hon. Gentleman said truly that there was a certain graduation already in existence; but it was very small indeed; and only affected small incomes, and a comparatively small proportion of the entire yield of the tax. The difficulty would begin when they proceeded to apply graduation to the larger incomes. During the last four or five years this graduation had had precisely the result he had anticipated. As a matter of fact, only about one-third of the income of the country paid the tax, and if graduation were introduced, the tax would fall on a much smaller number of people. His belief was that they would have a further decrease in consequence of the graduation which was recommended by the hon. Member opposite. His suggestion would be to make the rate smaller, and extend it over a larger area. Exemptions and abatements of income-tax already extended too far. The way he would increase the yield of the tax was to reduce it in rate and spread it over a much larger area. If they decided to make everybody declare the whole of their income before making the reduction, they would enormously increase the expense of collection.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) thought hon. Members who had asked for an inquiry with reference to the graduation of the income-tax, must have forgotten the powerful speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire when he first introduced the death duty. At that time the right hon. Gentleman made a most searching examination into all the circumstances attending the possibility of a graduated income-tax, and he concluded that it would be almost impracticable and would be attended with such enormous cost, that it would swallow up any gain there might be to the revenue. They never could get over the difficulty that they would never be able to compel a return of the whole income. The whole force of the Inland Revenue officials could not do this, and it was for

Mr. Theodore Taylor.

that reason that the death duties were imposed and were graduated. He agreed that graduation of the death duties might be carried further, but he thought that was the only way in which they could have graduation at all. His hon. friend the Member for Northampton had talked of the difficulty of discovering incomes derived from land. He could tell his hon. friend that land yielded no income.

*MR. LOUGH thought they ought to be given a little more information by the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon this question. If the right hon. Gentleman had given them such a promise at an earlier stage the debate would have been shorter. There were many difficult points connected with this question which would make it impossible for them to discuss the matter properly until they had placed before them the Report of a Committee of inquiry. The limit of exemption now was £160, but he was disposed to agree with the hon. Member for King's Lynn that this was too high a figure. He thought the time had come when that point also might be inquired into by a Committee. He agreed that it was rather futile for a few Members of the Opposition to declaim against direct taxation because when they took a division the Opposition were divided, and twenty or thirty of their number generally voted with the Government. He preferred that they should be solid when they voted and they ought to discuss more and divide less. It was simply nonsense to think that the poor were relieved by exemption from income-tax if that exemption were purchased by great increases in the taxation on the necessities of life. When they put taxes upon such articles as tea, tobacco, beer, and sugar, the poor man did not know exactly what he paid. The standard of exemption in Germany was £45 a year, and at a time when they were putting on taxes in such a lavish way it was not altogether outside the pale of discussion to consider whether the working classes would not be relieved if they had to pay their taxes directly. He would like his hon. friends to define what they meant by this system of graduation and where the limit was to be fixed? He was pretty familiar with the tables of incomes given in the

Inland Revenue returns and he was amazed at the vast amount of income which was caught between £1,000 and £5,000. Above the latter figure incomes were few comparatively and if they went beyond £10,000 he questioned whether they would have a large field at all. In Ireland they could count upon their fingers the incomes above £10,000 and in a lesser degree the same state of things existed in Scotland. Even the number in England above £10,000 were very small. He thought during the interval the Chancellor of the Exchequer might consider the advisability of appointing a Committee. The proposal now made to the country was that we should submit to an increase of one penny upon the income-tax, but he remembered two years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol spoke with horror of an income-tax of 1s. in the £. The right hon. Gentleman made all his speeches on economy down at Bristol, but he never supported proposals in the direction of economy in the House of Commons.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

— — — EVENING SITTING. — — —

LIVERPOOL AND LONDON AND GLOBE.
INSURANCE COMPANY BILL [LORDS].
(BY ORDER).

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the Bill be now read a second time."

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) rose to move "That this House is of opinion that before any further alterations are authorised in the memoranda and articles of association of life insurance companies, it is desirable that the whole subject be considered by a Select Committee with a view to safeguard the interests of policy-holders and others, who are often largely affected by proposed alterations, but who are not consulted, and are not considered to have any voice in alterations thus proposed."

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! It is my duty to tell the hon. Member that this Amendment is not in order because it proposes to raise and discuss the general question of policy with a view to the alteration of the existing law. That is not permissible, but the hon. Member may have an opportunity of arguing against the Bill on those lines.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY accordingly moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) seconded the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out the word ‘now,’ and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘upon this day six months.’”—(*Sir George Bartley*).

Question proposed, “That the word ‘now’ stand part of the Question.”

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said that possibly there was a certain danger attaching to all companies—not merely those which had a policy-holders, but those which contained a large number of shareholders—in the alteration of memoranda and articles of association. It was quite possible for changes of that kind to be made where there were a large number of shareholders, without the full importance of the changes being brought within the cognisance of the shareholders; but they were dealing now with a company which did not desire to alter its memorandum and articles of association, because it did not possess them. The gigantic property of the company was regulated by private Acts of Parliament and elaborate laws and regulations, with the result that the company suffered very serious disabilities in carrying on its business. All its property and investments, amounting to £10,000,000, were held in the name of trustees, all documents had to be signed by the directors or by persons authorised by them, and all legal proceedings by or against the company must be taken in the name of the chairman or other officer on its behalf. The consequence of this was that very great inconvenience had been from time to time experienced and heavy

expense incurred by the company. Naturally those interested in the company desired that it should be modernised and its constitution brought up to date. The Bill provided for its registration under the Companies Acts, and for its incorporation with a common seal. It would get rid of its laws and regulations and of four of its five Acts of Parliament. The company would in future be regulated by a memorandum and articles of association. He did not think that under Clause 9 there would be that enormous extension of the company's business which the hon. Member for North Islington feared, and he directed attention to certain limiting words which had been introduced, and which would keep the agency and trust business strictly within the objects of the company generally. It was not the desire of the promoters to alter or enlarge the company's sphere of operations, but rather to endow it with a constitution which would enable it better to carry out the original objects and purposes for which it was formed. There was no intention of launching out into vast undertakings or new developments, or trenching in any way upon the reserves which had been laboriously built up over a course of years. The promoters had obtained the opinion of Mr. Palmer, probably the greatest living authority on company law, and he had expressed the opinion that the new objects were in no material degree wider than the existing objects of the company.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY interposed to say that he had discovered that during the passage of the Bill through the House of Lords, Clause 9 had been materially modified, and trust and agency business would only have to be undertaken “in connection with any of the purposes of the company.”

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR pointed out that these qualifying words were introduced by the promoters, who were anxious to prevent any misconstruction on the point. They had further shown their good faith by scheduling the memorandum and articles of association in the Bill, so that it might be submitted to the scrutiny of the House. He hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion.

*THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES Mr. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith) said that he was not concerned either to support or to deny the general proposition of the hon. Member for Islington. The hon. Member said it was possible that a policy-holder might be injuriously affected by alterations made in the memorandum and articles of association; but he did not claim to show that this would be the case under this Bill. The last speaker showed that the somewhat sweeping provision of Clause 9 had been modified so as to limit and to bring the articles of association strictly within the trusts and deeds now operating with regard to the company. Under these circumstances the hon. Member would probably not deem it necessary to press his Motion. The Unopposed Bill Committee were indebted to the hon. Member for calling attention to the matter, and when the Bill came before the Committee the point he had raised would be considered, and explanations asked for from the promoters.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed.

WAYS AND MEANS [21ST APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [26th April], "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, 'That Income-tax shall be charged for the year beginning the sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and four, at the rate of one shilling.'"

Question again proposed,

Debate resumed.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 121; Noes, 83. (Division List, No. 96.)

AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Balcarras, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crooks, William
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick S. W.)

Gardner, Ernest
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Hamilton, Marq. of L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemouth)
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Johnstone, Haywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N. R.)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Cum. Penr.)
Macdonald, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Macdonochie, A. W.
McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
McCrae, George
McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian

Markham, Arthur Basil
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire)
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)

Thompson, Dr. EG (Monagh'n, N.
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty

Valentia, Viscount
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Alexander Acland - Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Burke, E. Haviland
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Ellice, Capt. EC (S. Andr'ws Bghs)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
French, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
Hayden, John Patrick

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex (Donegal, W.)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gurdon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William

O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Toulmin, George
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
Dalziel and Mr. Joseph
Walton.

Bill ordered to be brought in by
the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr.
Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr.
Victor Cavendish.

WAYS AND MEANS [19TH APRIL].

Resolutions reported.

CUSTOMS—TEA.

1. "That in lieu of the duty of Customs
now payable on Tea, there shall be
charged on and after the twentieth day
of April, nineteen hundred and four, until
the first day of August, nineteen hundred
and five, the following duty (that is to
say):—

"Tea, the pound . . . Eightpence."

CUSTOMS—TOBACCO.

2. "That the duties of Customs payable
under Section I. of The Finance Act,
1898, on manufactured tobacco shall, on
and after the twentieth day of April,
nineteen hundred and four, be increased,
in the case of cigars, by sixpence per

pound, and in the case of cigarettes by
one shilling per pound, and the duties
payable under the same section on un-
manufactured tobacco shall, on and after
the same date, be increased, in the case
of stripped tobacco, by threepence per
pound."

Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution.

*Mr. LOUGH, in moving to reduce the
duty to sixpence, said that this im-
mense tea duty marked a stage in the
fiscal development of the country which
ought to be recognised by every means
that the House could devise. The
country was more agitated over this
feature of the Budget than by anything
else it contained, and the Chancellor of
the Exchequer would certainly hear a
great deal about the tax in the future.
The right hon. Member for West Birming-
ham had alluded sneeringly to his "dis-
interested" opposition to this tax. He
thought that the expression might

have been dispensed with. So far as he knew his interests, they were not opposed to this tax, but were in favour of it. He desired to draw the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the serious nature of this tax, first of all, from the grower's point of view. In one of his earlier speeches the right hon. Gentleman had made an interesting comparison between the Budget of 1864 and that of the present year, but the one thing he omitted to state was that the tea duty in that year was brought down from 1s. to 6d. As a matter of fact, in the seven years ending 1864, the tea duty was reduced from 1s. 7d. or 1s. 9d. to 6d. What was the condition of things in 1864? The consumption of tea per head of the population was 2½ lbs., and the total amount of British grown tea was represented by the 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 lbs. received from India. In Ceylon tea-planting had not started. To-day the British Empire produced 350,000,000 lbs. of tea per annum, and there was at least £30,000,000 of British capital invested in the industry. That was a striking testimony to the wisdom of the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1864. In few other countries in the world was the duty on tea so high as that now proposed. The right hon. Gentleman was suspected of leanings towards Colonial preference, but what a contrast was afforded by his actions and his theories! The Opposition generally were against giving the Colonies a preference, but they were not against giving them fair play, and that was just what this duty denied them. Instead of giving either preference or fairplay, the right hon. Gentleman was dealing one of the deadliest blows that could be given to a great Colonial and Imperial interest. As a result of the last increase of the duty the consumption of tea had been somewhat checked, and the right hon. Gentleman's comment on that point was simply that the people of this country were "saturated" with tea.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say that we could not expect a further increase in the consumption of tea. I said that whether the tax were increased or not you could not expect the rate of consumption to go on as fast as it had done in recent years. When asked "Why," I used

a picturesque phrase suggested to me in saying that the consumption had reached the saturation point. You cannot wash in tea, and there is a limit to the amount of any beverage that a population can consume.

*MR. LOUGH said he was delighted with the right hon. Gentlemen's explanation. He thought that these mistaken ideas were due to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had not yet set up housekeeping. He could prove by a very simple case that there was still room for great development in the consumption of tea. When a family went away from home, it was usual to allow each servant left behind a ¼ lb. of tea a week. That was 13 lbs. a year; and yet the right hon. Gentleman suggested that the consumption must be checked at 6½ lbs. per head a year. In China the consumption of tea was 15 lbs. per head of the population. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought not to have argued so lightly that there was no room for further development in the consumption of tea, and at any rate he could not expect growers to adopt that view. When selecting this particular tax the right hon. Gentleman alluded to one or two other articles which he said must be left out, and he mentioned sugar. With regard to sugar the Government had already given that trade a blow, and so they had decided to leave it alone in order that it might recover. Owing to the policy of the Government contained in the Brussels Sugar Convention the Russians had put a tax of 1½d. per lb. on tea from British possessions, and this had also affected the tea industry. He believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already heard from the Governor of Ceylon in regard to this tax, and he would also hear from the Government of India. This great and flourishing British industry which had been set up during the last forty years felt itself outraged at the idea of a huge tax of this kind. What they ought to do was, he would not say to give these Colonies or any part of the Empire a preference, but at least give them fairplay, which this tax denied them.

He would now turn to the effect of the tax in this country. The right hon.

Gentleman ought to have a more kindly feeling for the traders engaged in distributing tea. This large class were engaged in collecting his revenue for him. If the right hon. Gentleman chose to get his revenue by indirect taxation, the least he could do was to be polite to these traders. He had hinted that the tea distributors were a very bad lot and that they lived by efforts to cheat the Chancellor of the Exchequer out of his duty when he was going to alter his tax. Of course the way out of that difficulty was not to alter the tax, for how could a trade be conducted when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was altering the tea tax almost every year. Tea was distributed by over 60,000 grocers throughout the kingdom. Through them this huge revenue of £6,000,000 was paid, and they would pay this £8,000,000 which the right hon. Gentleman now hoped to raise by this tax. The new rate of duty meant a complete alteration in prices, and he did not think the business of these people should be unnecessarily disturbed, but the right hon. Gentleman might at any rate speak sympathetically to them. In dealing with a great article of consumption like tea, these constant changes ought not to be made in the price, and some stable system should be observed.

He would, in conclusion, say something on the question from the consumer's standpoint. This tax would be felt in every household at morning and evening. It was possible to raise the country from one end to the other about a shilling tax on corn, but corn did not occupy a different position from tea in the diet of the people. Tea was just as important as bread. This House could always be excited about a shilling tax on corn, but why should they take this tax of 8d. per lb. on tea lying down? To the consumers, this additional tax meant that they would have to pay about 4d. per lb. more for tea than six years ago. The poor consumers generally bought tea at the same price, no matter what the duty was, and they would either obtain worse tea now or consume less than they did before. Therefore the consumers were being extremely badly treated. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford had pointed out that no less than £300,000 would be paid by Ireland

Mr. Lough.

in consequence of this additional 2d. per lb. on tea. It was estimated by the Treasury that the revenue from tea in that country now reached £900,000 per annum. So this tax would make it £1,200,000, a totally ruinous burden. In Ireland the poorest inhabitants depended upon tea, because it was the cheapest drink, and therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer by this tax had hit those who were most dependent upon this form of food. In Ireland they consumed 8 lbs. of tea per head of the population, and this tax, with the 2d. imposed in 1900, would place upon the people of Ireland an additional burden of 2s. 8d. per head per annum. In the case of a family of six this meant 16s. per annum upon some of the poorest families in the United Kingdom, and that was a very serious imposition. Therefore he thought the House ought to resent the action of the Government in this matter. His opinion was that the Government, by some economy in the expenditure of the great spending departments, might have avoided this additional tax. He begged to move the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the words 'Eight pence,' and insert the words 'Six pence'—(*Mr. Lough*) instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words 'Eight pence' stand part of the said Resolution."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (*Donegal, S.*) said if he did not intervene at this time, when such a tax was being placed upon an article which was an important part of the food of the people of Ireland, he should be altogether unworthy of his position. His hon. friend the Member for Islington had told them that about 86 per cent. of the tea consumed in this country came from our Colonies, and only about 14 per cent. from foreign sources. Under these circumstances it was very strange that the Government had decided to strike such a blow at colonial trade. Had he been so disposed in reference to this Budget he could have shown a glaring disregard for the poor and a desire to protect the rich. Every Irish Member except those Gentlemen who were the paid agents of the Government on the Ministerial Bench would vote

for this Amendment as a protest against this tax. If they had an Irish Parliament which resolved by a majority of one that this tax should not be imposed the tax would cease, but now when united Ireland protested the tax would be laid upon Ireland, and under such circumstances resistance to the laws of this country would not only be the privilege of Irishmen but it would be their duty. Perhaps the House would allow him to quote from a letter in reference to this tea tax which had been sent to him by one whom he might describe as one of the merchant princes in Dublin, who differed from him in all matters of politics. This merchant had told him that an increase of 2d. per lb. upon tea would mean to the poor in Ireland an increase of 4d. per lb. because in Dublin 90 per cent. of the tea sold was retailed at 1s. 4d. per lb. duty paid, which was just 1d. per oz. This extra duty would drive this tea out of the market, and the poor people would now have to pay 1½d. per oz. or 1s. 8d. per lb. When the tax on tea was raised from 4d. to 6d. per lb. it was done with many apologies, and the then Chancellor of the Exchequer promised the tea drinkers that it was only a war tax, and acknowledged that it pressed upon the poor people of Ireland most severely. His hon. friend who opened this debate had stated that the consumption of tea in the United Kingdom was 6½ lbs. per head of the population, but in Ireland it was 8 lbs. per head. In Donegal, which was one of the poorest districts in Ireland, the budget of a well-to-do peasant in the congested districts with a family of five would be about £23 a year, and out of that sum £5 10s. would be spent upon tea. He had seen the details of another budget where the man's income was £12, and out of that £3 went for tea. Many of these people were so poor that they were unable to buy ordinary bread, and they had to live largely upon Indian meal. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol imposed his tax on corn the Irish Members resisted it as far as maize was concerned on the ground that such a proposal would entail a tax on the food of the very poor in Ireland, and the right hon. Gentleman had the grace to take the tax off that article. He had little hope, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take this extra 2d. off the tea tax.

His hon. friend the Member for Islington had spoken of the effect this tax would

have upon the poor consumers in England. Let them go into any of the abodes of misery in Ireland, and they would always find a teapot there whatever else there might be. Tea was the cheapest drink of the poor, and it cheered them without doing any harm, but now this drink was to be made almost dearer than whisky in order to produce £2,000,000 for the Exchequer. While the effects of adding 2d. to the tax would scarcely be seen in the case of the English people, it would produce ruinous results in the cottagers' homes in Donegal. It was a cruel, heartless, and shameless tax, and at another stage of the Budget the Irish Members would avail themselves of the opportunity of going into the whole question of the financial situation in Ireland. He had intervened in this debate simply for the purpose of protesting against a tax which would produce a state of things in his constituency bordering on starvation. It was a scandalous thing for this Government to take a course which would produce in the poorer parts of Ireland a condition of artificial famine, but the Government were inaccessible to shame or human feeling in these matters. At the beginning of last century Ireland had a Chancellor of the Exchequer of her own, and speaking in the House of Commons against the Union he told Mr. Pitt that the object the English Ministry had in destroying the Irish Parliament was that the power of the purse might be taken out of the hands of the representatives of the Irish people and put into the hands of an alien Parliament. He had expressed his feeling strongly in this matter, but he would be unworthy of his position if he did not protest in this House that money was worth nothing if it was produced from the blood and tears of the poor.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the hon. Member need not be alarmed about his vote on this tax. He had voted for an additional penny on the income-tax. He did not like it, but he thought that those who shouted for war ought to be made to pay for it. It was the only way to bring home to those gentlemen who clamour for expenditure every day the results of their views. But when it came to tea it was a wholly different thing. It was a tax that would go into every poor man's home in Ireland. It would affect the poor woman more than

the poor man, and the poor woman was not represented in that House. He challenged any English Member to deny or contradict the fact that the House was laying a heavy burden of taxation upon the Irish people by means of this tax, and he said unreservedly that if they reverted to the position of things at the beginning of the last century—if they could have a separate Exchequer for Ireland like that which existed between the years 1800 and 1817—the Irish Government could be carried on, on the Scotch basis of expenditure, for £3,000,000 a year less than it was. The Local Government Board of Scotland cost £20,000 a year, whereas in Ireland the Local Government Board cost £80,000 and the judiciary of Scotland cost half of what it cost in Ireland. It was a burning shame that the House should insist upon putting a load of taxation upon these poor people which was ruinous to England and absolutely destructive of decent life in Ireland.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said he protested four or five years ago against the raising of the tea duty from 4d. to 6d., and he wished to protest against this further imposition. He had been brought up in a school of economy whose first article of faith was "a free breakfast table for the poor." That article of faith was based upon the principles of humanity and justice, and it was an extraordinary thing that the Government which had involved the country in enormous debt for the purposes of an unnecessary and fruitless war should find no other means of raising revenue to meet their extravagant expenditure than by adding 2d. to the poor man's tea. He spoke on this question from the point of view of Irishmen, knowing that, from the failure of the potato and the time of the famine, tea had been one of the principal means of sustaining life among the poor of Ireland. It was the cup of tea which enabled them to swallow the yellow meal on which they were obliged to depend for subsistence. It would be perfectly impossible to use the yellow meal were it not for the help of tea. It was the women and children who would suffer most from this addition to the price of tea. The tea tax was increased four or five years ago as a temporary measure. It was a case of

Mr. T. W. Russell.

grinding the faces of the poor. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not like to be reminded of these home truths, and he turned away in order to show indifference. His objection to the tax was not based on statistics, or fiscal or non-fiscal policy. It rested on the principles of humanity. This increase in the tea duty was an intolerable thing which would render the Government more unpopular than it already was throughout the length and breadth of the country. The attempt to raise £2,000,000 a year at the expense of the poorest class of the population would react upon themselves. The result would be that people would drink adulterated and deleterious tea, and he believed that at the end of the year it would be found that the 2d. increase would fail to produce the additional amount on which the right hon. Gentleman seemed confidently to rely.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said he wished to enter his strongest protest against the increase of the tea duty on the ground that if the Government had earnestly turned their attention to retrenchment in the national expenditure the addition would have been totally unnecessary. Last year, in a time of peace, the normal expenditure of the country was nominally £9,000,000 in excess of that of the previous year, but as the expenditure was under-estimated to the extent of £3,000,000, the expenditure last year was £12,000,000 in excess of that of the previous year. This year the country's whole financial condition was such as to demand every possible retrenchment of expenditure. They were face to face with a Budget which only provided a reduction of £1,500,000 on last year's expenditure. He voted against the 1d. increase on the income-tax because he believed it was unnecessary, and he would vote against the 2d. additional on the tea tax for the same reason. He opposed this additional imposition on another ground. It was a violation of the equitable principle of the fair distribution of taxation. When the 2d. per lb. was added to the tea tax they were told that it was essentially a war tax which would be removed at the earliest possible moment. Last year

the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in a position to remit taxation to the extent of £10,500,000. During the war enormous increases of taxation had been imposed, practically in equal amounts as between the direct and indirect taxpayers. Why was not the remission last year given in the same ratio? Last year four-fifths of the £10,500,000 was remitted in favour of the direct taxpayer, and only one-fifth in favour of the indirect taxpayer, in the remission of the corn tax. Therefore, on this occasion, if additional taxation was necessary, equity required that the injustice inflicted last year should, at least, have been redressed, and that the indirect taxpayer should not have been called upon to pay an additional 2d. in the lb. for tea. It would press hardly on the masses of the people.

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) associated himself with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Islington as to the injurious effect this tax would have on the tea growers of India and Ceylon. This was the only article on which it was proposed to charge duty in excess of the price of the commodity except of course, strong drink. Tea could be produced for about 6½d. or 7d. per lb. and less. That was a serious matter, both from the point of view of the grower and the consumer. Why was it put on? Was there no reason except that it was for the purpose of obtaining revenue? He did not like to suggest reasons, but he was not sure that there were not other reasons. Wherever they found tea drinkers they found a temperate people. He knew this to be the case in Australia and Japan. He hoped that the result of putting on this tax would not be that people would be driven to drinking something else than tea. This was a Scotch question as much as an Irish one, and perhaps more so, because he was certain that in many districts of the Highlands and Islands, especially in parts of the country represented by the Member for Inverness, there were people living under circumstances of as great poverty as in Ireland. The people had the greatest difficulty in drawing a meagre subsistence from the soil, and tea to them was not only a necessary of life,

but it was also their one luxury. They did not drink beer, and they never saw whisky. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done a cruel wrong and injustice to those poor people in putting on this extra tax. If more money had been wanted, it might have been got in the many ways that could have been suggested by the hon. Member for Islington and others without taxing this prime necessary of life, and also the one luxury of the poor. In the far North of Scotland they did not drink beer, or even whisky, at any rate in his constituency; and he felt that this tax would press very heavily on the poor; nor would the result be satisfactory to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the consumption would largely decrease. If the people could get tea as easily as intoxicating drinks there would not be the same amount of crime and drunkenness as at the present moment. He wished to express most emphatically the opinion that this was not at all a purely Irish question. Its general effect upon the poor would be most disastrous.

MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden) said that as representing one of the poorest constituencies in the country he desired to associate himself with the protest that had been made against this tax. In his constituency there was no other industry but agriculture, and hon. Members who had any knowledge of agriculture must realise that in the county of Essex farmers had had a very depressed year, so much so that it was almost impossible for both the farmers and the labourers to make ends meet in their weekly budgets. When it was realised that the consumption of tea in the average household had increased during the last forty years from 2½ pounds to 6½ pounds, the severity of the tax on the agricultural labourer with a large family of five to seven children, who paid 2s. or 3s. a week of cottage rent and had no luxuries, would be understood. It meant a good deal if these poor people were to be deprived of a necessary of life. This was a tax which would oppress the poor; it was an intolerable tax, and could not be justified by anyone who thought out the whole subject of our fiscal system. He was opposed personally to indirect taxation. It

was wasteful, and promoted extravagance on the part of the Government. In the North of England the average income of a wage-earner was from 28s. to 30s. a week, and by indirect taxation he paid practically an income-tax of 19d. in the £ to the revenue of the country. Many on his side of the House, and he hoped many on the other side, believed that taxation ought to be imposed on the people in proportion to their ability to pay it. If that principle was to be adopted it was simply preposterous that any individual should be compelled to pay an income tax of 19d. in the £ when rich people only paid one shilling. The millionaire was only taxed to the extent of 1 or 2 per cent. on his income, whereas the wage-earner was taxed to be between 5 and 10 per cent. on his income. It was because he believed that this tax was unequal in its effect upon the poor that he protested against it. There was no justification for an increase in the tax on tea, and it would retard the physical development of the poorer classes of the people.

***MR. TOMKINSON** (Cheshire, Crewe) said he also wished earnestly to protest against the proposal to increase the tax on tea. It was in all senses a graduated tax, but it was graduated in the wrong direction. This tax would be wholly unfelt by the rich and little, if at all, felt by the middle classes; it would be seriously felt by the better-to-do working people, and most severely felt by the poorest of the poor, who lived practically on bread and tea. When they had to pay 7d. for tea for which they had formerly to pay 6d., they would have to forego one-seventh of the tea they at present consumed and it must be seen, therefore, how unjust this tax was.

***MR. HUGH LAW** (Donegal, W.) said that when his right hon. friend the Member for North Tyrone used the expression "grinding the face of the poor" he heard some expressions of dissent from the other side of the House. He desired to say that the phrase was not at all too strong. It was generally admitted that the larger proportion of this tax would be borne by the poorest families and

that the increased duties on tea imposed on account of war expenditure amounted to 16s. a year per family of six persons. Many hon. Members might say that that was a very trifling sum, but it should be remembered that a burden of 16s. must be heavy on families whose total income was from £12 to £20 per annum. This was a matter in which there need be no jealousy between different parts of the House; but Ireland had a sorrowful pre-eminence, inasmuch as, whilst this tax would fall heavily on all the poor in the United Kingdom, there was in Ireland a greater proportion of poor to the total population than in any other part of the United Kingdom. Apart from that, the Irish Members were in a very curious position in regard to this question of taxation. The English Government always called the tune, and they in Ireland were compelled to dance to it. The English Government pursued a policy against which the Irish Members continually protested; and when the day of reckoning came the Government turned round and said that liabilities had been incurred, and must be paid. The Irish Members had never lent themselves to sanctioning or calling for this expenditure, and they had a good claim to a hearing in this House when they protested against the whole system of this extravagant expenditure. It was a very strange thing that when they protested against the policy which produced this enormous expenditure, they were told sometimes that they were ungrateful, because some months ago they had obtained a loan out of the common Exchequer for a purpose which it was admitted was of Imperial urgency, and that in addition a free grant had been given them. But the liabilities for making good any losses consequent upon the working of the Land Act of last session rested entirely upon Irish funds. On all these grounds he joined in protesting most strongly against this proposal.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had given notice of his intention of calling attention to the special case of Ireland with reference to the Budget proposals at a later stage. It was true that that case had special reference to the tea duty, but it would be more

Mr. J. A. Pease.

convenient to discuss the financial relations of Ireland with England on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill than to scatter the discussion over each Resolution in turn, and he hoped hon. Members for Ireland would not consider it any lack of courtesy on his part, therefore, if he dealt at present with the question of the tea duty as it affected the whole of the United Kingdom. In dealing with these matters it was impossible to please all his critics whose remarks were often quite irreconcilable. For instance, the hon. Member for Saffron Walden objected to all indirect taxation, while other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite declared not infrequently that indirect taxation was as necessary to any financial equilibrium as direct.

MR. J. A. PEASE said he would like to explain that, while he believed all indirect taxation tended to waste and lack of economy, he admitted that it would be impossible for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to propose a Budget which would not, to a certain extent, tax intoxicating liquors and tobacco.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought that neither the hon. Gentleman nor himself would live to see a Chancellor of the Exchequer propose a Budget in which indirect taxation was confined to intoxicating liquors and tobacco. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why?] He would not be dogmatic, but if such a thing happened he fancied they would enjoy such long lives that the insurance companies would be almost ruined. There was nothing more difficult than to frame an accurate estimate of the proportion of their income which any class of the community was called upon to pay in taxation. But one thing was perfectly clear, and that was that the hon. Gentleman's calculations on the subject were wrong. The hon. Gentleman had calculated that a millionaire paid only from 1 to 2 per cent. of his income in taxation. Why, the millionaire's income-tax alone was 5 per cent. of his income. It must be remembered that the income-tax payer also paid indirect taxation in proportion to his expenditure. How much of the wine duties were contributed by the classes which did not come within the circle

of the income-tax? At any rate they did not pay as much of these duties as he would wish. If he thought that by raising the wine duties he should get more money, he certainly would have made the proposal in his Budget. As a matter of fact, any further rise in the duties on wines would, by decreasing the consumption, result in a loss of revenue to the Exchequer. It is by no means a pleasant duty to have to impose new taxation. I am not insensible as to what is to be said against an increase in the tea duty. But it is not to the tea duty alone that hon. Members opposite object. Every tax comes under their censure. Earlier in the sitting the beer and spirit duties were described as an irreparable injury to the poor. Three years ago it was said that the sugar duty was a tax on the poorest of the poor. Two years ago it was complained that the corn duty was even worse than the tax on sugar. To-night we are told that the tax on tea has nothing to recommend it over the tax on corn. The hon. Member for Islington has said, "Tea is just as important to the poor as bread." I remember another Member of this House was taken to task for having suggested that tea might be as important an item in the budget of the poor as bread. There is one observation of the hon. Member for Islington to which I must take strong objection. The hon. Member has said that I, at the instigation of my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol, have charged tea dealers with cheating or chiselling the revenue. I never made any suggestion of improper conduct against any gentleman in the tea trade. All I said in reply to the Member for West Bristol was that tea lends itself to forestalment, and that on this occasion I had been fortunate in preventing any forestalment, as I had taken precautions which would make it difficult for the trade to hold back the tea duty by making it end in August instead of the end of the financial year. No imputation could be cast on any one if they, knowing that a tax was to be imposed, withdrew tea from bond. It is a mere business matter, and the process is one which the hon. Member opposite would have pursued if he had obtained the information. But there would have been nothing dishonest in the matter,

and there is no aspersion on the trade. The expression generally used by the trade is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has caught us napping. One trader said that if he had had the slightest idea that there was going to be an increased duty he would have withdrawn thousands of pounds worth of tea, and the trade could have withdrawn millions of pounds worth in a short time. In desiring to get revenue it is desirable that there should be no great forestalment of the duty.

After all, the serious question is, what effect is this tax going to have upon consumption—is it really going to be a check? Many hon. Gentlemen who have spoken to-night have complained at least as bitterly of the increase made by the hon. Member for West Bristol when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. What has happened? Has the consumption fallen in the past? I will not take a single year, for with regard to a particular year changes might have been anticipated. I will take a series of three years. In 1859–61 the average consumption of tea per head of the population was 2·685 lbs., in 1871–73 the consumption had risen to 4·01; in 1892–94 it was 5·45; in 1898–1900 it was 5·95; and in 1901–3, since the new tax was imposed, it was 6·03 lbs. per head of the population. The consumption of tea, therefore, has steadily increased over periods of three years throughout the last forty or fifty years. Now let us look at other countries. The consumption of tea per head of population is 0·2 in Germany, 1·4 in Holland, 0·42 in Belgium, 0·44 in the United States, and 6·08 in the United Kingdom. These figures are in correction of the statements of the hon. Member for Islington, and they are subject to explanation in consequence of the habits of the people in reference to the consumption of coffee and other articles.

MR. LOUGH: I do not differ from you regarding tea.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Then we are both agreed that the consumption of tea has progressed here very satisfactorily in spite of additional taxation and I believe it will not be reduced by the addition now proposed. The hon. Member for Islington is more sanguine

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

than myself as to the capacity of our people to consume tea. I do not venture to calculate upon such a great increase in the consumption of tea in this country as he thinks possible, but if his anticipations are realised nobody will be better pleased than myself. I treat this tax as one affecting both rich and poor in the United Kingdom and Ireland. It is not lightly that I ask the Committee to add to a burden which falls upon the poor, but no small part of our expenditure is directly for the benefit of the poor and the rest of it is for the benefit of rich and poor alike. It is with the mass of the people that political power rests, and the consideration of what the taxes ought to be cannot be separated from the question of who has control of expenditure and the purposes for which it is incurred. Taking these considerations into account, it is not unfair to make this addition to indirect taxation having regard to the circumstances of the year, and I do not think I could have made a wiser or fairer proposal than this increase on the tea duty.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he understood that if all the Members on that side of the House had voted against the Government in the last division, the Government would have been defeated. Although he for one believed that the income-tax ought to remain, he thought they could do without it rather than with the present Government. On the question of the tea duty the Opposition were agreed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out that there had been no falling off in the consumption of tea owing to the last increase of the duty. He would not estimate whether there would be any falling off in consequence of the present proposal, but if there was not, there would be a considerable addition to the privations of the poorest classes. It would practically deprive them of tea on one day of the week. He agreed that at the present rate of expenditure it was necessary to put large taxes on the indirect taxpayer. The object the Opposition had in view was to revert to the position they were in not many years ago when they were getting near a free breakfast table, and he hoped that before long public opinion regarding expenditure would so advance

as to enable them to do so. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was proposing to add £2,000,000 of taxation to a necessity of life especially for the poorer classes. During the past three or four years they had added a burden of £9,000,000 by the imposition of the tea, tobacco, and sugar duties, and during the past five years they had taken out of the pockets of the indirect taxpayers £40,000,000 sterling. That ought to give them pause. If the Government thought it necessary to obtain this additional revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, instead of putting an extra tax on tea, should have put an additional penny on the income-tax.

*MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) had listened with considerable interest to the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his reply to the criticisms was an apology for not taxing those who could afford to pay. Why did he raise the question of wines? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that if he thought he was likely to get a little more he would certainly have taxed wine. He did not attempt to do so because he was not likely to get much out of it, for the poor did not drink wine. Rich people drank wine, and wanted quality, and there could be no attempt to manipulate wine. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the consumption of tea would be the same in the future as in the past, but he said nothing about the quality. Why should the poor always be compelled, if they wanted to drink, to drink muck? Why did he not have some consideration to a man's limited income. The eight-penny tax on tea would mean 4s. a year, taking the consumption at 6 lbs. per head of the population. That was a tall order out of a small income. The fact remained that the tax on tea fell disproportionately on the poor. There was a lot of talk about the amount the rich man had to pay, but he had the money with which to pay. He knew many a working man who looked at the paper to see the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Budget, and then examined his own exchequer to consider whether it was possible for him to invest a halfpenny to see

what went on in Parliament or whether he should keep the halfpenny to buy a cup of coffee to keep himself warm when he went to work in the morning. No doubt it represented a small sum, but it represented all the difference between having and going without. If Members of the House could live the lives of some of these people, they would soon compel the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring in a revolutionary Budget. A duty of 8d. per lb. on tea sold to the consumer at 1s. 4d. per lb. was a serious matter and must have serious effects on the quality. He doubted if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would run the risk of drinking it, but the poorest of the poor had to drink it or go without. When they imposed these heavy duties they took it out of the poor man in quality. It was all very well to say that a little bit was being taken off the millionaire at the same time, but he did not think that fact would be any cheering consolation to the working man. The Government had better by far have put a penny extra on the income-tax. The people who paid income-tax could afford it. When money was to be raised it was always the poor who were to be taxed. Why? Because they did not grumble. They were not heard in the House of Commons because they had no votes. If the right hon. Gentleman would substitute an increase of the income-tax for this tea duty, the popularity of Birmingham would go up at least 50 per cent.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara) said he also desired to enter his protest against this tax. It would press most heavily on his constituency and on the people in the West of Ireland generally. They were all very poor there. Thirty or forty years ago a tax upon tea would have made no difference to the people in the West of Ireland, for in those days tea was a luxury drunk only by the better class of people. But now it had become an absolute necessity; it was practically an article of food, of which they partook morning, afternoon, and evening. He would put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—was it fair that these people, struggling for

existence, and always in a chronic state of poverty, should be called upon to pay this additional tax. They had no responsibility for the extravagance which had led to the need for increased taxation; they were not responsible for the additional expenditure on the Army and Navy. On the contrary, they were absolutely opposed to it, and therefore they were entitled to object to this extra duty on what was practically a necessity of life.

*MR. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow) said the necessity for imposing the extra duty on tea was entirely the fault of those gentlemen who were so tied down to the rotten system of what they were pleased to call free trade that they had bullied the Government into promising that they would do nothing in the way of taxation, for the present, at any rate, which could possibly help either our own Colonies or our own working men. If it had not been for that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not have had the slightest difficulty in raising the money without affecting the poor. At the same time, speaking personally, he would much rather have had another penny put on the income-tax than the extra twopence on tea.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said tea was now becoming a popular institution throughout the whole world. This extra duty of 2d. would be very keenly felt by the poorer working classes who had for years been able to get a very good tea for 1d. per oz. Now they would only be able to get tea of poor quality at that price. Why had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer sought to raise the money in other directions? Why had he not put a tax on the deer forests?

Mr. O'Malley.

Thus he might have made the millionaires find the necessary money. He might, too, have taxed the salmon fishings and thus have relieved the thousands of suffering poor.

And, it being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (WALES) BILL (SELECT COMMITTEE).

Ordered, That the Select Committee on the Private Legislation Procedure (Wales) Bill do consist of Eleven Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of Mr. Cripps, Mr. Vaughan-Davies, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. Worsley-Taylor, and Colonel Wyndham-Quin.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That five be the quorum.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that (before going through the Bill) they shall inquire and report upon the working in Scotland, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, of the scheme proposed in the Bill, and upon the expediency of extending the provisions of the Bill, with or without modifications, to other parts of the United Kingdom.—(*Sir A. Adair Hood.*)

Adjourned at seven minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 27th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time.

London County Council (Money) Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP F).

Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group F of Private Bills; That Mr. Platt-Higgins, one of the members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time to-morrow.

Plymouth Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill; Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Killyleagh; Carlisle (two); Nant-

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

wich; Teddington; Croydon; Southampton; Bolton; Reading; Stockton-on-Tees; Haslingden; Windsor; Nant-y-fynllon Maesteg (two); Garth; Banbury; Southall; Port Tennant; Westminster; Wandsworth; Dover; Newbury; and Lewisham (two); to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Patricroft (two); Southend-on-Sea; Farnworth; Pontyberem; Eccles; and Gwynfe; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES BILL.

Petition from Croydon, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Bury, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Copy presented, of Return showing (1) the proposed new School Board Districts, the existing School Board Districts comprised therein, with the Population, the number of Public and Voluntary Schools on the Annual Grant List, and the Average Attendance of Scholars in these Schools; and (2) the Area, Population, and Valuation of proposed new School Board Districts [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EXCHEQUER BALANCES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th April; Mr. McCrae]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 143.]

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

Account presented, of the Gross Public Income and Expenditure in the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Balances in the Exchequer at the commencement and at the termination of the year, and the amounts received into or issued from the Exchequer in respect of Funded and Unfunded Debt created or redeemed in the said year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 144.]

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An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3146 and 3147 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).

Return ordered, "of the amounts of all Public Revenue derived from taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty's Exchequer, for the years 1901-2, 1902-3, 1903-4, with the totals in each case (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 148, of Session 1902)." —(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Copy ordered, "of Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1903, and Report to the Board of Trade thereon." —(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

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**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**

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Supply of Stationery for Irish Public Offices.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the average annual amount for the last ten years paid out of the Vote for Stationery and Printing for the supply of various Irish offices in Dublin; the names of the contractors who furnished this supply; and the amounts paid to each.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The average annual amount is £40,379. The following are among the most important firms who have during the ten years either executed work or furnished supplies for Irish offices:—A. Thom and Co.; Cahill and Co.; Browne and Nolan; J. Falconer; Hely's, Limited; A. Armstrong and Co.; Hodges, Figgis, and Co.; E. Ponsonby; J. Duffy and Co.; Mrs. Davidson; J. McDonnell and Co.; all of Dublin; W. and G. Baird, of Belfast; Quinnell and Sons, of Tralee. A complete list of all contractors from whom supplies have been received, for Irish as distinguished from other services, could not be given, even for one year, without considerable labour. The average amount

paid to each for the ten years could not now be exactly ascertained, the records of detail for the earlier years being no longer in existence.

Unclaimed Dividends and Balances.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what will be the total amount of unclaimed dividends on Government stocks, after deducting the £1,000,000 appropriated according to his Budget statement, and the amount in each class of stock; what are the unclaimed balances in the Post Office savings banks and trustee savings banks; and what methods, if any, are adopted to inform the holders of unclaimed dividends and balances, or those entitled to them, of their existence.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The balance of stock remaining on the Unclaimed Dividend Account, after deducting £1,000,000 cash appropriated according to the Budget statement, will be about £700,000. I am unable at present to say what amount of Consols and 2½ per cent. annuities respectively will remain after providing this £1,000,000 in cash, since that must depend on the amounts of the respective stocks which may be most advantageous to realise under the circumstances. The amount of unclaimed balances in the trustee and Post Office savings banks cannot be given. The banks, of course, continue liable in respect of the deposits without limit of time. I do not believe that an examination of the many millions of accounts would show that any large amount of money remains unclaimed; it would give enormous trouble, and entail expense out of all proportion to the result which would be obtained. Before unclaimed stocks and dividends are transferred to the National Debt Commissioners every effort is made by the Bank of England to trace the stockholders.

Joint Stock Banks—Unclaimed Dividends and Balances.

SIR JOHN LENG: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any estimate has been made, and can be given, of the amount of unclaimed dividends and balances in the joint stock banks of the United Kingdom.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) There is no information before the

Treasury on which to make an estimate of the amount of unclaimed dividends and balances in the joint stock banks of the United Kingdom.

Yield of Direct and Indirect Taxation.

MR. TOULMIN (Bury, Lancashire): To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer

if he will state the yield for the year 1903-4 of each direct and indirect tax separately in such a way as to indicate the method of classification.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

Approximate net receipts in 1903-4 (including local taxation revenue, but excluding the proceeds of the coal duty):—

Classified as Indirect.		Classified as Direct.	
	£		£
Customs :—		Excise :—	
Corn	100,000	Licences, etc.	4,716,000
Coffee, etc.	520,000	Estate Duty	17,196,000
Dried Fruits	460,000	Stamps	7,500,000
Spirits	4,648,000	Land Tax	725,000
Sugar	5,710,000	Inhabited House Duty	1,925,000
Tea	6,595,000	Income-Tax	30,800,000
Tobacco	12,560,000		
Wine	1,330,000		
Other Customs	80,000		
Excise :—			
Beer	13,541,000		
Spirits	18,609,000		
Glucose	80,000		
Total	64,233,000	Total	62,862,000

Customs and Excise Duties.

MAJOR COATES (Lewisham): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state what sum of money has been received by His Majesty's Exchequer in each year since the 18th April, 1890, in respect of the local taxation (Customs and Excise) duties levied by Sections 6 and 7 of the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1890, specifying the amounts of the annual division of those duties between England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

The duties to which the hon. Member refers are not received into the Exchequer but are paid over by the collecting Departments direct to the local taxation accounts. Full particulars of the amounts collected under each head of duty and of the amounts allocated to the respective local taxation accounts are given annually in the finance accounts. The latest figures will be found on pp. 106 and 107 of the Finance Accounts for 1902-3.

Return in continuation of White Paper No. 155, of 1902.

MR. HUMPHREYS-OWEN (Montgomeryshire): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will give a Return in continuation of White Paper, No. 155, of 24th April, 1902.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

The Return in question was continued to the close of the war in the House of Commons Paper No. 130, of 1903.

Post Office Savings Bank—Transfer of Government Stock to Bank of Ireland.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state under what Act of Parliament the regulations of the Post Office Savings Bank for the transfer of Government stock to the Bank of England are framed; and whether he will take steps to render possible the transfer of such stock to the Bank of Ireland.

(Answered by Lord Stanley.) The regulations to which the hon. Member refers

were formed under The Savings Bank Act, 1880 (43 and 44 Vic. cap. 36) and The Savings Bank Act, 1887 (50 and 51 Vic. cap. 40). Transfers of Government Stock from the Post Office Savings Bank to the books of the Bank of Ireland could not be made without an alteration in the regulations. I am quite ready to consider any evidence that such an alteration is required; but, so far as can be ascertained, the number of Irish depositors who would be likely to make use of any facilities of this nature that might be granted is exceedingly small.

Corporal Punishment in Poor Law Institutions.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a case of flogging at the Cottage Homes at Wednesfield, in which the medical officer described the back of the boy as covered with weals and abrasions from the nape of the neck to the back of the knees; whether he can state the character of the birch rod used, and if it was of the regulation pattern and weight; and whether steps will be taken to prevent such punishments being inflicted on young persons in Poor Law institutions in future.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) My attention has been called to this case and I have communicated with the guardians of the Wolverhampton Union with respect to it. The Cottage Homes Committee of the guardians have investigated the matter, and I understand that at the inquiry held by them the police medical officer, acting for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, described the condition of the boy's back in the sense stated in the Question. I am informed that the birch used was similar to that used by the police and that the weight of the instrument is four and a half ounces. The regulations made by the Local Government Board with respect to these homes, whilst allowing corporal punishment in the case of boys, provide that no punishment shall be inflicted with any instrument which has not been approved by the guardians or the committee, but it would seem that there is no record of the approval having been given to the birch used in the present

instance. The guardians have censured the officer by whom the punishment was given, and have adopted the report of the committee, which recommends that the use of the birch as an instrument of punishment shall be abolished, and which contains other suggestions with a view to preventing excessive chastisement in future. The action taken by them will, I hope, have the effect desired.

Metropolitan Police—Extra Pensions for Special Service.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in the case of three ex-superintendents of the A Division now receiving pensions in respect of special allowances of £75 per annum, and in the case of ex-inspectors formerly employed in the Houses of Parliament and the various Palaces, also pensioned on their extra allowances, steps were taken by the authorities to constitute these allowances pay; whether such allowances were certified in advance as pay by the Home Secretary; and, if the extra allowances to the superior officers were so certified to be pay, will he explain why similar allowances to the ordinary constables were not also certified as pay so as also to become pensionable.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) The Superintendent of the A Division receives £50 a year in addition to the ordinary pay of his rank, and he is also in receipt of one of the "good service allowances" of £25 a year mentioned in the answer given by me to my hon. friend on Monday.† Both these sums were granted as additional pay, and rateable deductions for the superannuation fund are levied on them. Extra pay of this nature is not drawn by any officer of the rank of constable. No inspector employed at the Houses of Parliament or at a Royal Palace has been pensioned on his extra allowance.

Imperial Yeomanry Training—Use of Motor Cycles.

MR. ALLHUSEN (Hackney, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will sanction the use of a limited number of motor cycles in lieu of horses for despatch carrying, orderly work, and other purposes

† See page 1033

by Imperial Yeomanry regiments during their annual training; and, if so, whether the owners will be permitted to draw the equivalent of the existing horse and forage allowances.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) Provided that the proper training of Yeomanry in the use of horses is not in any way interfered with there would not appear to be any objection to the use of a very limited number of motor cycles in the manner suggested. The grant, however, of allowances as proposed in the second part of the Question cannot be sanctioned.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Southampton Military Disturbance.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, seeing that the draft of soldiers overpowered by the police at Southampton on Friday last were men enlisted for three years only, he will consider the desirability of desisting from sending such men to India, as their foreign service must necessarily be short and the expense to the taxpayer great.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): As the present trooping season is over the question of the desirability of sending three-years men to India cannot arise until the next trooping season, and I am not prepared to say now whether such a contingency is likely to recur.

British Indian Traders in East London, South Africa.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAG-GREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has received any reply to his telegram calling for information as regards the order of the town council of East London, requiring British Indian tradespeople and storekeepers to vacate the town in fourteen days; and will he state what further steps he has taken to prohibit the enforcement of the order.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The Governor

has replied that Ministers inform him that special and urgent inquiry has been instituted, the result of which will be at once communicated to him. Ministers explain that the Municipal Council of East London is taking action under a regulation framed under Sub-section 30 of Section 5 of the Cape Act, No. 11, of 1895, and state that they will not support any arbitrary or unreasonable interpretation of the regulation on the part of the municipality, whose powers in this matter are limited by the proviso to Section 5 of the Act.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Will these tradesmen be expelled in the meantime?

MR. LYTTTELTON: I am afraid I cannot answer that Question; but I should imagine that in the meantime they will not be expelled.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman agreed to the order or not?

MR. LYTTTELTON: No sanction is required.

The Chinese Government and the Transvaal Labour Ordinance.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the negotiations with the Chinese Government relative to the Transvaal Labour Ordinance are now concluded; whether the exportation of labourers from China under the Ordinance has begun; and what number are likely to reach the Transvaal during the months of May and June.

MR. LYTTTELTON: The negotiations are practically concluded, but the Convention is not yet signed and the exportation of labourers has not begun. I am unable to say what number will arrive in any particular month.

Gilbert Islands.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will say when the inquiry into alleged cases of injustice and maladministration in the Gilbert Islands was held; by whom it was held; and if he will lay a Report of

the proceedings on the Table of the House.

MR. LYTTLETON: I can only refer the hon. Member to the answer given to his previous Question of the 14th February, 1902.† I see no reason for laying the Report of the proceedings on the Table of the House, but the hon. Member is at liberty to see it if he wishes.

MR. CATHCART WASON: Has there been any inquiry?

MR. LYTTLETON: Yes.

Crown Agents' Commission.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can now state the total business handled by the Crown Agents for the Colonies in the year 1903 (including loans), the total commission charged, and the separate total debited and commission charged to each colony and protectorate.

MR. LYTTLETON: The information for which my hon. friend asks was promised in the Answer which I gave to his Question on the 12th April.‡ A statement giving the information is in course of preparation, but as very large masses of figures have to be dealt with, it will not be ready for a few days. Meanwhile, as it will be impossible to give so lengthy and complicated a document in the form of an oral reply to a Question, I would suggest to my hon. friend that he should move for it as a Return.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman is willing to give a Return for previous years?

MR. LYTTLETON: The labour is very great, and I am willing to give a Return for a reasonable number of years, say three or five.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Let it be a quinquennial period.

Smuggling of Arms on the Arabian Coast.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the President of the

Board of Trade whether inquiries are being made as to the places of origin, shipment, and intended destination of a number of rifles found amongst bags of rice at Makalen, on the south-east coast of Arabia, recently seized there by the Indian marine steamer "Dalhousie."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have no information as to a seizure of arms at Makalla by the "Dalhousie," except what I have seen in the newspapers. The Government of India will be asked to furnish a report.

Coopers Hill Engineering College.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has arrived at any decision on the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire as to the necessity or otherwise of maintaining any longer the Royal Indian Engineering College at Coopers Hill; whether his Council is unanimously in favour of continuing it, or any members dissent; and whether, if it is decided to maintain the institution, will he issue instructions for the entire removal of the restrictions which at present limit the admission of the natives of India to the college and their full enjoyment of its privileges.

MR. BRODRICK: I propose shortly to lay Papers on the Table relating to the question of the further maintenance of Coopers Hill College, including the Report of the Committee which sat last year. In consequence of the strong recommendation of that Committee and the evidence brought before them that efficient candidates for the Public Works Department in India can be provided by other engineering colleges at a less cost to the candidates and to the Indian Government, it has been decided to close the college. No decision, however, has yet been arrived at as to the date of closing, and all possible consideration will be shown to those concerned.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE: Did any members of the Council dissent from the decision?

MR. BRODRICK was understood to reply in the negative.

† See (4) *Debates*, ciii., 40.

‡ See page 18.

Tweedmouth Committee and Sorters' Duties.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that certain of the Tweedmouth Committee's recommendations have not yet been carried into effect, inasmuch as there are now over one hundred sorters' duties in the East Central Office alone which involve not only a split attendance but also a performance of more than sixteen hours in forty-eight; and whether steps will be taken at an early date to alter these attendances in accordance with the Committee's recommendations.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I am aware that there are such duties as the hon. Member describes, but they occur on Friday only—being necessary for the despatch of the heavy foreign and colonial mails on that day. It is not practicable at present to abolish those split duties altogether, but every effort is made to reduce them as opportunity permits, in accordance with the recommendation of the Tweedmouth Committee. The officers who perform duties occupying more than sixteen hours in forty-eight have the privilege of counting each hour in excess of sixteen as an hour and a quarter towards the total of their week's attendance, as provided under the Tweedmouth scheme.

Post Office Windows—Objectionable Publications.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the Post Office, 61, Trafalgar Road, Greenwich, displays in its window certain publications reflecting upon Roman Catholics; and, if so, whether he will take steps to ensure their removal. In putting the Question the hon. Member complained that the word "Roman" had been interpolated in it, and asked who was responsible.

*** MR. SPEAKER:** I do not know, but I will make inquiries.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I think it is a piece of gross impertinence.

*** MR. SPEAKER:** That is not a proper observation.

LORD STANLEY: As soon as attention was drawn to the matter it was pointed out to the sub-postmistress (who is a stationer) that the exhibition of the publications referred to was undesirable in a shop connected with the Post Office, and she at once withdrew them.

Transit Facilities at North Wall Station, Dublin.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether any complaint has recently been made to his Department as to the inadequacy of the transit facilities at the North Wall Station of the Midland Great Western Railway, Dublin, whereby quantities of goods are being delayed for days and their condition injured to the loss of both vendor and purchaser; and can he undertake to make any representation to the Railway and Canal Commissioners on this subject with a view to some action being taken in the public interest.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): No complaints appear to have been recently received of the inadequacy of transit facilities at the station referred to. If ground for complaint exists it is for the parties aggrieved to make application for remedy to the Railway and Canal Commissioners. I will, however, consider, if particulars are furnished to the Board of Trade at the instance of the hon. Member by any trader who has been injured, whether the matter is one on which the Department could usefully communicate with the railway company concerned.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: With reference to the latter part of the Question, is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that application to the Railway and Canal Commission is a most costly process which small traders in Ireland really cannot undertake?

[No answer was returned.]

Glyn-Traian National School, Denbighshire.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the draft final order suggested in the case of

the Glyn-Traian (Pontfadog) National School, Denbighshire, is in accordance with the terms of the later trust deed governing such school; whether the Board has decided to accede to the application of the inhabitants for a local inquiry for the purpose of investigating the matter; and, if so, whether he can state when such inquiry will be held.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board have now examined both trust deeds. The later trust deed is unusual in character and not altogether consistent in its provisions. If both parts of the schools are to be comprised in a single order, some amendment of the draft order already issued is necessary. The Board will direct a local inquiry to be held as soon as the pressure of work permits. I may take this opportunity of stating that the Board are carefully considering the objections received to draft final orders for schools in Wales, and are in communication with local authorities on the subject with a view to holding inquiries where it is necessary to do so before the confirmation of an order. A series of such inquiries is now being arranged in Carnarvonshire.

London Voluntary Schools' Managers.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the Board is satisfied that the London County Council and the London borough councils, respectively, have appointed their shares of the managers of the voluntary schools; and, if not, whether he will advise the Board to delay the operation of Part III. of the Act until these appointments have been made.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The Board have no reason to suppose that either the County Council or the borough councils will find any difficulty in making the appointments in question; under these circumstances there seems no reason for postponing the operation of Part III. of the Act.

London Education Act—Section 2.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education

whether the Board have appointed a date later than 1st May for Section 2 (1) of the Education (London) Act, to come into operation; and whether he will state the reasons for agreeing to the putting of the rest of the Act into operation before the borough councils are able to take their appointed share in its administration.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The Board of Education see no reason for postponing the appointed day for the operation of the rest of the London Education Act. The County Council have expressed no desire for such postponement.

London Education Act—Section 7.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that the Education Committee of the London County Council has reported to the Council that, owing to the shortness of time at the disposal of the Council, it is obviously impossible for the Council to satisfy itself before 1st May that the conditions specified in Section 7 are being complied with; and, if so, will he therefore advise the Board of Education to appoint a later date for this portion of the Act, so that the London County Council may have all the time they need.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: It is not usually possible for a local education authority to satisfy themselves before the appointed day as to the fulfilment of the conditions specified in Section 7, nor have local authorities the legal right to make all the investigations which may be necessary for this purpose. No local authority is required to maintain a school which does not come within the definition of a public elementary school on the appointed day. Under these circumstances there seems no reason for my offering the advice suggested.

London Education Act—Grouping of Provided Schools.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that the Education Committee of the London County Council reported to the Council on 13th April

that, having regard to the shortness of the time now remaining before 1st May, it appears probable that the Board of Education will have no other course open than to appoint a different date for the coming into operation of the Act as regards the grouping of provided schools and the appointment of managers therefor; and whether he is aware that on 20th April the Committee reported that the Board of Education had postponed the date; and, if so, will he say whether this step was taken by the Board of Education at the request of the London County Council.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The Board have every reason to believe that the statements contained in the first part of the Question are correct, and as regards the last paragraph, the Board have no reason to doubt that the London County Council approves the step taken.

The Licensing Bill.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the phrase "the persons interested in the licensed premises," for whom it is proposed to provide due compensation under the Licensing Bill, is intended to include barmen, barmaids, and other employees in licensed houses.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's):** No, Sir. I do not think that the servants employed in licensed premises can be said, in the ordinary sense of the words, to be "interested" in those premises.

DR. MACNAMARA: Then if these unfortunate people lose their occupation through the extinction of licences for which the owners are to be paid, they will have no compensation.

***MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS:** They would be in exactly the same position as employees in a building taken for public purposes.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): Does that apply to the servant of a brewery company which holds a licence?

***MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS:** I cannot debate the point here, but if the hon. Member will put down a Question I shall be delighted to answer it.

English Trawlers under the Norwegian Flag.

CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrew's Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that many of the 170 trawlers of Scandinavian origin, stated to have been observed fishing in the Moray Firth in 1903, are in reality English trawlers registered and fishing under the Norwegian flag; and whether he will cause inquiries to be made with a view to putting a stop to these practices.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): I am aware that certain trawlers, about twelve in number, flying the Scandinavian flag have been repeatedly observed fishing in the protected waters of the Moray Firth in 1903; also that these boats are said to be only *pro forma* of Norwegian origin. Inquiries have been made, and are still being made, about these boats, and the Foreign Office are in communication with His Majesty's representatives at Christiania on the subject.

Telephonic Communication between Dublin and Galway.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether any, and, if so, what arrangements are being made for the establishment of a telephone trunk line between Dublin and Galway.

LORD STANLEY: The construction of a circuit connecting Galway with the general telephone system of the country would be very expensive, and I fear it could not be undertaken except under guarantee. Neither the Galway County Council nor the National Telephone Company have yet seen their way to give the requisite guarantee; but I am making further inquiry on the subject, and if any practical scheme can be arranged I will let the hon. Member know.

Cost of Extra Police in Ireland.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he can

state under what Statute the county councils are called upon to pay for extra police; whether such demands can be enforced; and whether any penalty attaches to a refusal to pay or to an incitement to refuse to pay.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The Statutes are: the 6 & 7 Will. IV., cap. 13; 2 & 3 Vic., cap. 75; 9 & 10 Vic., cap. 97; 11 & 12 Vic., cap. 72; 29 & 30 Vic., cap. 103; 37 & 38 Vic., cap. 80; and Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. If the hon. Member will look into these Acts he will find all the information he requires. Several modes exist by which these bodies can be compelled to fulfil their legal obligations.

***MR. LONSDALE** (Armagh, Mid): Arising out of that Question I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not a fact that a claim was made on the City of Limerick for extra police; that the Corporation refused to pay the charge, and that subsequently the claim was withdrawn.

MR. ATKINSON was understood to reply that the cases were not the same.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the hon. Member for Mid Armagh has incited the Armagh County Council not to pay.

MR. DELANY: And what is the penalty for such incitement?

MR. ATKINSON: It depends on the nature of the incitement whether there is any penalty.

***MR. LONSDALE**: I deny that I have incited the Armagh or any other county council to commit an illegal act. I should like to know if it is in order for an hon. Member to make such a charge.

***MR. SPEAKER**: I did not hear any such charge.

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to state whether any attempt was made by the Estates Commissioners to acquire the Cusack (county Longford) Estate for the settlement of the evicted tenants' applications in county Longford; whether he is aware that the block of land recently offered for sale would have given twenty-three families a farm of twenty acres each; and whether, if the matter of this sale has not been definitely closed, steps will be now taken in this direction.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): So far as the Estates Commissioners are aware, there are not, at present, any untenanted lands on this estate. Application was made to the Commissioners to purchase a portion of the property comprising some 388 acres, heretofore let to grazing tenants, and proposed to be sold to the latter under Land Court tenancies. Amongst the proposed purchasers were four evicted tenants or their representatives. The Commissioners refused, however, to regard this portion of the property as an estate, and are now considering the question of the advisability of issuing a request for the purchase of the entire property under the 7th Section of the Act of 1903.

Galway Docks.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the closing of the entrance to the docks at Galway by the accumulation of sand and the consequent loss to business and interference with shipping, he can say when a dredger will be available and lent to the Harbour Board of Galway.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The Commissioners of Public Works have, at present, no dredger which could be placed at the disposal of the Harbour Board, on loan or hire. On the subject of the provision of a dredger, I would refer to the reply given on the 28th March† by my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary to a Question addressed to him by the hon. Member for South Kerry. To that reply I have nothing to add.

† See (4) *Debates.*, cxxii., 848.

Tredennick Estate, County Donegal.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what explanation can be given of the fact that, notwithstanding the possession by the Congested Districts Board for upwards of three years of two grass farms on the C. I. Tredennick Estate, St. John's Point, county Donegal, no steps have been taken to divide these farms into suitable plots for the fishermen who now hold no land, and to build houses on them for these fishermen, who are ready to pay a reasonable price for such houses, but that, on the contrary, grazing cattle are taken on these grass ranches; whether he is aware that, at a specially convened branch of the Killaghtee branch of the United Irish League held on the 17th instant, a resolution was unanimously carried and directed to be forwarded to the Congested Districts Board, protesting against the continued inaction of that Board in not applotting the Tredennick grass farms among the fishermen of St. John's Point, and the posting up of notices that grazing cattle will be taken on these lands on the 21st instant; what reply has been sent by the Congested Districts Board to that communication; and, having regard to the delay in applotting these farms and the discontent produced by that delay, what course does the Congested Districts Board propose to adopt.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The works originally contemplated by the Congested Districts Board were postponed in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining labour at the usual rates. The Board will shortly be in a position, however, to undertake the works, but in the meantime they have decided that the lands must be grazed. A reply to this effect has been sent to the communication referred to in the Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentlemen aware that the public in the locality have decided that the lands shall not be grazed?

[The answer was inaudible.]

Youghal Bay Salmon Fisheries.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that hardship will be inflicted upon 120 fishermen of Youghal, county Cork, and their families, in consequence of a notice served upon them by the agent of the Lismore Estates to the effect that their licences will be extinguished next year unless they cease to fish for salmon in Youghal Bay for twenty-four days, namely, from 18th April to 12th May; and whether, in view of the fact that these fishermen are duly licensed by the conservators, steps will be taken to prevent them from being deprived of their means of livelihood for such a lengthened period.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): After several years of litigation, the Duke of Devonshire established his title to several fishery rights in the River Blackwater, and of course has the right to give or withhold permission to fish within the limits of the fishery. The licence granted by the conservators is in the nature of a game licence; it does not entitle the licensee, however, to invade private property. The answer to the concluding inquiry is in the negative.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that these poor fishermen are to be deprived of their livelihood—

***MR. SPEAKER:** Order, order!

CAPTAIN DONELAN: In order that there may be good sport for the King?

***MR. SPEAKER:** Order, order! It is not in order for the hon. Member to persist in standing when I have called him to order.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is it disorderly, Mr. Speaker, to expose injustice even though the King is concerned?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: You can wire that to the King.

Lough Corrib Toll Collector.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is

aware that Daniel Sweeney, who for over twenty years was lock keeper and toll collector at Lough Corrib and who retired in October, 1899, was refused a pension or retiring gratuity by the Board of Works under whom he acted through the Navigation Trustees; and, if so, whether he will request the Board of Works to reconsider this decision.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): Daniel Sweeney was not in the employment of the Board of Works, and could not therefore be recommended by that Board for a pension or gratuity.

Irish Bills.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is intended to take the Second Reading of the Irish Land Act Amendment Bill and the Irish Labourers' Bill.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am afraid I am not in a position at present to name a day for taking the Bills referred to by the hon. Member.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Will they be taken before Whitsuntide?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the prospect is such that it is likely to be possible.

Civil Servants and Party Politics.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to the recommendation to the Unionist electors of the constituency of West Down of a candidate for the Parliamentary representation of that constituency at the next general election by the Deputy-Master of the Mint; and whether it is in consonance with practice and the rules regulating the conduct of members of the Civil Service, that a permanent official in that Civil Service should take action of this character in Party politics; and what course, if any, does the Executive Government propose to take with reference to this case.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the intervention of the Deputy-Master of the Mint in the affairs of West Down has operated—

***MR. SPEAKER**: Order, order! The hon. Member had better await the reply to the Question on the Paper.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that at a meeting in the constituency to which the hon. Gentleman refers there was a reference made to the opinion of the Deputy-Master of the Mint as to the candidate whom it would be desirable to select. I also understand that this statement attributed to the Deputy-Master of the Mint was based upon a casual conversation held in a railway carriage some months before, and was entirely unauthorised by the gentleman in question. I am as anxious as any hon. Member of this House to keep the Civil Service outside the sphere of controversial politics, but I imagine the hon. Gentleman who put the Question and every man will agree that we cannot pursue Civil Servants into clubs and railway carriages.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will you ask Mr. Macartney to be more careful in future?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Is not this matter regulated by a Treasury Minute? Could not that be re-issued?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There appears to be nothing in this charge. Every Civil Servant of course is acquainted with the Minute, which does not refer to casual conversations in railway carriages or clubs.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the action of the Deputy-Master of the Mint has operated to the detriment of a Member of this House, the hon. Member for Oswestry, who was recommended for the same constituency.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Inasmuch as Mr. Macartney says he has been misrepresented, why did he not contradict

the statement when it appeared in the public Press?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! How can the First Lord of the Treasury answer such a Question? The hon. Member must choose some other opportunity to raise this question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he has any further statement to make about business?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As the House knows, the first Votes of Class I. of the Civil Service Estimates to be taken to-morrow are the Vote for the House of Commons Buildings, and the Vote for Harbours of Refuge, after which the remaining Votes will be taken in their regular order. On Monday I propose to ask the House to take the Second Reading of the Scotch Education Bill, on Tuesday the Valuation Bill, and on Wednesday the Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman expect to conclude the present stage of the Budget proposals to-night?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I quite anticipate doing that.

WAYS AND MEANS [19TH APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment proposed [26th April] to First Resolution, "That, in lieu of the duty of Customs now payable on tea, there shall be charged, on and after the 20th day of April, 1904, until the first day of August, 1905, the following duty (that is to say):—

Tea, the pound . . . Eight pence."—

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out the words 'Eight pence,' and insert the words 'Six pence.'"—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words 'Eightpence' stand part of the said Resolution."

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said that at twelve o'clock on the previous night, when under the Rules of the House the debate stood adjourned, he was referring to the great hardships which would be suffered by people in his own constituency in consequence of the increased duty on tea, and he had referred to the hundreds of thousands of struggling widows, sempstresses, young girls, and others employed in various occupations at small wages who would be prejudiced by this additional burden. These people, it ought to be remembered, lived to a very large extent on bread and tea, and therefore this extra duty on tea was nothing else than a cruel tax. He had pointed out that poor people were in the habit of buying their tea by the ounce, for which they had to pay a penny, and if they were still to obtain tea of the same quality the price would necessarily go up to five farthings. Now, it was not likely that they would be able to pay that increased price, and the result would be that they would have palmed off upon them an inferior quality of tea. Their duty was to encourage people to drink a better quality of tea, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to do all he could to prevent the common tea coming into the market, because it was a well-known fact that bad tea had a most injurious effect. In the Highlands, especially, it was the custom to keep the teapot all day long in the midst of burning peats, and the result of having a commoner quality of tea would be that the tannin would be extracted to the utmost grain to the injury of the digestive organs of those who consumed the liquor. He was afraid the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew practically nothing about the miseries of the poor. He did not understand what it was to have a family treasury without a penny in it. He could not realise what a gift of a penny or twopence represented to some families, and how they looked upon it as a god-send. Supposing they suddenly came into possession of twopence, what occurred? The little boy who was fleetest of foot was at once despatched to the local grocery store to get a halfpenny-worth of tea or a pennyworth of bread, while possibly the other halfpenny had to be spent on a candle. Could the right

hon. Gentleman appreciate what life was under such circumstances ?

There was another class of people who were likely to be injuriously affected by this additional duty, the working men who, in the very early hours of the morning, were accustomed to get a cup of tea at the stalls in the street on their way to work. He had himself personal experience of what occurred at these stalls, and he knew how much a good cup of tea was appreciated by the men. He feared, however, that under the new conditions the stall-keepers would be forced to provide tea of a commoner quality, with the effect that the men's digestive organs would suffer, and that they would be driven to the public-house to purchase spirits in order to get rid of the bad effects. He wished the Chancellor of the Exchequer would extend his sympathies to the suffering poor, that he would endeavour to gain some personal experience of how the poor lived, and he was sure that, if he would undertake that, he would seek other means of raising the revenue he desired, either by taxing the deer forests, the salmon fisheries, land values, etc., whence he could, if he liked, obtain millions of money.

He thought that the remark made by the right hon. Gentleman in his Budget speech about the people being "saturated" with tea was an extremely unkind one. Why had the right hon. Gentleman not referred to the fact that the monied classes were "saturated" with champagne, old port, and costly liqueurs. They did not want to drive the poor people to the public-house, but undoubtedly that would be the effect if they forced them to drink bad tea. What they should do was to encourage the cultivation of the better classes of tea. He wanted to see the common teas which were grown in the lower latitudes forced out of use. It was better to have the tea from the Darjeeling district of the Himalayas. In that region tea cultivation was rapidly extending towards the Sikkim frontier. Large estates had been laid out in these districts, and it was a well-known fact that teas grown in the lower latitudes were coarse and most injurious to the stomach and digestive organs of those who drank them.

Mr. Weir,

He was not ashamed to state his personal experience in the consumption of tea. When he was a lad of fifteen he was in lodgings in the country earning but a few shillings a week, and he allowed himself half-an-ounce of tea per week and two ounces of coffee. That went on for four months. At that time tea cost 4s. a lb., and there was a high duty upon it. Had the duty been lower he would have been able to double or treble his allowance, but, as it was, he had to be careful of his bawbees—he wanted to save money, and therefore he punished himself in the matter of tea. On the previous night he had reminded the right hon. Gentleman how the people in his own constituency were likely to suffer from the increased duty. Many thousands there depended for their dinner on salt herrings and potatoes, and they necessarily required something with which to wash down their meal. They were in the habit of drinking tea, but if they were forced to pay this additional duty the tea which they would have to consume would do them more harm than good.

There was another point from which this matter might be reviewed. Many millions had been invested in tea estates in India and Ceylon, and what an injustice was being inflicted on those who had invested their capital by injuring their industry through putting on this increased duty. He himself was neither share nor debenture holder in any of these tea estates, but he quite sympathised with the shareholders. He would like also to draw attention to the fact that the Indian financial statement recently published in Calcutta had declared that the trade with Great Britain had not made the progress it might have been expected to do simply because of the heavy duty on tea. So much for the state of matters in India. Large public meetings have been held in Calcutta to protest against the imposition of this extra duty on tea, and he hoped the Viceroy, who always considered these matters very carefully himself and did not leave them to his subordinates, would let the India Office know his views upon this question. There was a very strong feeling against this tax in India, and they ought in this matter to pay some regard to the extreme poverty of that country. The vast majority of the people of India

had to live on three farthings a day. Instead of checking a great industry in this way India needed more industries and then she would flourish. To impose a tax upon a great industry in this way was not the way to build up an Empire, but it was, on the contrary, striking a blow at the pioneers of the tea industry who had spent £30,000,000 in India and Ceylon. That was not the manner in which this great Empire had been built up. They ought to do all they could to promote the welfare of all their colonies. If the tax on tea was taken off that industry India would flourish and the people there would be happier; and in course of time India would produce a better quality of tea, and less of that vile, black, soupy rubbish would be sold as tea which was so injurious to the health of the poor.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS. (Glasgow, Camlachie) agreed that there were difficulties in regard to this tax, but he thought it would be admitted that there were difficulties in regard to the imposition of any form of taxation. In saying a few words in defence of this tax he hoped it would not be supposed that he was wanting in sympathy for that large class of the population upon whom this tax would fall most heavily. He also sympathised with the right hon. Gentleman who had had the wisdom and courage to bring forward a most unpopular tax, but which, in his opinion, was well conceived in the interests of the finances of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had been placed in circumstances of enormous difficulty in bringing in his Budget. During the past twelve months a state of depression had existed in all our principal industries, agriculture had suffered a great loss through a bad harvest, the cotton industry had been in a state of collapse, the shipping industry was depressed, and the working classes had been greatly affected by the war. Under these circumstances the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to decide whether he was to propose a new tax or increase the old taxes. If he had proposed a new tax there would have been a great cry out and the difficulty would have been infinitely increased. Therefore he complimented the right hon. Gentleman upon

the prudence he had shown in increasing this tax.

He wished to point out that those who had opposed this tax had made no serious attempt to suggest an alternative tax. Hon. Members opposite spoke as if the income-tax was intended only for the wealthy, but they must be aware that the great bulk of income-tax payers were poor persons. The great majority of income-tax payers were professional men, clergymen, clerks, and widows, with fixed salaries and incomes, and hon. Members should remember that a tax of 1s. in the £ upon all these people was 5 per cent. upon their entire receipts. The average consumption of tea per head of the population was 6lbs., so that the average individual would only pay 1s. a year in consequence of this extra tax. In a family of five that meant a payment of 5s. a year, or little more than 1d. per week. He did not think any working man was unable to pay that amount. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was to be congratulated on imposing this addition to the tax so as to put the revenue derived from direct and indirect taxation on the same percentages as prevailed before the war. There were one or two considerations which showed that tea was a singularly fortunate choice in connection with the raising of the revenue required. The price of tea was much cheaper than it was a few years ago when there was no tax on it at all. Tea had gone steadily down in price, and he did not think the proposed imposition would be felt at all. It was an article which could be taxed without doing injury to any particular industry. That was a great advantage. It was said that one advantage of a direct tax was that the payer knew of it. Here was an indirect tax, and the consumer of tea would know about it, because he would have to pay 2d. per lb. more, and, as a consequence, he would be induced to take a keener interest in watching national expenditure, and in public affairs generally.

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) said the hon. Member for Camlachie had challenged them to suggest what they would tax instead of tea. He could, of course,

only speak for himself, and he would suggest that there should be more economy in the public service. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member who the other day said "*Magnum vectigal est parsimonia.*" Allowing that the present taxation was necessary, he thought that as between the taxing of tea and the taxing of something else there was a strong case made out for some other form of taxation. An additional penny on the income-tax would have been a less evil than this additional taxation of tea. He appreciated all the arguments against increasing the income-tax. He thought that a high income-tax or at least a sudden increase of the income-tax tended to make wealthy people diminish their savings, and, of course, if there was less saving that must react on the poor as much as on the rich. He did not argue for a high income-tax as being good in itself. Quite the opposite. Last year £10,000,000 was taken off the income-tax and only £2,500,000 off indirect taxation. From the standpoint of last year if, twopence were added to the income-tax this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have taken off as much direct as indirect taxation. There was one other reason why he thought the income-tax was valuable. It was more difficult to find out who had the real political power in this country than to trace out the incidence of taxation, but he thought the real political power in this country lay with the middle class rather than any other. If that was the case he believed it was necessary to bring the middle class to feel that they had to pay, and to make them dissatisfied with the expenditure if they were going to reintroduce the old spirit of economy from which they had so much departed. For that reason it would have been better to increase the income-tax by another penny rather than add to the enormous taxation on tea.

They would now be taxing tea to the tune of 100 per cent. of its untaxed value. That was far too great a burden of taxation on the one luxury of the very poor. He thought it would lead to deterioration of quality and do great harm in that way. His hon. friend the Member for West Islington

Mr. Emmott.

had handed him two telegrams received from Manchester stating what was thought of the new taxation by men in the tea trade. One said—

"Manchester tea trade disgusted with additional duty. Consider it outrage on Colonial trade, and poor."

The other telegram dealt with the question of which he had spoken—deterioration of quality. It said—

"Strongly support your resolution re tea duty. Wholesale dealers burdened in collecting Sixpence duty already very heavy. Trade disorganised in view of eightpence. Workers will be driven to use lower qualities."

He believed that lower qualities would go into use. He was told that the effect of the tax put on now was that the value of duty-paid tea had increased not 2d. but 2½d., and that there was a larger demand for the lower qualities. It had often been argued of late, and statistics had been brought forward to show, that when a tax was put upon an article the price was not always increased quite as much as the tax would suggest. But in the case of an article like tea that was very often due to the fact that a lower quality was used, and that the lower quality was worth less money. Therefore the incidence of the tax was hidden by that fact. When the taxation on such an article was increased there was always a tremendous effort made to produce an article which as far as possible looked like it at the same old price, and that could only be done by producing a lower quality. It was easy to push the argument too far that this fresh taxation would not diminish the consumption of tea. He was not sure that it would diminish the consumption for this reason. Tea had become almost a necessity for a great portion of the population, especially the poorer portion. If the same quantity of tea was consumed it was evident that less money would be available for other purposes such as furniture and clothing, and those trades would suffer rather than the tea trade itself.

One aspect of the question which appealed to him more powerfully than any other was the way in which the tax affected Ireland. That country was already over-taxed in proportion to her ability to pay. Ireland was essentially a tea-drinking country. He was told that the consumption of tea per head

was 8lbs per annum there as against a very little over 6lbs in the whole of the United Kingdom. Therefore this tax must press more heavily on Ireland than on any other portion of the United Kingdom. It was creating profound dissatisfaction in Ireland. He was sure he was speaking for hon. Members on both sides of the House when he said that they were all anxious to do what they could for Ireland although they saw Irish questions from a different standpoint. Last year they spent a good deal of time, usefully he thought, in passing a great measure with respect to the purchase of land in Ireland. Last year they were very generous to Ireland and they did appeal to Irish hearts, but by the imposition of this addition to the tea duty he thought they were undoing all that they had done. For the reasons he had stated he would certainly support the Amendment.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer wished to bring home to the people of the country the condition of national finance, he could not have devised a better device than the one which was now being debated. He did not see why they should have an addition to a tax of this kind in a state of profound peace. If any ordinary person found that he was spending more money than he received, he must reduce his expenses. The real remedy was more public economy. That was where the Government had failed. They had not enforced economy in the great spending Departments. He, for one, did not wish to diminish the amount of money spent on the Navy; and he was not prepared to say that we spent too much on the Army; but he said most emphatically that under the head of the Civil Service they spent enormous sums of money for which they received no return whatever. The Chancellor of the Exchequer resisted every proposal of hon. Members for reduction in that Department. The right hon. Gentleman always preferred the feeling of the permanent officials rather than the feeling of the general taxpayer; and that was what ought to be put an end to. Let him give an example of how money was wasted. A short time ago a Committee sat on the

Officials of the House of Lords. That Committee recommended that when a vacancy occurred in a certain office it should not be filled up. A vacancy did occur, but it had been filled up and a new official appointed at a salary of £900 a year. Surely that £900 a year ought to have been saved to the country. He did not think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to come to the House and ask for any additional taxation. He felt certain that the tea duty would be unpopular in this country, and it would be extremely unpopular in our great dependency of India and in Ceylon. He was one of those who wanted to extend trade within the Empire, but it was a rather curious way to do that by putting this tax on tea which would be felt so much in India and elsewhere. Strongly as he felt on this point he would have had great reluctance in giving a vote against the Government, but he knew that, whichever way he voted, there were on the opposite side of the House nineteen Gentlemen with warm and compassionate hearts who, if any emergency arose, would come to the assistance of the Government, and, therefore, he might go into the lobby against the tax perfectly regardless of the consequences.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down alleged that the real remedy for the constant complaints which were made in regard to this and every other tax was economy. Well, in the first place, he wished to point out that, although often urged, that doctrine had only recently met with any general acceptance. He remembered four or five years ago it was pointed out as an answer to that argument that really this country was very wealthy and why should we grudge spending public money? On both sides of the House and in the country the statement was made that we were a very rich people and ought to do things liberally. He was not one of the nineteen referred to by the hon. Member, nor was he going to pass an encomium on any Chancellor of the Exchequer. Having been for a good long time in the House, he thought that every Chancellor of the Exchequer, on both sides, had been entitled to complain that the influence of the House of

Commons had not been used to reduce expenditure, but to increase it. Everyone clamoured for this and the other thing on particular Votes; and then, when it was asked where retrenchment was to come in, they were unable to reply. The hon. Gentleman himself had given an illustration of that. He told the House that he would not support any diminution in the cost of the Navy. But the expenditure on the Navy had increased from £18,000,000 in 1895 to £42,000,000 in the present year. He said the same in regard to the Army, the cost of which had increased, quite apart from the war and military works, from £18,000,000 in 1895 to £30,000,000 in the present year. There was another charge which could not be diminished—that for the service of the Debt. But the hon. Gentleman was one of those who had contributed by his support of the Government policy to the immense increase on that charge. The Debt had now been increased by £159,000,000 more than it was five years ago; and who was responsible for that? Hon. Members on both sides of the House who supported the Government policy, and this ought to be repeated on every occasion until the country realised it. Somebody had to pay for it. Of course, all these taxes were objectionable. The income-tax, discussed the previous night, was as all the other taxes, except those which had a sumptuary result.

He sympathised with the hon. Gentleman in his opposition to the tea tax, which was the most cruel of all. It was a tax which pressed really upon the poorest of the poor in the community. It fell largely on poor widows with children, of whom there were a great many who were hardly able to find subsistence for themselves and their families, who had been left destitute and were unable to find work. Everybody felt for them and was sorry for them; and yet, on account of all this extravagance of the Government, the House had to impose taxation on all of these poor people. It was a most cruel tax. He contended that it would have been better to have put another penny on the income-tax, although that, too, would bear hardly on the middle classes. But by preference, although he did not wish to offer himself as a Chancellor of the

Sir Robert Reid.

Exchequer in Opposition, he thought it would have been better to have increased the scale of death duties. These could have been graduated so as to come upon the richer people. He would ask the question, "Did the bulk of hon. Members in the House of Commons really feel the pinch of taxation at this moment?" They did not. They might have to save a little less, or pay a trifle more for their luxuries; but they had no real suffering in consequence of taxation.

MR. COGHILL: We are not all ex-law officers of the Crown.

SIR ROBERT REID said that he did not think his observations were offered in a personal spirit, and he would say nothing in regard to the hon. Member's interruption. He said again, "Let us, each one of us, ask this question plainly: do we ourselves feel the pinch of this taxation?" He was taking the bulk of the Members of the House. He did not believe that any one of them would say that they did. But would any one say that no working man would feel it?

MR. COGHILL: I say so.

SIR ROBERT REID: The hon. Gentleman might say so, but he thought the bulk of hon. Members in the House would agree with him that, however necessary this tax might be in present circumstances, it was deplorable that it had to be imposed. Did not that rather point to this; that they were not imposing a fair class of taxation? Unless they stripped a man of the middle and upper classes of a great deal, they would not make him feel the pinch. There should be something more proposed to secure equality or parity of sacrifices in taxation than was done by this Budget. He thought it really came to this: that that could not be accomplished until they did two things. First, they must really observe economy, and not by merely taking one particular instance of extravagance, of which there were plenty, but economy through adopting a wiser and more judicious policy. Second, when they imposed taxation, they should see that it was done on a principle somewhat more corresponding to similarity of sacrifices between those who were well-off and those who were poor; and they should not discharge themselves of that duty which

was encumbent upon them of being just to all classes in the community.

***MR. WYLIE** (Dumbartonshire) said he wished to say a few words in support of the tea duty, which he thought one of the ablest features of the Budget. His right hon. friend who had just spoken had referred to the large expenditure on the Army and Navy; but he would remind him that a very large amount of that expenditure had been imposed upon this country by the action of other countries. Most hon. Gentlemen in their speeches had gone upon the assumption that tea was an absolute necessity of life—as much a necessity as bread. His contention was that it was essentially a luxury, and should not be regarded as a part of the diet of the people. He hoped his hon. friend opposite, who was such an admirer of tea, would not be shocked when he mentioned the fact that the component parts of tea were precisely similar to those of strychnine—only with a very little difference in their proportions. Strychnine killed by accelerating the motion of the heart to such an extent as to put it out of gear. The stimulus of tea accelerated the action of the heart in a gentler manner. Therefore, it was a very dangerous luxury and not a necessity and should be kept in its proper place. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the consumption of tea was increasing in this country, and that it was now four times as great as the consumption in either Belgium or the United States. The dietary of the country had been entirely revolutionised by the introduction of tea, sugar, and jam; and the good old simple dietary of another generation had been changed very much for the worse. In Scotland a very great deal of the strength of the people was derived from a superior diet of porridge and milk, broth, beef, and potatoes; but now, not only in Scotland, but also, according to the testimony of the Irish Members, in Ireland, that diet had been entirely changed and a very much inferior diet substituted. In some of the large towns in Scotland, at present, twenty tons of sugar were used as against one ton of oatmeal. The consumption of tea affected all classes of the community, especially ladies, who were probably more

susceptible to luxuries than the male sex. The ladies went in for a tea diet to an injurious extent; and he was afraid many members of the male sex were following their example. Many hon. Members had tea served in their bedrooms the first thing in the morning; and hon. Members had told him that they would rather lose anything else during the day than their five o'clock tea. That was shown by the number of hon. Members who left the House for the tea rooms in the afternoon even when an eloquent debate was in progress. He was sorry to admit that in his own country the working classes were now using an enormous quantity of tea. The old dietary had been abandoned, and the tea diet was affecting a revolution in the habits and digestions of the people. That applied not only to Scotland but also to England and Ireland. The hon. Member for Oldham stated that in Ireland among the working classes the consumption of tea amounted to 8lbs. per head per annum. He would strongly advise his Irish friends to devote a larger proportion of their influence to advocating the substitution of a diet other than tea, which was a most injurious luxury. The hon. Member for Connemara and his hon. friend the Member for Ross and Cromarty stated that the very poorest of the people indulged to a very large extent in a tea diet. They would be making much better use of their money if they spent it on the good old porridge and milk diet of Scotland. A tea diet had an injurious effect physically, and he was not sure that it had not also an injurious effect morally. On those grounds, therefore, he entirely approved of the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in deriving a considerable portion of his income from this deleterious stimulant, which he was sorry to hear eulogised, but which when examined in the light of testimony now available was shown to be injurious. He was quite sure that the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would meet with general approbation.

***MR. JOHN WILSON** (Durham, Mid.) said he did not very often interfere in Budget debates; but as a member of the Labour group he wished to say a few words on the question. He did not plead

guilty to the indictment framed by the hon. Member who had just spoken about taking tea in his bedroom in the morning. He had no time, and even if he had, he thought it would be an unwise proceeding. Neither did he agree with the dictum laid down by the hon. Member that tea was a poison, because he believed that the increase in the consumption of tea had resulted in prolonging life. At any rate, he had lived longer than he ever did before. Speaking from the Irish Benches, the bull might be excusable. He thought, however, he was corroborated by the experience of the country that life was longer than it ever had been before, even in the so-called good old days. The hon. Member for the Camlachie Division stated that many hon. Members spoke to the reporters. He did not speak to the reporters. He spoke because he knew something of the difficulty of getting half a pound or even a quarter of a pound of tea. He happened to know the homes of the people as intimately as any man, and that intimacy led him to think that this question should not be treated in the light manner in which it had been treated that afternoon. The hon. Member spoke of the depression in trade; he was stating an elementary economic truth when he stated that the prosperity of the country depended on the spending power of the poor, and that, therefore, whatever they did to restrict the spending power of the poor would interfere with the prosperity of the country. Twopence a pound did not appear a very large sum as an individual item; but taken in the aggregate, it was a very important matter to a working-class family. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken referred to the nineteen saviours of the Government last night. He was not one of them. He found himself in the Lobby where he generally found himself. He believed, in the language of Micawber, that if they spent a penny more than their income they were on the way to ruin, whereas if they spent a penny less they were on the way to prosperity. If they lived within their income, were not reckless in expenditure, and did not rush into rash proceedings, there would be no necessity to impose extra burdens of taxation. The hon. Member for the Camlachie Division spoke of the war; he congratulated him-

self that he was one of the men who dared to censure the war; and who, although he was maligned and called a traitor, had endeavoured to keep the country out of the war for which they were now paying.

There were two aspects of the question to which he wished to refer. One was the incidence of the tax and the other was the principle contained in it. As regards the incidence he only wished to say that it depended very largely upon the view they took of the position in which they stood when they spoke of the incidence of this or any other tax. The burthen was only heavy in proportion to the strength of the person who had to carry it. It was all very well to talk glibly, as some hon. Members had talked, about the tax being only 2d. a pound, but a pound of tea was a fiction in many working-class families in this country. The poor purchased their tea in very small quantities; and if they could buy a pound at a time the tax would not bear so heavily on them. Everyone who watched the process of taxation knew that beyond the tax itself the people had nearly always to pay an extra burthen. A man's ability to purchase an ounce of tea only was no disgrace to him. It was the circumstance of the wages he received that was the disgrace; it was the surroundings and the conditions among which he found himself that was the disgrace and not his spending power. Those who had only 15s. or 16s. a week coming in had probably to depend upon tea for their food. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had fixed his mind too much on the word "proportion." He had sat at the feet of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham in his Radical days and was a great disciple of the right hon. Gentleman. He had obtained all the great Radical truths from the teaching of the right hon. Gentleman, and he was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not dispute this right hon. Gentleman's authority. In a speech he made in 1885, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham dealt with a statement that in a village in Northamptonshire there were 120 people whose average income was 16s. on which they had taxation to the extent of 7½ per cent. This was

Mr. John Wilson.

astounding to the right hon. Member, who compared it with his own case. He found it difficult to estimate what he paid in taxation, because, as he said, a good deal of taxation was very successfully hidden, but he came to the conclusion that he could not pay more than 6 per cent. of his total income, and he said—

“I, with all my worldly advantages, pay 1½ per cent. less than is extracted from the scanty earnings of those poor peasants. I say it is unfair, and the sooner it is altered the better.”

The case of this village, the hon. Member pointed out, was not alone or singular, and with the increase there had been since 1885 in the sugar duty and the tea duty, this proportion had, he said, been widely altered to the disadvantage of the poor. He contended that there were other sources of taxation to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have turned his attention, and he again quoted the Member for West Birmingham as his authority. That hon. Member in 1885 said—

“Then there is the taxation of unoccupied land, of sporting land, of ground rents, and of mineral royalties. I advocate all these methods of taxation.”

These words, Mr. Wilson declared, were still sound in principle; they were true to the core, though politicians might have altered their political faith. These things ought to have been taxed before the tea of the poor people, but tea was, he supposed, the line of least resistance.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) agreed that this duty would bear heavily on the poor, but the money having been spent the nation must pay the bill; therefore, so long as the proposal was not in itself outrageous, and was more or less in accordance with established custom, he felt bound to support the tax. It was impossible not to sympathise with the hon. Member for the Ludlow Division who had presumed that another system of taxation was to be resorted to. Wicked though it might be, if it was possible to tax the foreigner it would be extremely difficult to withstand the temptation. But if a more reasonable frame of mind had been come to, if at last all believed that, as we had spent the money, we ourselves, and not the foreigner, must pay, the House ought to be thankful for small mercies and support the Budget as they found it. He

did not, however, consider the taxation altogether necessary, because he did not believe all the expenditure to be necessary. The expenditure on the Army, for instance, could be reduced by at least the amount that would be raised by this tea duty. He was supporting the tax this year, but he would find it impossible to do so another year, because there was being maintained for the defence of this country, and as an expeditionary force, a much larger number of men than was reasonable or necessary. This contention had frequently been urged, but no signs of reduction could be seen. To enable such a reduction to be made, it was absolutely essential that the Volunteer force should be fostered and maintained. The danger most to be feared was that in time of peace a reduction of the Regular Army might be decided upon, and then in a time of panic expenditure on a far larger scale incurred. It was mainly because that had been done before that this extra 2d. on tea was rendered necessary. Therefore, while he urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to endeavour to secure reduction in Army expenditure, he begged him to see that the one guarantee against panic, viz., the maintenance of a proper spirit of military responsibility amongst the masses of the people, was not impaired.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire) said that one good effect of the debate was that it had induced the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make the clear declaration that taxation of the character of the tea duty fell upon, not the producer, but the consumer, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would remember the point if at any time in the future a re-imposition of the corn duty was suggested. It was necessary in this matter to remember the history of direct and indirect taxation, especially in relation to the landed interest. The basis upon which the landed interest acquired the land was through undertaking to bear the whole cost of national defence.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now entering upon a point which is extremely remote from the Resolution before the House.

MR. BLACK said his object was to call attention to the disproportion already existing between indirect and direct taxation, and to the intention of the Government still further to increase that disproportion to the injury of the indirect taxpayer. By degrees the burden of taxation had been thrown off the landed interest on to the shoulders of the people, and a continuation of that process could be seen in the Budget proposals of the present year. In 1902-3, the high-water period of the war, the amount raised by indirect taxation was £66,500,000; this year it was £67,950,000, an increase of £1,450,000, and in the same period, the amount of direct taxation had been reduced from £59,300,000 to £53,200,000, a decrease of £6,100,000. In the face of those figures, how could the Chancellor of the Exchequer claim to have restored the two classes of taxation to a position of equality? Whatever differences of opinion there might be as to the incidence of direct and indirect taxation, it could not be disputed that the poorer classes of the community bore practically the whole burden of indirect taxation, and yet, after a period of abnormal prosperity and in a time of peace, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was piling up the burden of the indirect and lightening that of the direct taxpayer. Throughout their career the present Government had entirely ignored the question of the taxable margin, their idea apparently being that the minimum wage in the country was £2,000 a year. It might be asked what alternatives there were to the present proposals. He would suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should obtain payment of the £30,000,000 due from the Transvaal, or, if that were impossible, that the interest on the money should be secured. That would, at any rate, yield £1,000,000, which might be applied to the reduction of taxation. Another possible course was to obtain from the Colonies a fair contribution towards the cost of Imperial defence. No less than £8,000,000 of the increase in our military expenditure was due to the number of troops that were scattered about the Empire outside India. He hoped the Government would see their way to adopt one of these suggestions.

*MR. MURNAGHAN (Tyrone, Mid) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to have ranged over all possible subjects of taxation and to have selected the one which bore hardest on the people of Ireland. A Royal Commission had proved that Ireland already paid far in excess of her fair proportion, but instead of relieving that overburdened country the new Chancellor of the Exchequer was proposing to increase the tax on a staple article of subsistence among a large class of the people. The hon. Member for Dumbartonshire told them in one sentence that tea was poison, and in another that it was a luxury, and the only object of his speech seemed to be to make a soft bed for the right hon. Gentleman to lie down upon. Ireland was going to suffer very heavily by this extra duty upon tea. The average consumption of tea in Ireland was 8lbs. per head of the population, but in England and Scotland it was only 4 or 5lbs. per head. The result was that the greatest proportion of this tax would have to be paid by Ireland, which was the poorest, and was a country that never gave any encouragement to this vast expenditure for which this extra taxation was required.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That subject cannot be discussed on the question of the tea duty.

*MR. MURNAGHAN said there was a deficit in the Exchequer, and to meet it extra taxation had been placed upon tea; and he submitted that he had a right to say that in incurring all that expenditure Ireland did no share.

*MR. SPEAKER: That subject is not in order.

*MR. MURNAGHAN said it seemed to him that the line was drawn rather strictly in regard to some hon. Members but not in regard to others.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That observation is not in order. If the hon. Member does not think I am doing my duty he has his remedy.

*MR. MURNAGHAN said he would at once withdraw his remark as he had no idea whatever of being discourteous. It did seem to him that Irish Members had

a right to protest against a tax which they felt was a great injustice. The right hon. Gentleman might have taxed wines instead of tea, and there were many other commodities which he might have chosen and left tea alone. This tax upon tea was not a fair burden upon the Irish people, who paid far in excess of the proper proportion of the taxes of the United Kingdom, and the right hon. Gentleman did not use any sound argument when he put forward this proposal. The only reason given for imposing this tax was that it followed the line of least resistance. That might be so in Great Britain but it was not so in Ireland, and Irish Members would fail in their duty if they did not protest against, and take every means in their power to try to remove, an impost upon a commodity which the people of Ireland could hardly do without. Ireland had been looking forward to a remission and not an addition to taxation, and if any other commodity had been selected Ireland would have been affected less. If they had taxed maize or flour they would not have hurt Ireland so much. The Chancellor of the Exchequer knew that a tax upon cereals was a tender subject amongst those of his own political household likely to arouse opposition, and therefore he said, "I will go for tea because it is not a duty in regard to which the English and the Scotch take much interest, and as for the Irish they do not count." The resistance of the Irish Members might not count on this Budget but it would count upon other matters. It was an unfortunate day for Ireland when the right hon. Gentleman took it into his head to impose a duty of 33 per cent. upon an article which was mostly used by the people of Ireland. The result of this tax would be that the poor people of Ireland would consume an inferior quality of tea, for they could not afford to buy better tea. He was sorry that the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed no signs of giving way on this point, and he regretted the right hon. Gentleman could not make up his mind to withdraw this tax and put it upon some other article in less general use in the dietary of the Irish people. Tea, as far as Ireland was concerned, was not a fit subject for increased taxation, and he wished to enter a strong protest against it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) With the permission of the House I venture to appeal to hon. Members to bring this discussion to a close. This subject of tea has been fully discussed in all its aspects, and I think hon. Members are somewhat repeating what has already been said. The debate has been conducted in a good temper, and I appeal to the House to bring this discussion to a conclusion at the earliest possible moment.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I fully recognise the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman has intervened in this debate, but at the same time I do not think he is entitled to express any astonishment at all at the length to which this discussion has run, because this is a matter which vitally affects the comfort and health of the constituencies of hon. Members who have spoken. I think it is rather a remarkable circumstance that so many hon. Members from all parts of the three kingdoms have got up and given from their own personal knowledge and acquaintance so strong a testimony to the evil effect of this proposed duty. The right hon. Gentleman did not complain, but I think that any attempt, even by the moral effect of his interference, to stop the expression of this general opinion which is felt so strongly would be a mistake. The matter is of such importance in regard to this particular duty that I think the House may very well be left to itself to give expression to its strong feelings.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said he thought when the right hon. Gentleman rose he was going to ask the special leave of the House to reply to some of the observations which had been made. He did not think the speeches which had been made in regard to this tax deserved the sweeping condemnation passed upon them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer who spoke very early in the debate and since that time considerations had been laid before the House which he thought demanded some reply. After all, this was one of the most important proposals in the Budget. There were one or two points in connection with this question which he thought he might dwell upon.

It had been a source of satisfaction to many hon. Members that there had been from so many quarters in the House statements made in favour of economy. He and others had advocated that in dark as well as in bright days, and they rejoiced now to find support from unexpected quarters where they did not find it in past days. He would not make any reservations. Some had reserved the Army, others the Navy, and others had reserved both. An hon. Member had limited himself to the salaries of certain officials of the House of Lords. The tea duty pointed to the fact that during past years the country had been living beyond its means, and they must do as a nation what individuals had to do—cut their coat according to their cloth. They must cut down the great spending Departments, and he was prepared to vote against any of the additional taxes now proposed. He did so on perfectly logical grounds. Some of them had done their best to prevent the great increase of expenditure which had taken place. Their next line was to try to prevent the Government from being able to carry out what they believed to be pernicious and extravagant expenditure. He would vote against any other taxes that might be proposed to carry out what he believed to be a most pernicious policy which would tend only to the ultimate ruin of this country if long continued. He would certainly not follow the example of those who had made alternative proposals. That was not his business or that of any other Member of the House. What they had to do was to criticise the proposals of the Government. They were responsible for putting before the country the taxes which should be imposed, and prominent amongst them was the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

There was one aspect of the tea tax which had not been sufficiently dwelt upon. When the duty was raised from 4d. to 6d. in 1900 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol used these words—

"The extra 2d. is purely, in my opinion, an exceptional tax levied for the purpose of the present war."

The 2d. put on for the special and exceptional purpose of the war was not only not to be taken off but was being added to by another 2d. Yesterday

Mr. Buchanan.

they had from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a most important statement to the effect that, while he recognised that the additional spirit and beer duties were originally imposed for the purpose of the war, the permanent peace expenditure had so increased that they must be retained permanently as part of the financial system of the country to meet that expenditure. That was an absolute abandonment of all hope for this country that it would within a limited time—at any rate under the auspices of the present Government—get rid of any of the burdens imposed on it for the purposes of the war. In past years the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol and other Ministers had promised that when the war came to an end one of the first duties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be to survey the situation and endeavour to see by what means the additional burdens which had been placed on the people might be diminished, or taken off, if not within a single year, at any rate within a limited period. They had good reason to anticipate that this would have been done last year by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, and still more had they a right to expect it from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in the current year. But there was no attempt to do this at all. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone a step backward and told them that they must abandon the prospect of being able to do this in the immediate future, and must be content to consider the charges imposed as temporary war taxes as permanent peace taxes for time to come. He hoped the House would take note of this and see what they had been led into by the Government.

As to the economic side of the tea tax it could not be denied that the consumer would have to pay it. He had received a copy of a circular issued by a firm of tea dealers in which they drew the attention of their customers to the fact that the price would be increased 2d. per lb. on account of the additional duty imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As his hon. friend the Member for Durham had pointed out, the poorer classes in the country would have to pay more than the extra 2d., because they bought not a pound of tea at a time, but a pennyworth or twopennyworth. An inquiry made some

ears ago at the instance of Lord Goschen, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, showed that poor people who bought tea in such small quantities paid at the rate of 3s. 5d., 3s. 8d., and 3s. 9d. per lb. The estimate given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last night as to the yield of this tax seemed to him to be slightly sanguine. He did not say that the right hon. Gentleman's figures were wrong, but he gave the statistics in groups of periods of three years, pointing out that the consumption of tea per head per annum of the population in the last three years had gone up to 6·05 lbs. from 5·9 lbs. in the penultimate period of three years. That small increase for a period of six years naturally made him think that the consumption of tea was really still increasing. On referring to a table in the Report of the Commissioners of Customs giving the consumption of tea in the United Kingdom for the last ten years he found that the figures were:—In 1893, 208,000,000 lbs.; 1894, 214,000,000 lbs.; 1895, 221,000,000 lbs.; 1896, 227,000,000 lbs.; 1897, 231,000,000 lbs.; 1898, 235,000,000 lbs.; 1899, 242,000,000 lbs.; 1900, 249,000,000 lbs.; 1901, 255,000,000 lbs.; 1902, 254,000,000 lbs. The rate of the increase had begun to go down more than two years ago, and last year there was actually a small decrease. Therefore he thought the right hon. Gentleman was not entitled to lead the House to believe that the proceeds of this tax were in a buoyant position, that year after year we were consuming more tea, and that we might expect a continuously increasing return from the tax with the proposed increase. When Mr. Gladstone dealt with the tea duty in 1863 he reduced it from 1s. 5d. to 1s., and in 1865 from 1s. to 6d.; he contrasted the claims of sugar and tea, and practically decided in favour of tea because of the large proportion the tax on tea bore to the value of the commodity. If that was true then it was equally true now, because it brought it up to a great deal more than 100 per cent.

He had been disappointed that while the Chancellor of the Exchequer had without an effort put on a tax which affected the poorest of the poor, he had been somewhat slow and shy in endeavouring to hit one section of the community which ought to bear increased

taxation. That was not the well-to-do working classes, or the middle classes, but the richest of the rich. That was a distinct defect in his Budget. They were justified in comparing the easiness with which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to impose this tax on the poor, and the reluctance he showed the previous day even to consider the possibility of altering the incidence of the income-tax to make it bear on the richest of the rich. He thought that this tax had, to a certain degree, besides its economic aspect, also a political aspect. There was no doubt that the members of the richer classes certainly supported Gentlemen on the other side of the House, and that those who sat on his side of the House derived their support from the poorer classes of the community. Without elaborating that point at any great length, one could say that, at any rate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Ministry of which he was a member were not less willing to put their hands on this tax, because the incidence of it would not press on the majority of their own supporters. He would quote an authority which would be listened to with deference by the majority of the House, and especially by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Shortly after the Liberals had been defeated over Mr. Childers' Budget in 1885, which imposed extra beer and spirit duties, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, in a speech delivered at Holloway on 17th June, 1885, drew attention to the then position of affairs, and contrasted two sets of taxation as proposed by the Liberals and by the Conservatives. In that speech the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham used these words—

"The Tories have got £13,000,000 to find, and how are they going to do it? Sir M. Hicks Beach, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, told them that the Tories would pay their way. All I can say is that that is an entirely new departure in Conservative finance. But how are they going to pay their way? According to Sir M. Hicks Beach by raising a tax on tea. That is to say, he will spare the beer barrel and tax the teapot. He will relieve the Tory publican at the expense of the Radical teetotaler."

That put the political aspect of this question in a nutshell in much more forcible language than he could use.

*Mr. BARRAN (Leeds, N.) said that the House recently discussed the problem that a large number of children were being sent to school in such a physical condition that they could not gain the benefit of the education that was offered them. Now, this tax on tea would fall with a heavy weight on that particular portion of the population of our large cities whose children came to the schools unfed. In his speech the previous night the Chancellor of the Exchequer took exception that they, on that side of the House, had raised an objection not only to the tea tax, but to the tax on corn and sugar. There was no inconsistency in that. It appeared to him to be consistent. They were discussing the large question of taxes on articles which were absolutely necessary for that large class of the population for whom he spoke. It was not simply the question whether this extra 2d. on tea was to be added. If the taxes on tea and sugar could be taken away altogether it would materially alter the position of the whole working-class population. He did not lose sight of the fact that if these taxes were abolished altogether an enormous amount of revenue would be withdrawn from the Exchequer. But he would remind the House that had the normal rate of increase of taxation gone on in this country instead of an abnormal rate, it would have been quite possible to have relieved the people from all taxation on the necessaries of life within the last ten years. An hon. Member opposite had dealt, from a scientific point of view, with the question as to whether tea was a necessity of life or a luxury. He would not follow the hon. Gentleman in that argument; but the people had decided very emphatically that, in their opinion, tea was a necessary of life. Apart from that was it wise, as a matter of policy, that so large an amount of taxation should, in time of peace, be allowed to fall heavily on that part of the population which both sides of the House admitted should be enabled to live in more comfort than in the past; and, what was more important, should be enabled to send their children to school in a state to be physically and mentally developed? Whatever taxes might have to be levied otherwise, it

would be to the direct profit of the country to assist that class of children by reducing taxation on all the necessaries of life, so that there might be no danger of their physical deterioration.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he wished to express the great reluctance and deep regret with which he yielded to the necessity for this tax being imposed by His Majesty's Government. In the first place, everyone who had studied the social condition of the United Kingdom must have a strong objection to indirect taxation of every kind which was levied on the necessaries of life. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken expressed what he was sure was the opinion of every hon. Member, that nothing was more disadvantageous from a large Imperial point of view at the present moment than to attempt to increase the cost of the necessary food of the people of this country. Although a very large number of the people in this country were well and amply fed, there was a very large section of the people—the exact percentage, 30 per cent., 20 per cent., or 10 per cent., might be disputed—who were unable to provide their children with the nutrition necessary for them to go through the physical and mental instruction provided for them in the schools, and to enable them to develop into strong men and women capable of performing their part in the battle of life. Therefore, everyone who had any knowledge of the social condition of the people must feel the greatest reluctance in imposing any tax on any article of the food of the people. But in this case, the taxes upon food which now pressed upon the narrow means of the people were imposed for war purposes; the sugar duty was proposed for war purposes; the corn duty, which was taken off last year, was proposed for war purposes; and the additional duties on tobacco, beer, and spirits were also proposed professedly for war purposes. Now he thought it was a very good thing that the expense of the war should be felt by every class of the people of this country, that everyone should know that if the country indulged in the luxury of going to war it must be paid for by the denial of the conveniences, the comforts, and even the necessaries

fe. It was quite true that the war over; but the payment for the war not over. They still continued to for the war, and they would continue pay for it, directly or indirectly, for several years still to come. Therefore there some excuse for still keeping on the taxes, because the war was not yet over, and, until the cost of the war been paid, taxation could not be reduced. An hon. Member opposite said that the Irish Party were opposed to the tax, and that, therefore, it was rather odd that they should be called upon to pay for it. But as long as these countries were a United Kingdom they could not make a distinction between one part of and another, and as the majority of the people of the United Kingdom were in favour of the war, the United Kingdom as a whole would have to pay for it.

In the case of this particular tax on tea, the Government was unable to say whether the Government might not have found some other mode of raising the money, but, having decided to raise the money on tea, there were several peculiarities connected with the tax which were well worth the attention of the House. The first was, that it was a very great object lesson as to the effect produced throughout the country by taxation on one of the necessities of life. The price rose immediately; every grocer in the country put up the price of tea by the amount of the tax, and probably in the case of the retailers who sold tea by the ounce, the half ounce, by a great deal more than the tax, and that not only on the tea which would come into the country hereafter but on the tea which was in stock. What the mass of the people had to pay was not only the tax imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but a considerable profit which went into the pockets of the retailers. Another consequence which would naturally follow, and which the people of the country would no doubt appreciate, was that there would be a check on the consumption of tea. People would not be able to buy so much tea, and that would be a direct injury to the growers who were British subjects in our own dependencies. A few days ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham twitted an hon. Member

opposite because he stated that tea growers in India and Ceylon would be adversely affected. But it was perfectly obvious that an injury would be inflicted on both the consumer and the producer, because the consumer would have to pay a higher price for the article, and as regarded the producer because the market would be, to a certain extent, spoiled, and there would not be the same demand as if there had been no tax put on.

There was another consolation for putting on this tax, and that was that it would press so hardly on the people of the whole of the United Kingdom—Irishmen as well as Englishmen—that it would, he hoped, cause the people seriously to reflect how taxation of this kind could be avoided in time to come. It would be a hard and a cruel lesson for the people, but it would be a lesson; and he hoped that the people of the country would lay to heart the obvious reflection which they were always repeating in this House but never laying to heart, and that was that the only way to avoid taxation of this kind on the conveniences and necessities of the people was to direct the policy and conduct the affairs of the nation in such a way that such demands on the people would be no longer necessary. If they made up their minds that they were going to be a great military Empire, that they were going to have always a great force ready to strike at their enemies in any part of the world, they must pay for it. It was no use holding out to the people of the United Kingdom any prospect of economy if they were going to pursue a policy which would make a great military Empire of the British Empire of to-day. Let him not be denounced as a Little Englander. He claimed to be an Imperialist of the true sort, because he rejoiced over the extension of the influence of this country in the world. But he looked to the extension of that influence as more likely to result from a just, firm, and benevolent policy towards other nations than from a policy of maintaining soldiers and munitions of war by which force could be exercised against other nations. If this country was to have a small expenditure it must make up its mind to be a model Empire. He hoped

that the people of this country would consider between now and next year how the expenditure of the country could be brought within the means of the country without having to resort to taxation of this kind—taxation on corn, sugar, tea, and the other materials which the people of this country consumed, and on the cheapness of which their happiness, to a great extent, depended. The only way of doing that was for them to be content with defending themselves against foreign attack and with maintaining the Navy to preserve their shores from invasion, giving up the idea of keeping a striking force at enormous expenditure in order to intermeddle with affairs in other parts of the world. The great country which was their best ally and which was the product of their own people, the United States, did not keep a great striking force, but contented themselves with adequate provision for the defence of their own territory.

***MR. SPEAKER:** The right hon. Gentleman is now, I think, entering on topics which cannot be entered on on each Resolution. It may be that, when the whole scheme is before the House on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill, the question of excessive expenditure may be discussed, but on the tea duty it is impossible to allow a discussion on the whole policy which leads to expenditure.

SIR JOHN GORST said he strongly regretted having been betrayed into matters which he now saw were beside the Resolution. He would reserve any further remarks on the subject until the Second Reading of the Finance Bill, when no doubt they would be in order.

MR. J. P. FARREIL (Longford, N.) said the opposition of the Irish Members to this increase in the tax upon tea was based upon the Report of the Financial Relations Committee, which stated that Ireland was already over-taxed to the extent of some £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a year. The additional tax upon tea would add to that over-taxation some £300,000. It was a very grievous burden, and from that point of view he associated himself with everything which had been said in opposition to the imposition of this extra twopence. This

Sir John Gorst.

tax would inevitably lead, also, to the deterioration of tea. It was not the rich man who suffered, but the poor man; and he held strong opinions on this question of the adulteration of tea, for that was what it came to. The lunacy statistics of Ireland were a lamentable spectacle. When he occupied the position of a magistrate in Ireland he was frequently called upon to commit lunatics, and in most cases the doctors stated that the lunacy was due to the excessive use of tea, owing to the practice among the poor of having the teapot stewing on the fire all day long and extracting the tannin, which was a positive poison, from the tea. The poor people who had to live to a very large extent upon this product would naturally suffer, because the tea supplied would not be so good as before. He opposed this extra duty not only upon that ground but also on the ground that it was the result of a war to which the Irish people gave no countenance and for which, therefore, they should not be made to pay. This tax was a grave injustice to the poorest in Ireland.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) regretted that the right hon. Member for the Cambridge University was interrupted in his very interesting remarks with regard to the foreign policy of the Government, but was glad to hear of the right hon. Member's intention to revert to that subject on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill. The right hon. Gentleman was one whom he could welcome as a brother as his opinions were sound. But unfortunately, in common with other Members of the Party opposite, although his head was sound his legs were weak and his arguments did not carry him into the proper lobby. He warned the right hon. Gentleman and those who thought with him that they would never induce their own side to take up a policy which they advocated until they impressed on their leaders the fact that until they did they would not vote for them. One strong characteristic of hon. Gentlemen opposite was that they seemed to have a hatred of the word "free"; directly they heard of "free labour" it was "slavery," they would not hear of "free trade," and when a "free breakfast table" was spoken of would not listen. The tax

the breakfast table had been reduced under Liberal Administrations, but under a Government it had been continually added to, and if it was not now put a stop to where was it to end? They had added the sugar; they had taxed the tea; they would tax the cup into which the tea was poured and the spoon with which it was stirred. The Government seemed to be under the impression that they could mislead and hoodwink poor men to such an extent that they would be not only content but pleased at every tax put upon them, so long as they knew that the money was going to be spent; that they would say, "My tea is taxed, thank God. My sugar is taxed, thank God. Everything I have is taxed, thank God, because the Government is going to spend the money in running after Tibetans in Tibet or Mad Mullahs in Somaliland." That was a mistake; the English people could have no taxation of the commodities of the breakfast table.

What was the reason of this tax? The reason was that the Government, like a silly woman out shopping, wanted to buy two ships from the Chilean Government because they thought they had a bargain. The amount paid for those two ships just equalled the amount to be raised by this tax on tea. It was true that tea in this sense was not a necessity, but then great many things we used were not necessities. The clothes we wore in winter were not a necessity; the roof that covered us was not a necessity, we could perch in trees. All these things were comforts to which we had become so accustomed as to become necessary to our existence. Tea in that way had become a necessity. Let the House reflect how women enjoyed themselves over a cup of tea. In this House there was a special room called the tea room, to which hon. Members retired when debates were dull and cheered themselves up with a cup of tea. One hon. Member practically ascribed the fact of his being so useful and able a Member of this House to the effect of the tea he used to drink. Look at what the House might have lost! Moreover, if the tax on tea had been less, so that he could have purchased more, his hon. friend might have been—if it were possible—an even more useful and able Member. The extraordinary theory of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the consumption

of tea having reached saturation point had been effectively disposed of by the hon. Member for West Islington. To a large class of people who had to struggle for existence tea was a practical necessity, and a rise in the price must inevitably either diminish the quantity or lower the quality of the tea they were able to buy.

Advocates of the new fiscal creed contended that import duties fell on the producer. The tea duty would certainly not fall on the Chinese producer, for he could not produce more cheaply than at present, and if he lost his market it simply meant that land would have to go out of cultivation. The same was true of India. And this was from a Government who were supposed to be in favour of assisting the Colonies! Indirect taxes were a mean fraud on the community, because they enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to skin the people without their knowledge. He would like to see nothing but direct taxation, and that should begin where the struggle for existence ended. That was his idea of a sound fiscal system. The Liberal Party when in office might, certainly, have done better than their record proved to have been the case. This he would say—that if only a Radical Ministry were placed in office they would give Members such a Budget and such a scheme of finance as would surprise them. They would act on the principle so ably advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham—the principle of "ransom"; they would place the burden on the shoulders best able to bear it; they would effect economies, and do away with the wild and reckless foreign policy which rendered necessary the present huge armaments; and every farthing of taxation would be spent for the benefit of the people of this country. He was not ashamed to call himself a "Little Englander" and a parochial politician. A man could not go far wrong if he devoted himself as a legislator to the welfare of the 40,000,000 of people who inhabited this country, and whose interests would never be properly looked after until there was in power a sound Radical Government, who would bring in a system of Radical finance under which hon. Members opposite would simply writhe.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said the difference between many Members on the Government side of the House and Members of the Opposition was that the former, although they believed this tax to be far too high, were going to vote in favour of it, while the latter, with the same belief, were going to vote against it. The only way in which the expenditure of the country could be reduced was by voting in the House, and he hoped that Members on both sides would endeavour by that means to lessen the Estimates even in the present year. There was one branch of expenditure in regard to which many Members seemed absolutely afraid of suggesting any reduction. The word "Navy" was very like the blessed word "Mesopotamia," and immediately a reduction was moved on any Navy Vote Members ran like rabbits out of the House. It was high time this fear of words was discarded, and some real economy attempted. He hoped that if ever the Liberal Party got into power, and he supposed they would do some day, they would retain the love for economy, and that they would be reinforced by many Members on the other side of the House.

His main objection to the present tea duty was that it was a poll-tax on poverty. It was almost as much a capitation tax in its effect as that levied in the time of Wat Tyler, and everybody knew what happened then. He hoped the time would come when every taxpayer would be given a slip of paper containing a *résumé* of the Budget, so that they would know the amount they were paying and the objects for which it was required. If such a system had been in force he doubted whether any Chancellor of the Exchequer would have dared to propose this increase in the tea duty. The spirits and beer duties were not to be increased because they were alleged to have reached the limit of productiveness. But had not another limit been more than reached, viz., that of the productiveness and happiness of the very poor? A large class of the community were only just above the minimum of subsistence. The only charm political life possessed for him was the hope that he might be able to do something for those who were unable to help themselves, and the motive he

claimed for himself he freely conceded to all others. But what better way was there of helping these poor people than by laying as small a burden as possible upon them? Already the income-tax was graduated in regard to exemptions, and if it was right that incomes of less than £160 should escape that impost, why should not indirect taxation be so devised as to pass over the sheer necessities of bare existence? The price of sugar had already been increased by at least $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. as a result of the Government policy. Many poor widows in the country really lived on bread, butter, sugar, and tea. Tea was already taxed 75 per cent., and now they were going to increase it to 100 per cent. This was a serious matter to them. As expressed in halfpennies the tax looked small, but if they placed themselves in the position of these people, whether in London, Scotland, or Ireland, they would refuse to put any more burdens upon them. There was a remarkable economic difference between a tax on wealth and a tax on poverty. If they taxed the rich man he saved rather less. If the middle classes or better class of the working people, they would do without luxuries, but if they taxed the very poor they would do without things which were generally regarded as essential. Not only had the classes who were just above the Poor Law relief line, and those brought within that line, to pay more for their sugar and tea, but they had to do without some other article manufactured by other classes of the community, and so not only would these people suffer by this tax but various trades would suffer as well. They had to buy less food and less clothing.

He believed from the economic point of view, apart from the philanthropic point of view, that taxation of the poor was the most wasteful kind of taxation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol said in 1901 that this was a tax on an article produced not mainly by the foreigner but by our fellow-subjects in India and Ceylon. He heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer say last night that hon. Members had challenged him to enter upon that aspect of the taxation question raised by his right hon. relative, upon which, however, the Members of the Government had entered into a compact

f silence. But hon. Members were not bound by any such compact of silence as that. It was perfectly proper in discussing this tax to bear in mind the possible effect of it in the future. It had been said on rather high authority that tea was as much a necessity of life as bread, and therefore they were quite entitled to point out that if the tea tax was raised from 75 per cent. *ad valorem* to 100 per cent., which was the present proposal, this might be made use of in the future as a kind of equalisation all round of the taxation on necessities. Therefore he objected to it on that ground. It seemed to him that this was perfectly appropriate and proper argument for free-traders to urge against any further taxation upon tea. Our fellow-subjects in India and Ceylon were taking very decided action in this matter. The Chamber of Commerce in Ceylon on Thursday last passed a resolution, which he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer had received, protesting against any increase in the tea duty and declaring that this crushing burden, amounting to over 100 per cent. on the staple produce of Ceylon, was calculated to imperil very seriously the prosperity and welfare of that colony. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol told them three years ago that the trade of tea production in India and Ceylon was not then doing very well, but it was even in a worse condition now. The right hon. Gentleman then told them that the trade of India, owing largely to over-production, was by no means in a satisfactory condition, and he did not think they ought to increase the duty on tea. In the interests of their fellow-subjects in those dependencies as well as in the interests of the consumers, who he believed would be injured by this tax, he should vote against the addition of twopence to the tea duty.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said there was one peculiarity about this debate which was worthy of observation, and it was that hon. Members on the Government side representing large constituencies of the working classes had, almost all of them, remained absolutely silent during the discussion.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: And I am very grateful to them.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER said his point was that their constituencies would not be grateful to them, because the Resolution before the House was a tax imposing an extraordinary, unexpected, and a very heavy burden upon the working classes of this country. In regard to such a proposal, whether hon. Members opposite supported or opposed it, he thought the men of all others who were entitled to speak upon this question were those who represented the working classes. He should like to hear some such Conservative Member stand up and say he believed the working classes would not object to pay this tax, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had rightly apportioned this burden upon them. To such an argument and to such a statement the House would be bound to attach the weight it would deserve. There was another peculiarity about this debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, at any rate, had settled a question which had been very much in dispute during the last twelve months. The country had been told in impassioned speeches, elaborate articles, and pamphlets and leaflets of every description, that where a tax was imposed upon an article which was produced abroad and imported into this country that tax was paid by the producer, the foreigner. He should like to hear the hon. Member for Sheffield, who had been the eloquent and consistent advocate of that theory for many years, or some other supporter of the new fiscal policy, say that in this case this tax upon tea producers would fall upon the Chinese, and that the British consumer would be entirely exempt. They could not have a better illustration than this. There was a very small amount of tea imported from China, he believed the proportion was nearly 95 per cent. from India and only 5 per cent. from China, but every man in the House knew that within twenty-four hours of the Resolution imposing this tax being passed the price of tea was raised practically throughout the United Kingdom, by the full amount of the tax. There had been no recognition of the argument of which so much had been heard that when they put a tax upon an article of this description the burden was distributed among the producers, the carriers, the merchants, and the consumers. Nothing of the sort. Every shilling of the additional tax was already charged to the working

classes, and that would not be confined, as had already been shown, to the amount of the tax. His right hon. friend the Member for the University of Cambridge in a very powerful speech pointed out that the addition to this tax would not only be the actual amount of the duty levied, but would be based upon the attendant consequences of levying such an additional tax, which would make it an additional burden.

There was another feature of the debate for which they were also indebted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had not convinced the House, though he had convinced himself, that it was absolutely necessary to levy this taxation. It was a singular Budget, and they had not had an opportunity yet, as no doubt they would have, of discussing it in all its aspects. There was a Chancellor of the Exchequer who produced five or six Budgets, and who was alleged to have under-estimated what the revenue would produce in order that he might have an enormous surplus at the end of the year. He alluded to Mr. Lowe, whose estimates for a succession of years, whether intentionally or unintentionally, were much below what the taxes actually did produce. He was not going to charge the present Chancellor of the Exchequer with that; but he did think the right hon. Gentleman was under-estimating the produce of the revenue next year when he contemplated a surplus of nearly £750,000. That was a large sum to take from the country if it was not absolutely necessary. He thought the true test of sound finance, and the course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer should pursue, was to take as little from the taxpayers as he possibly could, of course keeping on the safe side. Of course the right hon. Gentleman must keep within the lines of safety and that he quite admitted. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was called upon to prove that it was absolutely necessary for the expenditure of the country that this sum should be raised. He was not now going to discuss the expenditure of the country, for the Chairman had ruled that that could not be done at present, but it was impossible to keep out of their minds that they were really putting on additional taxation because of additional expenditure which a large number of

Members of the House believed to be unnecessary. That question would, of course, arise on another occasion.

This was an addition to a war tax. No other war tax had been increased. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was now asking the working classes to pay a tax of 8d. on tea, in a time of peace, under a peace Budget, though during the last peace Budget the people were only paying 4d. He thought that was a very serious feature in this proposal. The right hon. Gentleman in his Budget speech said that beer and spirits would not stand any more taxation because there was a danger point beyond which they could not endure further burdens. He had been rather disposed to agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the point had very nearly been reached; but within ten days of that statement the Home Secretary proposed a compensation tax on those articles of £1,000,000 per annum on the sellers of beer and spirits, and that tax would practically fall on the consumers of these commodities. The right hon. Gentleman did not contemplate dealing in this increase of taxation with the taxation of luxuries. It was simpler and easier to put the tax on necessities. What the Chancellor of the Exchequer was proposing was to increase permanently the taxation of the country through an article of universal consumption. This tea tax fell with excessive severity on the poorest of the poor. He thought that every expedient should have been adopted before a tax on one of the prime necessities of life to the working people was imposed. He believed that the food of a large number of working people, especially in Ireland, for the great bulk of the week was bread and tea, and this was the class which ought to receive special consideration in this matter. He agreed with his hon. friend the Member for Edinburgh as to what was the true policy that ought to be followed in all these cases. He agreed also with his right hon. friend the Member for the University of Cambridge, who spoke of the need for teaching a lesson to the country, and that the working people should be taught to feel the burden of the increased expenditure. He agreed also with the view of his right hon. friend the Member for the Montrose Burghs, that where a great military

Sir Henry Fowler.

operation was undertaken in which all classes were interested and were responsible it was desirable that the burden should be spread over the whole community. But where was the lesson going to begin with respect to the other classes of the community? The income-tax during the war was 1s. 3d., it was reduced last year to 11d., and it was raised this year to 1s.; so that the class of the community possessing the greatest influence and power in the House would not feel the keenest effect of the Budget. He doubted very much whether it was necessary for the expenditure of the country in a time of peace, under the conditions in which we were now living, and with the knowledge that money was being wasted.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): On what?

***SIR HENRY FOWLER:** On every department of public expenditure. He made no exception; money was being wasted all round, and he believed that expenditure could be reduced in every department. But if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed, in order to maintain the existing expenditure in time of peace, to add 3d. to the income-tax, he did not think that the Government would have remained in office twenty-four hours after the proposal had been made. The pressure of the House would have been too powerful.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Outside influence.

***SIR HENRY FOWLER** said he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had selected the article of tea for increased taxation. It was liable to all the objections raised against any form of indirect taxation. Taxation of this kind ought not to be resorted to except under the gravest emergency. When in a time of peace it had been reduced to 4d., and then raised in a time of war to 6d., the first thing the Chancellor of the Exchequer should do was to bring the tax back again to 4d. He should record his vote against the increase of the tax.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said there were many Departments of the

State which cost far more than they should do, but this was not the time to protest against the charges. It was when the Estimates were being discussed, or when Bills and Resolutions authorising loans and expenditure on public works were submitted. He had endeavoured to stop expenditure of this kind, and on one occasion he did his best to stop the granting of £2,000 a year to the Incorporated Law Society, which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton strongly supported. He hoped that on the next occasion when he endeavoured to save a little money to the country he would have his support. The right hon. Gentleman talked of the working men of the country living on bread and tea. He himself knew many working men and he did not believe there was one in a thousand in this country at the present time who lived on bread and tea. There was, perhaps, a time when that was the case, but that was long gone by. The right hon. Gentleman put another test which was hardly fair when he asked whether working people were anxious to pay this tax. He never knew anyone, rich or poor, who was anxious to pay any tax whatever. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman when he said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had budgeted for too large a surplus. In his opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer had over-estimated the income which he would receive from this extra duty on tea. The inevitable result of the increased duty would be a fall in the consumption of tea, and there certainly was no question here that the tax would fall on the consumer. Millions of pounds of tea that had not paid the increased duty were being sold at the higher figure, so that the consumer was paying considerably more now than the extra duty. Four per cent. of our tea came from China and 93 per cent. from India and Ceylon, but while the tariff reformer professed an enormous affection for the Colonies it was an extraordinary thing in all the tariff question that India was left entirely out of account. That was one reason, perhaps, why tea was selected for this extra burden. From that point of view he thought that the tea duty would disappoint the expectations of the right hon. Gentleman. He did not know if there would be a

surplus left to the right hon. Gentleman after he had had a few interviews with the tobacco trade, and representatives of the tea merchants, and the tea planters of India and Ceylon. As he had said before, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the victim of a situation created by this House. When the House voted the Estimates, it must expect to be called upon to pay them. Nevertheless, there was a right left to the House to criticise the manner in which the revenue was to be raised. He could not regard tea as a food. It was less a food than beer, and very much less than sugar. He had not the same delicate feeling about tea as about sugar; but he felt that this extra tax upon tea would press very hardly upon the poor, because too many of these poor people had discarded their ancient beverage of beer for tea.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said he was surprised that no hon. Member on the Government Benches had ventured to rise in response to the challenge of his right hon. friend. He noticed that the Prime Minister had immediately gathered up his skirts and fled, and did not venture on a reply. He was sure that the House would have been intensely interested if they had had from the right hon. Gentleman some "economic notes" as to whether this tax would fall on the consumer or producer. He ventured to ask the understudy of the hon. Member for West Birmingham — he meant the hon. Member for Tunbridge — whether he could give the House a little enlightenment on that particular point. They really ought to hear the hon. Gentleman's views on this tax on tea. He objected very strongly to this proposed additional tax on tea, because it was a tax graduated as badly as a tax could be; graduated, that was to say, in exactly the wrong direction; and it pressed most heavily on the smallest incomes. He objected to it also because of its secondary effects upon the trade of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech gave a gloomy, and he was afraid a true, account of the trade of the country during the last twelve months. What was the reason why our trade has so sadly fallen off? So far as his own experience went, the decline was not in

foreign trade, but in the home trade; and the falling off in the home demand was due to the reduced spending power of the great masses of the people, owing to the heavy demands that were being made upon them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The margin which lay between the absolute necessities of life and the small luxuries was becoming narrower, and, therefore, the working classes had less to spend. The great textile industries of the country, which depended so largely on the home demand, were specially affected. He was convinced that this tax was not only bad, but that any addition to indirect taxation, which fell heavily on the working classes, meant a less demand for clothing and other necessities, and had, therefore, a very far-reaching effect on the whole industries of the country. He ventured to hope that the House would not agree with the Resolution.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said that his hon. friend had expressed a wish to hear the views of the right hon. Member for West Bristol on this tea tax. A speech by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered in 1901 had been referred to; but since then the right hon. Gentleman had made another speech, in 1902, in which he expressed a very remarkable opinion about the tea tax. The right hon. Gentleman then said—

"I come to tea. Well, I have listened to the pitiable cry of our fellow subjects, the tea producers of India and Ceylon. Bear in mind that tea, which is almost a necessary of life, is already taxed to 75 per cent. of its value. I acknowledge I would be very sorry to increase that tax."

Now, the right hon. Gentleman was bound to find new taxes to meet the war expenditure, and he passed by tea; and he found satisfactory reason why he should not increase the tax upon sugar, and turned to corn, and instituted the 1s. duty on corn. Why did not the present Chancellor of the Exchequer propose a duty on corn now, instead of on tea? What was good for hon. Gentlemen opposite two years ago, one would have thought was good enough to-day; and as a 1s. duty on corn would bring in exactly the same amount as the proposed addition to the tax on tea, he was astonished that the hon. Member for Tunbridge and his friends

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

did not insist to-day, as they insisted on a recent occasion in this House, upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer abandoning this duty on tea, and going back to the 1s. duty on corn, which they found so satisfactory two years ago. Of course, they had this advantage that, according to their theory, the 1s. duty on corn was paid by the railway companies of the United States. After that duty had been passed, the hon. Gentleman the hon. Member for Tunbridge had proved that by facts and figures. He thought he had seen a publication, not altogether unconnected with the hon. Gentleman, in which it was stated that every penny of that corn tax was paid by the American railways and by the shipping firms, and that not one farthing of it fell on the taxpayers of this country. And yet, believing that, hon. Members opposite, representing British constituencies, were willing to support the imposition of an additional tax of 2d. in the lb. on tea instead of a 1s. duty on American railways! That was political consistency and political courage! If hon. Members opposite, after such an exhibition as that, imagined that the British people believed in the sham agitation for tariff reform, he would be very much surprised.

If they were to have the tax on tea, why should it not be imposed in such a way as would not raise the price of tea to the poorest classes? The right hon. Member for West Bristol spoke of tea being taxed on the average at 75 per cent. of its value, and the proposed addition to the tax would increase that to 100 per cent. He was told that tea was sold at present as low as 6d. per lb., but that the average price of all teas was 8d. per lb. If the right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to impose a duty of 100 per cent. *ad valorem*, he would raise exactly the same amount. The effect of an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent. would be [that the cheapest tea would be sold as at present at 6d. per lb., while the consumption of the higher class of Chinese and Ceylon teas would not be decreased. If 2d. per lb., as suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were added to the price of the cheapest teas, it would immediately diminish the consumption of these; but

if the right hon. Gentleman were to put 100 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all teas, he would leave the consumption of these cheap teas exactly as it was, and yet would obtain the revenue which he anticipated. He therefore suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should withdraw his Resolution from the consideration of the House, and introduce a duty of 100 per cent. *ad valorem*. It was surprising to think that our working classes should be taxed on tea more heavily than those in any other country in Europe. In Denmark the duty was only 4d. per lb., in Germany 5½d., Holland 2½d., in Belgium it was free, in France it was 9d., in Italy, 11d.—but there tea was very little drunk—and in Switzerland it was as low as 1½d. It was a pity that in this country, where tea was so largely drunk and where, in the words of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was almost a necessary of life, that we should now add 2d. per lb. to the duty, and so diminish its consumption.

*Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyll) said that, as representing a Highland constituency, he might be allowed to refer to the hardship which the tax would inflict on the Highland districts. He thought he might make a special appeal to the House, because there were very few hon. Members who did not hope to spend a portion of their holidays in the North and West of Scotland. Hon. Members knew how the crofters and the fishermen lived. The fishermen were not so badly off in the fishing season; but the only luxury a crofter and his family had was a cup of tea. He would remind the House of some correspondence which appeared in the *Standard* newspaper a few days ago, in which it was pointed out that one of the results of the tax would undoubtedly be to divert the trade in the direction of cheaper and inferior China teas, and everyone knew how injurious that would be. It was said that having voted for the Estimates they were now bound to vote for these taxes; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was looking forward to a surplus at the close of the year, and he should like to encourage the right hon. Gentleman to increase it in the way in which any business firm

Gore, Hon. G. R. C. Ormsby-Salop
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Green, Walford D. (Wendesbury)
 Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ry) S. Edm'nds
 Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midd'x)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Heath, James (Stafford, N. W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (Somers't, E.)
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Houlst, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hunt, Rowland
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
 Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.)
 Kimber, Henry
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N. R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)

Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Macconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)

Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, HC (North'mb Tyneside)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollemache, Henry James
 Tritten, Charles Ernest
 Tuft, Charles
 Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield)
 Walrond, Rt. Wn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton)
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AVES—Sir
 Alexander Acland - Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Allen, Charles P.
 Ambrose, Robert
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herb. Henry
 Atherley-Jones, L.
 Austin, Sir John
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Black, Alexander William
 Blake, Edward
 Boland, John
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling

Brigg, John
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Cawley, Frederick
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)

Crean, Eugene
 Cramer, William Randal
 Crombie, John William
 Crooks, William
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Duncan, J. Hastings

Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Ellice, Capt. EC (S. Andr.'s Bghs)
 Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
 Emmott, Alfred
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas
 Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Eve, Harry Trelawney
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Ffrench, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Gilhooly, Daniel
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Bampton
 Harcourt, Lewis V. Rosendale
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Harwood, George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir A. D.
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund

Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Logan, John William
 Lough, Thomas
 Lumsden, W.
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 McCrae, George
 McCadden, Edward
 McHugh, Patrick A.
 McKean, John
 McKenna, Reginald
 McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Palmer, Sir Chas. M. (Durham)
 Parrott, William
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Redmond, William (Clare)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thompson, Dr. EC (Monagh'n, N.)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, John (Cathcart, Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Fred, W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Herbert Gladstone and Mr.
 William M'Arthur.

Question put, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

The House divided:—Ayes, 236; Noes, 192. (Division List No. 98.)

AYES.

Agg. Gardner, James Tynte
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)

Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Brassey, Albert

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Bull, William James
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
 Carfile, William Walter
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)

Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Woro.)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Cochran, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Duxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manx'r
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fison, Frederick William
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
 Fyter, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
 Gordon, Maj. Evans (Tr'n'mlets
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
 Greene, Sir E. W. (B'rySEdm'nds
 Greene, W. Raymond (Cams.)
 Gretton, John
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (Midd'x
 Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)

Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somers't, E)
 Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
 Houlst, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
 Hunt, Rowland
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood (Susse.)
 Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
 Kimber, Henry
 King, Sir Henry Seymour
 Knowles, Sir Lees
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N.R.)
 Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
 Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
 Mealey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, John Throgmorton
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
 Mitchell, William (Burnley)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wallealey
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp

Pretyman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, H.C. (North'mb. Tyneside
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Uni. v.)
 Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollemache, Henry James
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. EH. (Sheffield
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. Ashton-und. Lyne)
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wilson-Tod, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling

Allen, Charles P.
 Ambrose, Robert

Asher, Alexander
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry

Atherley-Jones, L.
 Austin, Sir John
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Black, Alexander William
 Blake, Edward
 Boland, John
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Brigg, John
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Cawley, Frederick
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
 Crean, Eugene
 Cremer, William Randal
 Crombie, John William
 Crooks, William
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Elibank, Master of
 Ellice, Capt EC(S. Andrw's Bghs)
 Ellis, John Edward (Notts)
 Emmott, Alfred
 Emonde, Sir Thomas
 Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Eve, Harry Trelawney
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Ffrench, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Furness, Sir Christopher

Gilhooly, James
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale)
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Logan, John William
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Crae, George
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Mappin, Sir Frederick Thomas
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)

O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Palmer, Sir Charles M. (Durham)
 Parrott, William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Arthur
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C.R. (Northants)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donald
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thompson, Dr. EC (Monagh'n, N.)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 White, Luke (York, E. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
 Mr. William M'Arthur.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to bring in a Bill upon the Resolution reported from the Committee of Ways and Means on the 26th day of April last, and then [agreed

to by the House, that they do make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

Further consideration of Second Resolution deferred till To-morrow.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT
(DEFICIENCY ANNUITY.)

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [25th April], "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, 'That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts.'"

Question again proposed.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) expressed his pleasure that this matter had been brought on at an hour when information could be asked for concerning the proposals of the Government. It was the duty of private Members to see that such Motions as this were not passed without an opportunity for discussion having been afforded. This Resolution was connected with a Bill which had been almost completely changed in character since it left this House. Why did not the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the Bill was under discussion, consider it his duty to state—

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) (intervening) said that when the Bill was discussed he announced his intention of moving certain Amendments, and he understood both sides of the House to approve of the course he proposed.

MR. DALZIEL was fully aware that a statement was made, but no explanation had been offered in justification of the extended proposals the right hon. Gentleman had made upstairs. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would even now explain fully why he was asking for this Resolution.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had moved the Resolution in pursuance of a pledge given on the Second

Reading of the Bill that in Committee he would propose certain Amendments to bring the Bill into harmony with the recommendations of the Select Committee on Savings Banks, presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol two years ago, with the single exception that under the altered circumstances of the case he would not propose to reduce the rate of interest paid to depositors. In order to avoid the necessity of reducing the rate of interest it was necessary to carry out the recommendation of the Committee that the interest on the deficiency annuity should no longer be accumulated, but should be treated as part of the income of the trustee banks. That could have been carried out without such a Resolution as that under discussion. But, the interest on the invested funds of the deficiency annuity being handed over to the income account of the banks, it became necessary that the annuity itself should be prolonged, in order to find for the banks the amount of capital it was originally intended to produce, and such a prolongation could not be effected without a Resolution. The sole object was to enable the Committee to insert in the Bill a clause prolonging the annuity a certain number of years so that it would produce the sum originally intended for the benefit of the banks.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he had no desire to hinder the progress of any Bill of a really satisfactory character, but he felt very keenly that the right hon. Gentleman should have attempted to get this Resolution without giving any explanation of its purport. Even now he had not given the pith of the matter. For the next ten years there was to be provided a sum of £80,000 over the amount arranged for by Mr. Gladstone in 1880. Why was not that explained? The House ought to know what they were discussing, and he strongly objected to measures of this kind being rushed through without explanation.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

COTTON GROWING (AFRICA).

MR. RUTHERFORD (Lancashire, Darwen): By the fortune of the ballot I have been enabled to put a Motion on the Paper regarding a question which is national in its character and vital to the people in the county of Lancaster, in which my own constituency is situated, my constituency containing within its area a quarter of the whole of the looms in Lancashire and a considerable number of spindles. And this being the first opportunity I have had of bringing the question before the House, I consider that I should have failed in my duty to my constituents if I had not done so. I do not propose to go into technicalities, or to take the House through a labyrinth of figures in regard to the cotton industry. It is merely my intention to touch upon the broad issues that are raised by my Resolution. I claim it as national in its character, because here is one of the greatest of the manufacturing industries of the nation passing through a time amounting to a period of great adversity, and the condition of this industry was recognised in the Gracious Speech from the Throne, on the 2nd February, in the following words—

"The insufficiency of the supply of the raw material upon which the great cotton industry of this country depends has inspired Me with deep concern. I trust that the efforts which are being made in various parts of My Empire to increase the area under cultivation may be attended with a large measure of success."

That reference in the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Speaker, was a recognition that those in authority were cognisant of the serious depression that existed, and is existing, in Lancashire, and that recognition was greatly appreciated by the people of that county. Every Member of the House who comes from Lancashire knows the importance of this great industry, but I think, Sir, I had better state, for the sake of my case, the position which it holds.

According to the Blue-book issued on British and foreign trade and industry, it stands fourth on the list of the number of persons employed, there being some 582,000, or in round figures, 600,000 persons occupied in the industry; but,

of course, Sir, that does not include other trades that are incidentally affected by the depression of this great industry. I should say there are no less than 4,000,000 of people, one-tenth of the population of these islands, directly or indirectly affected by the cotton trade. It is estimated that in Lancashire no less a sum than £100,000,000 of capital is invested with a weekly wage bill of £400,000. It is the greatest of all our manufacturing industries, with an export trade of £72,000,000 sterling, which is within a very few million pounds of the whole of the trade of this country that is done with France, which I believe is £90,000,000. During last year and up to the present time a great amount of that capital has been unremunerative, and an enormous loss has taken place also in wages. It is estimated, and I give the figures supplied to me by the chairman of the North and North-East Lancashire Employers' Association; it is estimated that £150,000 has been lost weekly in wages to the workers since November last, or about £3,000,000 in all. But, Sir, I think to make it more understood, and no doubt everyone in this House will sympathise with the operative—an operative, with a wife and family, receiving 25s. a week, has that sum reduced by the action of short time to 15s. or 10s. per week. That fact is reflected in cases in the industrial co-operative societies in my own constituencies, whose returns show that there has been a diminution in the purchasing power for the common necessities of life. There is one gratifying feature about all this, namely, that there has been no serious dispute between capital and labour. The operatives recognising fully the difficulties which the masters have had to contend with through the fluctuations and high price of cotton, have loyally supported them in their difficulties, submissively agreeing to a long period of short time.

The great disturbances of this industry have been traceable to two causes—shortness of the cotton crop of America, and the operations of the speculator and gambler in futures. The American crop lends itself specially to the gambler. The great gambling has taken place on the American side of the Atlantic, but it

is not entirely confined to that side, for, although we are ready to condemn the cotton ring in America, we must remember there are those in this country, who, even if they speculate to a less degree—yet it all goes to assist in raising the price. Of course, I do not wish to be misunderstood with regard to them; legitimate buying for manufacture is a totally different matter from speculating to pocket differences. Of course, a speculator does not in any way want the cotton. As I have said, he does it for the sake of pocketing differences and finds no money. So, if we could produce the cotton ourselves and force delivery the gambler and speculator would, to a very large extent, be baffled. The shortness of the cotton crop enabled the speculator and the gambler in futures to manipulate the American market, which market regulates the price of cotton, as it is from America where the great bulk of the cotton crop comes. Perhaps the House is not aware what a large sum of money is involved when cotton rises or falls one half-penny per pound. Taking a bale of cotton to weigh 480 lbs., one half-penny per pound means £1 per bale, if the crop is estimated at 10,000,000 bales £10,000,000, and if the price rises 4d., £80,000,000.

I pass now to the importation of cotton into this country, and I take my figures from Professor Dunstan's Report to the Board of Trade which was issued on Saturday last. The importation of cotton into the United Kingdom amounted to 1,361,000,000 lbs. from the United States, 82,000,000 from India, including Ceylon and the Straits Settlements; 296,000,000 from Egypt; and 54,000,000 from other countries. That Report further sets forth that—

“the British cotton industry is now almost entirely dependent on the United States for supplies of raw cotton,”

and it also appears that no attempt has been made to obtain increased supplies from other sources excepting when there has been a scarcity of American cotton. And can we depend upon this supply in the future? I think that we cannot. With regard to this the Report says—

“The continual extension of cotton manufacture in the southern portions of the United States is likely to lead, in the near future, to a

greater utilisation of the raw material in the country of its production and to a fall in exports to this and other countries. This may be illustrated by the fact that the consumption of cotton in the Southern States has increased more than eightfold during the last twenty years.”

I can only say that the increase of consumption of its own cotton by the United States is commendable, because it means a great increase of commerce, and I have no doubt it is the ambition of the States to, at some time, consume the whole of that production. We also learn from the Report how the States values and fosters the growth of cotton. Here are the words of the Report—

“The present paramount position of the United States in cotton cultivation is largely due to the operations of the well-organised and splendidly equipped experiment stations of the Department for Agriculture, which are continually engaged in the scientific investigation of the innumerable problems which arise, and in the collection and dissemination of information.”

Those words I commend to our own Government.

I notice that Mr. Arthur Hutton, Vice-Chairman of the British Cotton Growing Association, in an excellent paper given before the Manchester Statistical Society on 10th February of this year, and which is now published in pamphlet form, states that the normal annual increase in the consumption of cotton is about 400,000 to 500,000 bales of cotton per annum, and, taking the world's production at the present time at 16,000,000 bales, and if the increase should continue at the same ratio, we should require in five years time 18,500,000 bales, and in ten years 21,000,000 bales. I notice that my hon. friend opposite the senior Member for Oldham, in an interesting paper read at the Society of Arts, puts the prospective consumption somewhat higher than this.

Now, Sir, I have stated the importance of the cotton industry of this country, and I believe if it languishes or decays we shall not hold the same position in the commercial world as we have hitherto done. Is it wise in the face of the prospective increase of consumption, and our past experience, that we should be dependent upon one source of supply? I can only say that those engaged in the industry, and therefore most likely to know, think that it is not, but that we should set about to find out a new source

of supply. I agree with them. The outcome of this is the establishment of the British Cotton Growing Association for the purpose of discovering and experimenting as to new sources of supply of the raw material, and there are many hon. Gentlemen in this House who are members of that association and think highly of it. The initiative of that Association came from the Oldham Chamber of Commerce. The work of the British Cotton Association is one in which I think the whole of Lancashire, when its object was understood and brought before the people, took great interest and to which it gave hearty support. I cannot too strongly commend the work of that association. The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Manufacturers' Association, for example, subscribed £10,000, and was prepared to give more if required; and the operatives, animated by the same feeling and spirit, also contributed most liberally. I cannot give the actual figures, but you can take it that they were liberal. I recollect at a meeting on this subject, which I attended in Blackburn on the 16th of January of the present year, it was stated that the operatives in that district had contributed £2,300, and it must be borne in mind that both the contributions of the masters as well as of the employees were given at a time when the trade was in a very depressed condition and unremunerative.

The British Cotton Growing Association has proved that cotton can be grown in various parts of the world, South Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, and West Africa. I am sorry that my Resolution is confined to Africa. But hon. Members will sympathise with me in the reason why it is so confined. When you, Sir, call a name from the ballot, a Member has to make his mind up suddenly, and on the spur of the moment I said Africa. That is the real reason why it is confined to Africa. I believe there is a great field for cotton cultivation in the Egyptian Soudan, but if the cultivation is to be prosecuted it is necessary to complete the construction of the Suakim and Berber railway. Professor Dunstan goes further than that; he says in his Report—

“Among the most promising of these experimental districts are the British Central Africa

Protectorate, Uganda, the West African Colonies and Protectorates, the West Indies, and perhaps Fiji, British North Borneo, and Cyprus.”

Here is a field of great possibilities for this Empire for the production of cotton, and one which I believe, with some assistance from the Government in the way of transit, can and will be developed. British possessions which the Cotton Growing Association has centred its immediate attention upon are Sierra Leone, Lagos, and Southern Nigeria. In Lagos the best of the cotton land is in the Hinterland; this is confirmed in the Report, and it is necessary that the railway should be extended beyond Ibadan, the present terminus, to Ilorin, and so open up the Yoruba country. I believe it is calculated that cotton can be grown commercially, for the question of labour and the difficulties of transport have been considered. With regard to Lagos this Report says—

“They (the inhabitants) have been somewhat discouraged by their past experience in coffee growing, prices having gone down after they had succeeded in obtaining excellent crops of this product. It has been explained to them that cotton, if cultivated carefully, will always realise a remunerative price. They have agreed to plant largely, and in the Egba country alone 4,000 acres will be planted out shortly.”

There is also a great field in Southern Nigeria. Concerning this district it is stated in the Report that—

“Samples of cotton grown on the experimental plantation at Onitsha have recently been received in Manchester, and are said to be equal to ‘fully good middling’ American, and exactly of the quality ordinarily required by the manufacturer. A power gin has been set up at Onitsha.”

and also—

“It is stated that labour can be arranged for and that transport is easy.”

In submitting this Resolution to the House, I believe that those engaged in the cotton industry are able and willing to meet their own difficulties. Lancashire does not come at all cap in hand. But there are things which they cannot do; they want Government help in providing transit, and where the Government cannot see their way to construct a railway or to extend any existing railways, they might guarantee a loan for that purpose. Sir, I have said nothing with regard to experimenting or establishing model plantations, or what other countries are doing for their Colonies,

Mr. Rutherford.

but they do vote large sums of money for experimental purposes. I venture to think that it might be to the advantage of this country if some money were to be voted for experiments in cotton cultivation in Africa. I should have liked to have said a word on India, for India is Lancashire's greatest customer, and if more cotton could be cultivated in that dependency of ours it would be as good for them as it would for Lancashire. Indian cotton is not at present suitable for Lancashire trade, but Sir George Watt, in a note appended to his report on the improvement of Indian cotton, says—

"That with the prosperity and education of Indian cultivators as fine cotton as any produced in America could be grown in India."

My object in putting this Resolution has been for the purpose of bringing before the House the position of the cotton industry in this country, and the absolute necessity of not being dependent on one source of supply for the raw material. Sir, the Resolution is not in any hostile spirit to the Government, because I approve entirely of what the Government has done. It was stated in a market report the other day that the American crop was likely to be a large one this year. If that turned out to be the case, the situation might not be so acute as at present; but I would urge upon the Government not under any considerations to relax their efforts in aiding the production of new sources of supply of raw cotton. I should be prepared to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Islington, which I think would cover the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Manchester. Thanking the House for its courtesy, I humbly and confidently submit this Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

*MR. FIELDEN (Lancashire, Middleton) said he wished it had fallen to the lot of some other Member more capable than himself to have seconded this Resolution, but as the representative of a constituency, the large majority of the workers in which were employed in either cotton spinning or manufacturing, he naturally took a very great interest in the subject. As a cotton spinner and manufacturer carrying on business in the same locality in which it was carried

on by his great-grandfather more than a 100 years ago, he perhaps knew a little bit about this question and the way in which it was affecting the people in Lancashire. He thought it was generally admitted that there was very considerable distress in that county, and that that distress was largely due to the shortage of cotton. If any evidence were required on that subject it was only necessary to refer to the *Labour Gazette*. In the February issue of that publication describing the state of the cotton trade during 1903 it was stated—

"Employment in the cotton industry was fairly good during the first four months of 1903. It then rapidly declined owing to the sharp upward movement in the price of the raw material and a prolonged period of short time ensued. Some recovery took place, however, towards the end of October and continued towards the end of the year. On the whole, however, the year 1903 was an extremely bad one for the cotton industry."

That was the general tenor of the statement in that publication with regard to the state of the trade during the past year. In April the report in the *Labour Gazette* was—

"Employment in March continued bad in both spinning and weaving branches and much worse than a year ago. Owing to the continued high price of American raw cotton, short time continued to be worked in the majority of spinning mills using it. The quantity of all kinds of American cotton forwarded from English ports to inland towns in the first quarter of 1904 was 585,000 bales or 257,000 bales less than in the corresponding period of 1903."

If any further evidence was desired with regard to the state of trade in that district, it could be very easily furnished by the decreased railway receipts both in goods and passengers, showing that the state of that county at the present time was far from satisfactory.

What was the cause of this? There could be very little doubt on the part of anyone who had given any attention to the subject that the cause arose from the fact that during the last few years the world's consumption of cotton had overtaken the world's production. The publication of Messrs. Lathom, Alexander & Co., set out very fully the production of cotton and the consumption of cotton during the four years ending 1902-3 and although in some of those years the production was greater than the consumption, the net result was that the consumption had exceeded the production by over

a million bales, or something more than 2 per cent. of the total cotton grown. What the result of the present year was going to be they could not tell. There could be very little doubt in the mind of anyone who had any connection with the trade that it would show that a still greater inroad had been made into the stocks of raw material that were held in the various parts of the globe. This was a very serious matter for Lancashire, for while the consumption of cotton in the Lancashire mills had remained stationary, or practically stationary, during the last four years—excluding the present year, which he thought would show a falling off—on the Continent of Europe and in the United States the consumption had considerably increased. The increased consumption in America was due to the enormous prosperity, which had been evident to everyone, in that part of the world during the last few years, for there the people could well afford to purchase what were, comparatively speaking, expensive goods. The same argument, to a large extent, explained the reason why on the Continent of Europe the same thing had taken place. This country formerly supplied Europe with large quantities of that material. Owing to the fiscal policy on the Continent, and the fact they had equipped themselves with mills and machinery to produce what they required, we had been excluded from that market, and the fact that the price of the finished article had risen had not prevented the people of those countries from purchasing the full requirements. With our trade it was different. Only 20 per cent. of the production of our spindles and looms was consumed in this country. the remaining 80 per cent. being exported abroad very largely to countries in the East where labour was paid for upon a silver basis. They all knew that the value of silver for a period of years had shown a tendency steadily to fall while cotton had shown a tendency steadily to rise. After the people in those countries had provided themselves with the absolute necessities of life he was afraid that the balance left for them to spend was very small indeed, and it was a rather remarkable thing what an extremely small amount of cotton clothing

Mr. Fielden.

appeared to be included in what were called the necessities of life in the countries in the East. Consequently, owing to the rise in the price of the raw material, the mills in Lancashire had been unable to obtain orders, and the manufacturers, speaking generally, had been wise enough to refuse to go into the cotton market to buy cotton at high prices until they were certain that they would have orders which they could turn out at a profit.

That being the position of the trade in Lancashire and in other countries, and it being clearly attributable to the shortage of the world's supply of cotton, the question arose, could anything be done whereby the grievance under which Lancashire was suffering at the present time could be removed. The United States of America at the present time produced 72 per cent. of the world's production of cotton, and in the last seventeen years America had increased her acreage under cotton from 18,000,000 to 27,000,000 acres. But with all their ingenuity in the United States they did not appear to be able to largely increase the yield of cotton per acre, and as they had failed to do this in the past he very much doubted whether they could look forward in the future to any increased yield of cotton per acre in the United States of America. Then came the question, if they were to have greater quantities of cotton grown, was it possible that the acreage under cotton in the United States could be very largely increased? He had been told by those who knew something about the business of cotton growing in that part of the world that if the acreage under cotton was largely increased it was very doubtful indeed whether it would be possible to pick the cotton after it was grown, because the labour supply in that part of the world at the present time was not equal to picking more than 12,000,000 acres. Whether this statement was right or wrong, he thought that in this country they would be very unwise if they looked in the future for any large increase of cotton production from that source. Therefore he thought they were right in turning their attention to other parts of the world, and especially to those parts which were under the Union Jack.

A very great work had been carried out in the last two years by the

British Cotton Growing Association, and those who were interested and connected with the trade in Lancashire felt that to that Association, and to all those who had taken an active part in its work, they owed a very great debt of gratitude. They had supplied a certain amount of money for the work of that Association, and the results undoubtedly proved that the money had been well spent, and he was quite convinced that they would be able to raise very much larger funds for the work of the Association and thereby largely increase its area of benefit. The work of this Association hitherto had largely been one of inquiry, or distribution of machinery, the selection and distribution of seeds, and the appointment of experts to visit the different parts of the world to ascertain where cotton could be best and most easily grown. The different parts of the world that had been generally referred to were India, and they had had cotton from India for many years. Personally, he very much doubted whether they would be able to receive in future any very large additional supply of cotton from India. At any rate if they did, Indian cotton would have to be of a very much better quality than had hitherto been sent to this country from that great dependency. Without labouring the question of India, although he should be glad to see the cotton growing industry developed there, he should be very much surprised if in the future it was found that India could send them very much larger quantities of cotton than she had been sending them in the past. In Egypt, however, they had a field to which they might undoubtedly look for a large increase in their cotton supply. They should remember, however, that the cotton grown in Egypt was not the cotton they were at the present moment suffering from the want of in Lancashire. No doubt those who used Egyptian cotton would be better off if there was a good deal more of it grown, and the Cotton Growing Association, and those responsible for the Government of Egypt, were doing everything they could to increase the supply of Egyptian cotton. He could assure hon. Members that where American cotton was used the suffering that had been going on in Lancashire almost continuously for the

last twelve months was very acute and very great. Could they find any other source where they could get cotton of the character that they received from the United States of America? In the very excellent Blue-book which appeared only a couple of days before, they had the evidence of Professor Dunstan that within the Empire and within Africa there were districts which gave every hope that the desire they had in view might be fulfilled. The professor said—

“In Northern Nigeria, to some extent in Southern Nigeria and in the *Lagos hinterland* there is a vast field. The native population is numerous, intelligent and thoroughly familiarised with the cultivation of cotton, which has been carried on in several localities for hundreds of years in a primitive yet effective manner.”

Again, a little further on, speaking of Northern Nigeria, the professor said—

“The most serious difficulty is the question of transport and it seems doubtful whether cotton can be economically exported from the interior of the protectorate unless a railway is constructed from the Niger to Kano.”

He (the speaker) looked to something being done without loss of time by the Government in this direction. He thought that they in Lancashire had a fair reason to ask them to do something—something more than they had already done and to do it as quickly as possible. It might be said that Lancashire had no right to ask that a large expenditure of money should be made by the Government in order to relieve the distress. If he thought that this expenditure was doubtful as to the return it would bring he should hesitate, but it appeared to him that where we had undertaken the protectorate of a people who were civilised to a much larger extent than the people in other parts of Africa, and where cotton had been grown for centuries, it was not asking too much that that country should with the least possible delay be connected with the ocean, so that a free exchange might take place between them and the people of this country. He believed that there were many districts where cotton could be grown, but none where all the elements abounded so fully as in this one place to give the same promise of success. It was because the population of Lancashire thought that delay in this matter was of the most serious nature to them that they asked the Government.

to push it forward rapidly. It was in no spirit of antagonism to what the Government were doing in the matter that this Motion was moved. He would be the last to flog a willing horse in the person of the Colonial Secretary. But new times had come, and the man who did not put himself abreast of the times was soon left behind. An institution called the "hustler" had recently been imported from the United States. It was in the character of a "hustler" that he seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is incumbent upon His Majesty's Government to use every endeavour to encourage the growth of cotton in those districts in Africa which are under British Government or British influence, and to co-operate as far as possible with such commercial associations as may be organised to secure this end."—(*Mr. J. Rutherford*).

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) said there was only one remark which fell from the seconder of the Motion with which he disagreed. According to his own information there had been a good deal of short time and stoppage of work, not only on the Continent of Europe but also in America as well as here. He was no carping critic of the Party system, but it was a relief occasionally on a night like this for both Parties to be able to join hands in order to further an object which was meant not only for the benefit of Lancashire and the United Kingdom, but of the Empire at large. It was fortunate that even the ubiquitous fiscal question did not enter into this matter that they had to consider, for he did not know that anybody had been found so stupid as to propose that a tax should be put upon raw cotton wherever that raw cotton might come from. Nor was this a question of a self-contained Empire—an Empire that should necessarily grow all the cotton that it required—for although that might be a desirable thing it was certainly a thing that we should not obtain, however quickly we progressed, for a great many years to come. Most certainly the cotton trade would buy its cotton wherever it could get it of a satisfactory quality

Mr. Fielden.

and at a satisfactory price. It had been calculated that in ten years from the present time it would be necessary to have another 25,000,000 acres employed in the growth of cotton above what we had in the world to-day, that was to say, an area equal to about one-third of the area of the United Kingdom. It was the fact that we depended more and more in this country on the supplies of cotton from America. We depended more to-day upon the supply from America than we did at the time when the Civil War in America broke out, and it was the fact that the kind of cotton that we wanted was not the kind that we could get from India, but the kind that we got from the United States and from Egypt. So that being the case, and we having in the British Empire endless territory which was suitable for the growth of the kind of cotton that we required, it was surely our duty if we could, by a combination of private enterprise with Government aid, to grow more of the increased quantities of cotton that we required within the borders of the British Empire itself.

He wanted to emphasise in the strongest possible way that the British Cotton Growing Association, with which he had the honour to be connected, had no complaint to make in any general way of what the Government was doing, but rather desired to thank the Government for the great assistance it had given to it. That remark applied not only to the late Colonial Secretary but to the present Colonial Secretary, and in reference to this particular question he thought he ought to mention the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, the Duke of Marlborough, who had taken, ever since he came into office, a very lively and active interest in the furtherance of this question. In this matter it was the British Cotton Growing Association that represented private enterprise. He believed they were going to apply for a Royal Charter—they were certainly going to attempt to raise a sum of £500,000, mostly from the trade itself—and they would undertake, if the Royal Charter was given, that any profits that were made, at any rate for a period of years, should not be paid to the members of the Association, but should be devoted to the purpose of

increasing the growth of cotton in the British Empire. The hon. Member for the Darwen Division had pointed out that it was rather his misfortune than his desire that the actual Motion put down on the Paper related to Africa alone. He quite agreed with him that it might be applied more generally—perhaps it would before the close of the evening. But at any rate Africa alone presented a sufficiently large field of discussion in the time that they had before them that night. One point in connection with the question of cotton-growing—a point of great interest—was the extraordinary change that had taken place as to the parts of the world whence the chief supply of cotton came. He believed it was a fact that in the year 1784, a ship came from the United States with fourteen bales of cotton on board, and that of those fourteen bales eight bales were seized by the authorities because it was stated that the United States of America certainly could not have produced at the time fourteen bales of cotton. A rather different state of affairs from a time like the present, when we were grumbling so much because the United States only produced a little over 10,000,000 bales, whereas we should like them to produce at least 12,000,000! At that time three-quarters of our supply came from the West Indies—about 45,000 bales a year. During the last few years we had not obtained more than 1,000 bales from the West Indies. The large supplies of cotton that we now obtained from Egypt were of course comparatively new. The growing of cotton only began in Egypt in the year 1828, and several other countries had grown cotton during the last century, and had ceased to grow it simply because they could not produce it at the price at which the market would take it.

This question of the changes of the sources of the supply of cotton was a point of interest because it showed, in the first place, that the production of cotton was possible in a very great many parts of the world; and in the second place a study of the question showed that it was principally in the United States and in Egypt, where the greatest scientific concentration had been exercised in regard to the question that the great advance in the production of cotton had taken place.

In India, wherever the same scientific treatment had not been accorded to it the quality of the cotton had actually deteriorated in the last fifty years. Sir George Watt, in his interesting addition to the Blue-book which had been so much quoted that night, pointed out that in investigating the Report of Dr. Hove, made in 1785, and comparing the Reports which he gave of the various kinds of cotton grown in different parts of India at that time with the cotton grown in the same districts to-day he found that a great many better kinds of cotton grown in India then were not grown there at all at the present day. Indeed, he believed it was a fact that the famous Indian muslins of many years ago could not be made at all out of any cotton that was produced in India at the present time. In the Blue-book, Professor Dunstan and Sir George Watt showed that failures in regard to the growth of cotton had been due to what they called ignorant experiment. They said that the agricultural chemistry of the growth of cotton was even still comparatively in its infancy. They stated that the whole literature, botanically and commercially, dealing with cotton was in a state of chaos, and that there was a very great deal still to be learnt as to the process of the selection of seed, and as to the most suitable manure, for the purpose of growing cotton. And they pointed out that the problem was a different problem in each place where they attempted to grow cotton, different both as to the seed that was required, as to the character of the cultivation, and different of course, also, as to the very important question of the labour required, and the transport that was necessary in order to make it a commercial success. He mentioned these points because he thought it was most important that not only Members of the House, but the country at large, should understand that no enormous results could be expected within a year or two. It could not be done very quickly. He was sure everybody who was interested in Lancashire must be pleased at the interest that was taken in this question throughout the whole country at the present time. But what he wanted to beg was that that interest should not be a mere fleeting interest but should be

kept up through a series of years, because only by such interest being kept up, and by suitable people devoting their time and attention and abilities to this question, could any real success be obtained in the direction of growing that large extra quantity of cotton that we required. He would take the instance referred by his hon. friend opposite as an example. Experiments were being made in the Soudan as to the best kind of seeds and as to cultivation in general. When these questions were decided they would still have to teach the people who were going to grow the cotton. But all this would be of no avail until the railway from Suakim was completed to Berber, for until proper transport facilities were provided they would not be able to get the full advantage of the cotton grown in Egypt. In regard to the cotton grown in the Soudan they had at any rate one great thing for which they ought to be thankful. Operations would be carried on under the supervision of one of the best and greatest servants of the British Crown, Lord Cromer, who had taken a lively interest in this matter.

The Motion asked the Government to help in this question of cotton growing. He wanted to put one or two questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary so that when he replied he might give some information about them. The points that required to be considered in regard to this matter were in the first place the selection of the seed, the suitability of manures to the chemical qualities of the soil, and the peculiarities of the climate of whatever district they were dealing with. The Government had already given considerable assistance in regard to these matters, and he was quite sure that the British Cotton Growing Association had a lively sense of gratitude for what the Government had done and were doing. But he desired especially to ask the Colonial Secretary a question with regard to the most important matter of labour. He had a very firm conviction that nothing considerable could be done unless they interested the natives of whatever district they were concerned with to undertake the cultivation of

cotton themselves. They must let them have the profits so far as was possible, and they must not, if they could avoid it, merely employ them as labourers at so much a day. So far as the Soudan was concerned, Lord Cromer's last Report on Egypt mentioned how much the population of that province had been depleted. He did not know how much land there was in the Soudan capable of growing cotton; but the question he wished to put to the Government for subsequent consideration was this—that if there was a large territory suitable for the purpose and there was not a sufficient population, the question of the immigration of Indian coolies, if it could be satisfactorily done, might be considered. He said Indian coolies; he did not say Chinese coolies. [Ironical MINISTERIAL cheers.] Hon. Members cheered ironically, but he was going to add that the Indian coolies need not be kept in compounds.

Another matter he wanted to mention was in connection with labour in British Central Africa. In that country there was a very sore feeling in regard to recruiting labour for the South African mines. In the wet season labour was short there, although it was plentiful in the dry season. He was aware that the men got more wages in the mines than when engaged in agriculture at home, but the mortality in the mines was very heavy. It was rather hard that the people who were trying to develop British Central Africa should have their labour taken away from them to supply the South African mines. The last question to which he wished to refer was that of transport. He wished to ask the Colonial Secretary whether anything was being done to lengthen the railway in Lagos from Ibadan to Ilorin. He understood that the country between these two towns was peculiarly suitable for the growth of cotton. Another question he had to put was, what was going to be done as to a railway in Northern Nigeria. That was a matter of enormous importance. At present they were paying a subsidy of £400,000 a year to the Government of that territory; and he ventured to say that trade could never be developed to pay for that subsidy without a railway. He hoped that the

Mr. Emmott.

Government would favourably consider the building of a light railway there for the development of the country. The cost of a light railway would be comparatively small, and it could be built much sooner than a broad gauge railway. The British Cotton Growing Association were anxious to ascertain the amount of cotton received from our different colonies and possessions, and would like a Return of the exports of cotton from each of them for the last five years, stating the numbers of bags or bales, and their actual weight, and distinguishing between ginned and unginned cotton; and also showing the destination of the same, whether to Great Britain or elsewhere. If such a Return could be made monthly, or even every three months, it would be of great interest, and bring before the country in a marked way the progress the Colonies were making in this matter. In conclusion, he had much pleasure in supporting the Resolution, which was proposed not in the least hostility to the Government, but in the interests of the country and of the Empire.

*MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire) said that he had visited most of the cotton-growing countries of the world. There could be no doubt that Lancashire had suffered very seriously, and the sole reason was the deficiency of supply. But for that we should have had a very good trade at the present time, for there was plenty of demand for cotton goods. There was a widespread idea that the main cause of the shortness of supply was the manipulation of the cotton markets in America. These speculations only aggravated but did not cause the short supply, which was really consequent upon a series of deficient crops in America. The crop last year only amounted to about 10,250,000 bales, whereas it required 11,500,000 bales to keep the mills of the world running full time. Again, there had been the great scourge of the cotton weevil, which had cut off the supply by 1,000,000 bales. It was an unfortunate thing that Lancashire depended so greatly on the American supply. There was a considerable supply from Egypt of good cotton, and now that they had the great dam at Assouan, that supply would be increased every year. He might state that he had visited the southern States of America forty-four

years ago. At that time Lancashire consumed one half of all the cotton raised in America, whereas now it only consumed one-fourth. Before the Civil War in America, only 750,000 bales were manufactured in that country; now, they manufactured 4,000,000. Lancashire in 1860 consumed 2,500,000 of bales; now the consumption was fully 3,000,000 bales, whereas the demand for cotton on the Continent had more than trebled since 1860. The position was a difficult one, and it was desirable that in the future we should depend less on America and more on other sources of supply. During the American War he visited India in order to see whether that country was capable of taking the place of America. At that time the price of American cotton was 2s. 6d. per lb., compared with 7d. a lb. before the war. The price of Indian cotton rose from 4d. or 5d. to 1s. 6d. or 2s. a lb. After careful inspection he came to the conclusion that India could not take the place of the United States; that the staple of Indian cotton was too short; that no amount of expense incurred in cultivation would much increase the staple; that the trial of American seed was not successful; and that the climate would prevent the production of a good and long-stapled cotton from India. As soon as the American War was over the Indian supply fell off; and the spinners in Lancashire had since never used Indian cotton to any great extent. Any expectation, therefore, that India would take the place of America as a source of cotton supply was certain to be disappointed. If we were to get a substitute for American cotton it must be from Africa. There were many parts of that continent where a good-stapled cotton could be grown. But it must be done by the natives themselves. Large plantations would not answer. He believed that a trade could be carried on very profitably in African cotton on the basis of a price of 5d. or 6d. per lb. He desired heartily to support the Motion of his hon. friend.

*MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.) said he had listened with very great interest to the observations of the last speaker, because they were based on a very long experience. He should like to make one or two remarks on the interesting speech of the senior Member for Oldham, who was very anxious to avoid trenching on any controversial matter. He supposed that

it was that hon. Gentleman's misfortune, and not his fault, that he did trench on the fiscal question and on the question of Chinese labour. He could assure the hon. Member that he would endeavour to avoid both those difficult and knotty subjects. He agreed with the hon. Member for Oldham that we must not expect either from Africa, or other portions of the world where we were trying to develop cotton growing, any large scale of production for years to come. Considering the amount of time cotton had been grown in the world, and the enormous dependence of this country upon it, and the number of people who were clothed in cotton, it was remarkable that a more thorough and scientific study of the matter had not been made. It was known in those countries in which cotton was grown what kind of seeds should be sown, and at what degree of temperature the plants should be cultivated, but there was no knowledge of the kind of plants most suitable to different soils, and which would produce the best kinds of cotton. What was more remarkable was that our information on those plants had actually retrograded, and we had lost some of the information we used to possess. In his interesting Report, Sir George Watt stated that he found that in the eighteenth century there were better results from cotton growing in India than now, but the great bulk of the information then possessed in regard to cotton cultivation had been entirely lost. The reason why he had placed his Amendment on the Paper was that he wished to emphasise the fact that cotton could be grown in other parts of the British Empire besides Africa. He hoped that in the future a great deal would be done in various parts of Africa, but, of course, the class of cotton which could be grown in Egypt was not the finest or most valuable. It came after the finest and most delicate cotton manufactured in this country. That was one of those articles in which we had in this country a natural monopoly from the advantages of our climate; and it was found that those finer classes of goods could leap over any tariff which had been placed

Mr. Peel.

against them, because people would have those classes. Neither France, Germany, nor America had the atmospheric conditions in which those very delicate kinds of cotton thread could be spun. If that were so, we must make what use we could of that natural monopoly.

There were many reasons why we should look to the West Indies as a source of cotton supply of the finer kinds. First of all, the population of those Islands were accustomed and adapted to continuous labour. One of the greatest difficulties in West Africa was that, although there was a large population who were accustomed to commercial, and to some extent to agricultural, pursuits, they preferred gaining their living in an easy manner, such as by making palm oil. Furthermore, there would not be objection to subsidising cotton growing in the West Indies. We had spent a good deal of money in that direction already. Of course, it was quite possible that, in spite of the Sugar Convention, sugar growing would become a dying industry in the West Indies, for with more scientific processes applied to the manufacture of beet sugar that would compete successfully with cane sugar. Therefore, it was important in the interests, not only of Lancashire, but of the West Indies themselves, that we should find some substitute for the failing sugar industry. In days gone by a considerable amount of cotton used to be obtained from the West Indies, and within the last few years a class of cotton had been grown in those Islands which fetched from 10d. to 1s. 2½d. per pound. It was quite as good a cotton as was produced on the sea islands off the coast of America. He attached the greatest importance to the second part of his Amendment, which called for the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton-growing districts. That was the root of all real progress in the matter of the development of cotton-growing in various parts of the world. Something of the kind had already been established in India, although he was sorry to say that the progress of the development of cotton-growing there

had not been so satisfactory as could have been wished. It was very difficult to transport a particular variety of cotton from one country to another and grow it there, for cotton had an extraordinary tendency to revert to the type already existing in its new environment. It was, therefore, of enormous importance to examine the different classes of indigenous cotton growing in the various countries of the world and to submit them to examination and experiment. The observations upon this matter in the Report of the Government of India applied not only to India, but to Africa and other parts of the Empire, where it was hoped the Government would give some assistance in dealing with the problem. The matter had gone too long unattended to. We ought not to stop until we were not only less dependent on America, but had large supplies of the best class of cotton grown in the range of the British Empire. He moved to add after the word "Africa" in the Resolution the words, "And in other portions of the British Empire, and to establish or aid in the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton-growing districts."

*MR. SPEAKER: I understand there is no opposition to this Amendment, and in that case it would be better to put it at once and take the debate on the amended Resolution.

Amendment made—

"In line 3, by inserting after the word 'Africa', the words 'and in other portions of the British Empire, and to establish or aid in the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton growing districts.'" —(Mr. Peel.)

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton) wished to emphasise the fact that Lancashire did

not ask the Government to take any exceptional action. The Cotton Growing Association did not desire their Resolution to be brought forward.

MR. RUTHERFORD: They sent telegrams out in favour of it.

MR. HARWOOD said he was aware of that, but the Association recognised that the Government had acted extremely well, and that business would not be greatly facilitated by academic discourses in the House of Commons. He believed that much harm might be done by the creation of a false impression that Lancashire and the cotton trade were pursuing a selfish policy. All that they wanted was that the Government should regard the Empire as an estate to be developed in the interests of the whole Empire. Lancashire did not desire that its cotton trade should be bolstered up, but they held that the Empire could not be fully developed unless they grew cotton, and they offered a large custom for cotton grown. One useful thing the Government might do, and that was, watch the growth of the seed. It was done in the case of tea in Ceylon, and the quality of cotton in Egypt had also been greatly improved by that means. He had not a great opinion of the advantage of bringing anything before the House of Commons. Once they begun chattering about a subject, it became a sort of football match between Liberals and Tories, both Parties trying to get the cheers of the spectators. That was not business. The Government were doing very well, and he did not see what good was to be secured by speeches in the House. He simply rose for the purpose of saying that Lancashire did

not want anything done for them that would not be done for other interests and in the general interests of the Empire.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTETON, Warwick and Leamington): I agree with the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down that our business is cautiously and prudently to develop the great estate of which we are the stewards, but I do not agree with him in thinking that this discussion has been altogether out of place. On the contrary, I think that the House and the country are indebted to my hon. friend for having brought this question forward in order that we may, at any rate, become more fully acquainted with what the Government, through its various Departments—the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, and the India Office—has done in connection with it. I do not think that anyone will dispute that Lancashire has a vast stake in this matter, and that to dislocate or impair the cotton industry of Lancashire would be to inflict a disaster on the nation. Formerly, it is true, the whole supply of cotton to this country came from India, and at a later stage—India having being displaced, nearly the whole supply came from the West Indies. I think that at the beginning of the last century 20,000,000lbs., and during the American War 26,000,000lbs., were exported to this country from the West Indies. In the last ten years the average supply of West Indian cotton has been practically nothing to speak of, only 400,000lbs., and India has also fallen out of the race. America has, of course, come to the fore. That has been due partly owing to the deterioration of Indian cotton, and partly also to the displacement of the cotton industry of

Mr. Harwood.

the West Indies by the sugar industry, and the continual improvement in the quality of the United States product.

As the House knows, our main supply now comes from America, though we obtain a considerable quantity from Egypt. With very much less knowledge than that possessed by the hon. Member for Flintshire and the senior Member for Oldham, I should be disposed from what study I have been able to make of the question and from the advice I have received to suppose that the Indian cotton, from the shortness of its staple, will not be of great service to Lancashire, at any rate in the immediate future. The point does not require labouring, but it seems to me there is a genuine peril in the dependence of such an industry as the Lancashire cotton industry for its supply of raw material on practically one country, and that, though a great and friendly country, still a foreign country. To say nothing of the climatic disturbances which may affect one portion of the world, and of the speculative operations of citizens of the United States, there is a continual progress of manufacture in the United States, especially in the Southern States, and it is quite probable, as I am advised, that at no distant time they will require the whole of their raw material for themselves. That state of things is not only somewhat alarming, but really surprising, for within the British Empire itself a vast field is open suitable as we believe for cotton growing. The British Empire presents climates, soils, and populations well adapted to the cultivation of this great staple commodity, but even these advantages have been of no avail against the organised and scientific pressure of the United States. It is such organisation and direction that I venture to

think is the real necessity for this country.

It has been a characteristic of this country, I think until quite lately, that, while we have thought it right and proper that we should spend vast sums on acquiring and maintaining great territories, we have grudged a few hundred pounds for ascertaining the sources of wealth which those territories contain. I venture to think that that great error is happily passing away. Much has been done in a tentative and cautious way, and, having regard to the financial position at the present time, much is being done to remedy it. The Blue-book which has been quoted, compiled by Professor Dunstan, is an indication of the more enlightened ideas that are prevailing on these matters. Professor Dunstan with his small but enlightened and ably led staff have been taken over recently by the Board of Trade, and we have to thank them and the Department for a very interesting survey of the cotton-growing area of the Empire. It is very desirable and very important that we should consider what has been done with regard to this important question in various parts of the Empire. Passing by India, in Egypt we have already produced a considerable quantity of cotton, such as is used in Lancashire, and under the energetic direction of Lord Cromer, a great deal has been done between Cairo and Assuan. From that extension of cotton-growing we have reason to anticipate considerable advantages. In the Soudan experiments have been made in the Berber districts, and Lord Cromer is sanguine that considerable results will be obtained there also. In the West Indies we have passed the

experimental stage, and the best class of cotton is being developed there. The results were being carefully watched. In Rhodesia we are experimenting with every prospect of success and cotton growing on an extensive scale is looked forward to. In British Central Africa 4,000 acres are under cotton cultivation. The output is of the estimated value of £25,000 and cotton will probably be the staple product of that country.

He had already under his consideration the question which had been brought to his notice by the Member for Oldham as to how far it was expedient to decrease the population of Central Africa for the purpose of mining in the Transvaal, having regard to the progress made in the cotton industry. He was not fully informed upon the matter, but he would obtain the best information possible on the subject because he quite admitted that it was an important feature. He would not further discuss these sources of supply in India, Egypt, Rhodesia, Central and East Africa, but would emphasise the fact that at present the greatest activity had been displayed in West Africa. They had the greatest expectations of immediate development from the three colonies of Lagos, Southern Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. In 1901 information was sought from the Governors of those Colonies by his predecessor. In 1902 the Cotton Growing Association, which was an influential and representative body in Lancashire, was formed to promote the growth of cotton in the colonies of the Empire. The work was warmly taken up by the Colonial Office, by the West African Governors, and by the High Commissioners, and they worked together for nearly two years experimenting in a

tentative and cautious way in those Colonies. The Colonies paid in the first instance the salaries of the experts who were chosen to superintend the experimental work, the association paying the remainder of the cost. The Elder, Dempster Company provided free sea transit, and free railway transit was also provided. The result had been that after eighteen months of careful experiment it had been proved that large quantities of good serviceable cotton could be produced at remunerative prices in Lagos, Sierra Leone, and Southern Nigeria. In 1904, and since he came into office, it had been arranged that the Government should pay the cost of experiments, the association contributing 25 per cent. of the expenditure providing that expenditure did not exceed £500. Since then they had arrived at the opinion that the matter might now leave the experimental and enter the commercial stage. It would have been unwise to pass too rapidly into this stage; the field of experiment had to be carefully examined in the first instance. In the course of long consultation and negotiation with the Cotton Growing Association in which he desired to cordially recognise the great services of his noble friend the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who had taken a very active part in the matter and had been of great assistance, they were convinced that they might now pass into the commercial stage. Only to-day it had been arranged between the Colonial Office and the Cotton Growing Association that for three years the association should contribute £30,000 a year, £10,000 to be spent in the Colonies of Lagos, Sierra Leone, and Southern Nigeria, and that these three Colonies should contribute £6,500 for three years. Southern Nigeria £3,000,

Mr. Lyttelton.

Lagos, £2,000, and Sierra Leone £1,500. This was an earnest of the hearty desire of the Cotton Growing Association to help themselves and to help Lancashire, and in that desire the Government would co-operate. But they would not stop there. Land would be conveyed to the association on easy terms, railway facilities would be offered, at first free altogether, and for a time Elder, Dempster, and Co. had offered free transit for the cotton. The Cotton Growing Association for the first five years would take no profit out of the industry.

He wished he could definitely say more than he had said. There was no doubt, a very natural desire on the part of those interested to have railway facilities increased, and especially there was a desire to extend the Lagos Railway to the district pronounced to be suitable for the growth of cotton. The extension would be only seventy miles in length, and apart from the cotton industry it would probably prove remunerative. Certainly in the interest of cotton growing and of the colony there was a strong desire that the line should be so extended. But even for seventy miles of line, the expenditure would be considerable. Many Members opposite had been not unjustly exhorting the Chancellor of the Exchequer to economy, and these familiar with financial matters would be aware of the inconvenience attending the floating of a loan at the present moment. Notwithstanding these truths, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not failed to impress on his colleagues, the Chancellor of the Exchequer looked with a favourable eye on the extension of the railway provided it could be shown likely to be profitable in itself, and that the contribution required would not be

heavy. He did not wish to go any further than that, or to give any positive pledge to the House on the subject; but he thought that they might in the course of a few months give the House some earnest of their desire as well as of their ability to give practical shape to a proposal for the extension of the railway. With regard to the light railway to Kano, he recognised the importance of that in Northern Nigeria, but he thought the principle on which it was sounder to proceed in the matter of railways in these Colonies was this. There was a certain amount of waterway and a certain amount of railway already existing. There was a considerable amount of cotton area well worth exploiting near the railway and near the waterway; and it seemed obvious that those areas should be put under cultivation first, before other areas were sought at a greater distance, to the cultivation of which the condition precedent would be the making of extensive railways. Even if they made a light railway in those climates of anything but the best material, money would have to be spent on maintenance and renewal which might as well have been spent at first. But he did not rule out light railways altogether. It might be necessary to put down this railway to Kano quickly, but at the present time he was not able to see any great urgency for it. The Government had, at any rate, met hon. Gentlemen opposite so far that a survey was now proceeding with a view to finding out the best route and the probable cost. Without repeating what he had ventured to put before the House, he thought hon. Members would see that the Government of the country was endeavouring to bear in mind the necessity for cotton cultivation over a

very wide field, and were prudently and cautiously advancing in the direction of procuring it. The advance made already, as had been proved by the Report before the House, had been such as to give very great hope for the future.

SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) asked if the right hon. Gentleman could say whether the Uganda Railway could be utilised?

*MR. LYTTTELTON said he had no report with regard to cotton growing in Uganda.

*MR. HERBERT WHITELEY (Ash-ton-under-Lyne) said as a member of the Executive of the Cotton Growing Association, and as one engaged in the cotton industry, he wished to say a few words. He agreed entirely as to the desirability of regarding this matter as non-political, and he also agreed that this was not entirely a Lancashire question. Indeed Lancashire questions were not always popular in that Assembly. The question concerned one quarter of the whole population of this Kingdom, 10,000,000 persons being engaged directly or indirectly in the cotton industry, and a fourth of the manufactured goods sent out of the country being of cotton manufacture. Lancashire was doing all it could to help itself, and it would not go to others for help until it had done all it could for itself. Lancashire had already contributed £250,000 sterling, and it was hoped to make it £500,000, for the purposes mentioned, and the workpeople were just as enthusiastic as the employers and contributed huge sums through their organisations, and individually, according to their means. He had no right to speak for the Cotton Growing Association, although he was

one of the Executive, but he was sure that the association would thank the Colonial Secretary for the sympathetic tone of his speech. He would only add that those engaged in the cotton trade were doing their best, and they asked the country for its co-operation.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) said he believed he was the only speaker who had ventured to address the House as representing not the cotton manufacturers but the cotton growers. He wished to thank the British Cotton Growing Association for the help they had given in connection with the cotton growing in British Central Africa. Last year a few bales were sent to this country as a sample, and this year—it was only a very small beginning—sixteen tons were sent, the bulk of which fetched 8½d. per lb. Some of the best fetched 9d. per lb. and some rather less. That was, he thought, proof that British Central Africa could grow cotton of good quality. He hoped that such a small beginning would develop into a large increase in growing, and that in the future they would be able to help the British Cotton Growing Association. They did not really want encouragement from the Government. They wanted rather to be left alone. They were, however, very much in want of a railway in British Central Africa because the waterways were indifferent and lately had been almost impracticable. They felt it was rather hard when British Central Africa was endeavouring to get a railway for herself that it should be retarded by labour being taken away to work in the mines. The men were wanted not only for the railway but also

Mr. Herbert Whiteley.

to grow cotton on their own farms. He hoped the Government would take that into favourable consideration. They were greatly alarmed by a report which appeared in the papers last autumn about the dumping of tin from the Malay States. An hon. Member pointed out that the Malay States was not a colony, and that the policy adopted had no reference to colonial preference.

***MR. SPEAKER:** I do not think that these observations are relevant to the growing of cotton.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON said what he wished to convey was that no such policy should be adopted in connection with the industry they were opening up in British Central Africa.

MR. WHITE RIDLEY (Stalybridge) said that if the Motion of his hon. friend had no other result than to elicit the clear statement the House had heard from the Colonial Secretary with reference to the action of the Government it would not have been brought forward in vain. There was one point, however, to which the right hon. Gentleman did not allude. After a careful study of the various Blue-books nothing struck him more than the great need of the further experimental cultivation of cotton. That was agreed on by all the experts. As regarded cotton in India the whole question seemed to turn on the development of knowledge in the growing of the plant. As regarded the experimental part of the work, it would appear from the speech of the Colonial Secretary that the Government were not considering it with the same attention as they were other aspects of the question. The whole of England was looking with great concern on the situation in Lancashire, and he was

perfectly certain that the hon. Member for Bolton need not be afraid that those who asked the Government to consider the matter would incur a charge of selfishness. The country at large knew the state of Lancashire and sympathised with it. It was universally agreed that the only way by which the shortage of cotton could be remedied was to develop cotton growing within the Empire, and that the operations of private individuals required the assistance of the State. One of the real reasons of the shortage was not that less was grown in the United States, but that the policy of the United States had enabled the manufacturers of that country to develop their industry to such an extent that they required for themselves the raw cotton which we used to obtain. It was a matter for serious consideration that their policy had had that effect, whereas the result of our own fiscal policy had been to keep our trade stationary. In reference to our old Colonial policy, it would have been a good thing if in the past we had been able to work out a policy which would have developed cotton growing in the Empire. Many of the practical considerations which lay at the very root of the ideal of a United British Empire were to be found in this question which all Parties were at one in pressing upon the attention of the House. It was necessary both that the sources of supply should be increased, and that the sources of supply within the Empire should be developed.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) said it was beyond all doubt necessary to obtain cotton from a larger number of places. To be relying on the United States for 70 per cent. of our cotton was not a safe

position for this country to be in. It was not difficult to imagine circumstances under which it would be impossible to obtain any cotton at all from the United States, and if that should ever happen the distress that would ensue in Lancashire was terrible to contemplate. All concerned would hail with gratitude the attitude the Government had adopted. Those who were specially interested in the cotton industry had done all they could to help themselves, and he was glad that their efforts had been recognised.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange) said that in Liverpool they would do everything they could to help forward the movement for the development of cotton-growing within the Empire. The remarks of the Colonial Secretary would be received with satisfaction by all concerned in the cotton industry. What was most desired at present was an increase in the supply of raw cotton, and the extension of the area from which that supply was drawn. The commercial aspect of the question was most important, but its Imperial aspect was almost equally important, because the development of our colonial estates must tend in the best way to draw the parts of the Empire together. One of the great merits of this movement was that all Parties, whether free-trade or protectionist, could unite in its furtherance, and certainly, so far as the shipping interest of Liverpool was concerned, it would give all the assistance within its power.

MR. HELME (Lancashire, Lancaster) said that upon a sufficient supply of raw cotton depended the prosperity of Lancashire and, to a large extent, the trade of the country generally. It was the

shortage of the supply that had caused the present dislocation and wrought such havoc in the happiness and comfort of thousands of residents in Lancashire. The success of the gambling spirit in America had led to bolder anticipations of the crop of the present season, with the result that the control of the crop had been secured, much higher prices forced upon the industry, and the demand in the trade had suffered to a lamentable extent. The success of the trade in future, and its freedom from such harassing conditions depended upon the margin of supply between the amount used in one year and that of the next, but at present the country did not possess any such margin and had no prospect of securing it from the existing area of supply. It was, therefore, highly desirable that the area of supply should be enlarged, and for that reason he urged upon the Government the importance of the proposal embodied in the Resolution.

MR. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow) said he had received a statement from Burma that they could grow stacks of cotton there if only the mother country gave them the chance. He was unable to give any further opinions of the colonists, because they were not sufficiently polite to hon. Members on the other side to permit of quotation.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) looked upon the matter as one of far wider concern than merely affecting the manufacturers and operatives in the cotton trade. The whole of the North-west of England was concerned, because if the cotton trade was brought practically to a standstill all the trades in that district languished. In fact, the question was one of Imperial importance, in
Mr. Helme.

connection with which the strongest sympathies and efforts of the Government should be enlisted. The supply of cotton was too small, and it would tend to become smaller in comparison with the enormous amount of plant in the cotton trade, with the result that in the near future the position of the present year would be terribly aggravated. He hoped the result of the debate would be to strengthen public opinion, and so enable the Government to do far more than the Colonial Secretary at present hoped for.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Pres-
ton) urged the Government not to lose sight of the desirability of giving a little encouragement to those places where the cultivation of cotton was being spontaneously taken up. He had in his hand a letter from South Africa, in which the writer said he was devoting a portion of his farm to the cultivation of cotton, and that if the experiment proved successful there was a very large tract of land in the neighbourhood that might be brought into cultivation.

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is incumbent upon His Majesty's Government to use every endeavour to encourage the growth of cotton in those districts in Africa and in other portions of the British Empire, and to establish or aid in the establishment of experimental farms in suitable cotton-growing districts which are under British Government or British influence, and to co-operate as far as possible with such commercial associations as may be organised to secure this end.

Adjourned at five minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 28th April, 1904.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:

1. Army (Annual).
2. Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment.
3. London, Chatham, and Dover Railway.
4. Young and Bell's Patents.
5. Appleby Corporation Gas.
6. Southend Water.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Metropolitan Police Provisional Order.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [H.L.]. Presented (pursuant to leave given on Tuesday last), and read 1^a.

Hollywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]. Witnesses ordered to attend the Select Committee, and to produce documents.

Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. The order made on Friday last appointing certain Lords the Select Committee to consider the Bill, discharged.

Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kinnaird be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Duke of Manchester; read, and agreed to.

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [H.L.]. Reported

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Maidenhead Bridge Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Wellington (Somerset) Gas Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Norwich Water Bill. Reported, without Amendment.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Felixstowe Gas Bill; Birkdale Improvement Bill; Acton Improvement Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Bishop's Stortford and District Gas Bill; Brixham Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Colney Hatch Gas Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

London and North Western Railway Bill; Midland Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Yarborough be proposed

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to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Bateman; read, and agreed to.

West Riding Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [H.L.]; St. Mary Woolnoth Bill [H.L.]; Great Yarmouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Wales Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Napier be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Duke of Manchester; read, and agreed to.

PETITIONS.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of the Corporation of Liverpool; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

List of agricultural correspondents of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, with a copy of their instructions as to procedure and a prefatory memorandum.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Return showing—

Proposed new school board districts, existing school board districts comprised therein, with population, number of public and voluntary schools on the annual grant list, and the average attendance of scholars in these schools; and

Area, population, and valuation of proposed new school board districts.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3146. France (Calais).

No. 3147. France (Pondicherry and Karikal).

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (HOISTS AND TEAGLES).

Report by W. S. Smith, Esq., one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, on the construction, arrangement, and fencing of hoists and teagles. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888 (WAKEFIELD, REGISTRY).

Order made by the Lord Chancellor that Frederick Mason, the Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield, shall, so long as he holds his office as such registrar, be excluded from private practice as a solicitor;

Order made by the Lord Chancellor (with the concurrence of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury) that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Frederick Mason as such Registrar of the County Court of Yorkshire (West Riding), held at Wakefield.

METROPOLITAN POLICE (ACCOUNTS).

Accounts showing the sums received and expended for the purposes of the Metropolitan Police and Police Pension Funds, between the 1st April, 1903, and the 31st March, 1904.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

THAMES CONSERVANCY.

General Report of the proceedings of the Conservators of the River Thames during the year ended 31st December, 1903; with a statement of the accounts of the Conservators for that year. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILL.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Acts relating to Electric Lighting, was presented by the Lord Wolverton; read 1st, and to be printed. (No. 54.)

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill reported without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I wish to give notice that on the Third Reading of this Bill I shall move the following Resolution, viz.: "That this House is of opinion that no alteration should be made in the principle of Poor Law relief as now administered, save on the direct responsibility of the Government and after a full independent public inquiry into the working of the present law. This House meantime thinks it undesirable to proceed further with this Bill."

SUNDAY CLOSING (SHOPS) BILL [H.L.]
[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

***LORD AVEBURY:** My Lords, the associations of shopkeepers and shop assistants with whom I have been now for many years in close touch with reference to the Early Closing Bill, have impressed on me very forcibly the gradual extension of the opening of shops on Sunday, and their strong desire that this should be checked, and it is at their urgent request that I ask your Lordships to sanction the Second Reading of the present Bill. The evil is rapidly increasing. In London I am informed that no less than 24,000 shops and stalls open on Sundays. In Manchester the number is over 5,000. So great and growing is the evil that the Lord Mayor in January called a meeting, which was largely attended, to consider the question. The Lord Mayor expressed a strong opinion that some remedy was required. The first resolution was moved by the secretary of the Manchester, Salford, and District Grocers' Association, and seconded by the president of the Meat Retailers' Association, and it declared that it was—

"Desirable that legislative powers should be obtained to effectually suppress all unnecessary Sunday trading."

This was passed with a few dissentients—principally tobaccoists—whom, I may say, we do not propose to affect by the Bill. At the meeting of the Lord's Day Observance Society just held, evidence was given to the same effect, but I will not occupy time on this part of the subject as the fact is notorious. While mentioning the Society I may just observe that though our objects are the same, and we hope for their support, I am approaching the subject from a different side.

The Committee of your Lordships' House in 1901 on Early Closing did not consider it part of their duty to go into the question of Sunday closing, but many of the witnesses took the opportunity of expressing the strong views of the associations they represented that Sunday trading has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. As Mr. Maclaren, secretary of the Liverpool Fruiterers' and Fishmongers' Association, said in reply to Lord Romney, "Sunday trading is the result of Saturday night drinking and the cause of Sunday drinking." The movement against Sunday trading is shared by many, if not all, trades—by grocers, drapers, butchers, fishmongers, fruiterers, and especially hairdressers. The hairdressers are represented by the Hairdressers' Association; drapers by the Drapers Chamber of Trade; butchers by the London Butchers' Association, the Liverpool Butchers' Association, the Manchester Butchers' Association, and the Yorkshire Butchers' Association, and fruiterers and florists by their Federal Association. The Scotch Tradesmen's Associations also are most anxious to abolish Sunday trading.

I will not, however, weary your Lordships by mentioning all the associations of tradesmen by which we are supported, but will mention a few in one class. Take the grocers. They are represented as a whole by the great Grocers' Federation, but I have had communications also from the Northern Council of Grocers' Associations, and the Grocers' Associations of Bath, Belfast, Blackburn, Bristol, Cardiff, Darlington, Exeter, Leeds, Liverpool, Oldham, Portsmouth, Sheffield, Swansea, Swindon, and Torquay; indeed, we are supported by grocers all over the Kingdom. In fact, the only objections I have had are that

some of the exemptions go too far, and if it is shown that they can be restricted I should be glad to do so.

Coming now to the Bill itself, the first clause forbids Sunday trading. This merely expresses what is even now the law of the land, which, however, is inoperative, partly on account of its obsolete provisions, and partly because the penalties are only nominal. Clause 2 would render them effective. It adopts the scale of fines approved by your Lordships in the case of the Early Closing Bill. For a first offence the fine is only 5s., but for the second it is £1, and for the third £5. This, it is believed, would be quite effective. The third clause deals with the exemptions. There are some cases in which exceptions must obviously be made, namely, public-houses and refreshment houses, which come under other Acts of Parliament. Tobacconists, I fear, must also be excluded, because tobacco is habitually sold in public-houses and by newsagents. These would be excluded altogether from the operation of the Bill. The business of the Post Office, again, is left untouched. Chemists rarely now open their shops on Sunday, but there is generally someone in attendance who can supply anything which is wanted in an emergency. This would continue to be permissible.

Next comes the case of such articles as fish, fresh vegetables, and other perishable articles of food. We propose that the sales should be permitted up to 10 o'clock in the morning. Unfortunately, many families in our great cities live in a single room. It would be unhealthy if they had to lay in their stores on Saturday, and in many cases the articles themselves would be seriously deteriorated. Lastly comes the case of milk and cream: these we propose should be saleable up to ten and after four. In all these cases some relaxation seems necessary. We hope we have gone as far as the case requires, but we propose to give local authorities certain powers in the interpretation of this clause. As regards the local authorities, we suggest to adopt those entrusted with the administration of the Shop Hours Acts. This was the view approved by your Lordships last year, mainly on the ground that they are already dealing with cognate

Lord Avebury.

matters and have special inspectors conversant with these questions. The second schedule repeals the existing Acts so far as they deal with Sunday trading. Your Lordships will see, therefore, that this Bill does not materially alter the principles of the existing law, but rather adapts them to modern circumstances, and renders them effective.

Such, my Lords, are the general provisions of the Bill. I have introduced it on behalf of a large number of tradesmen's associations all over the Kingdom, and believe it represents their general views. Perhaps, then, I shall be asked why, if they wish to close, do they not close now? If it is their general wish that shops should be shut on Sunday, why is there any need for a Bill? This question was put to several of the witnesses before the Committee on the Early Closing Bill, and those of your Lordships who were members of that Committee will, I am sure, confirm me when I say that the answer invariably was that—

“We should much wish to close if all did so, but if a few insist on remaining open, all in the same kind of business feel they must do so too.”

Shopkeepers are anxious for the Bill because they believe that while they would do just as much business, they and their assistants would get more rest. I have been brought so much into contact with them that I am naturally anxious to help them, if possible.

But there are two other reasons which, I hope, may commend this Bill to your Lordships. One is the question of health. One day's rest in seven; rest for the body and rest for the mind, has from time immemorial been found of great importance from the point of view of health. Finally, there is a reason of even greater importance—a reason which, I trust, will appeal with special, though not exclusive, force to the right rev. Bench. Hitherto, I have referred to the health of the body only, but that of the spirit is even more important. Philosophers, theologians, and men of business in all ages have agreed that every man ought to be set free on one day in the week to study, to pray, and to think; to examine his own life, his conduct, and his opinions; to lift his mind and thoughts from the labours and

cares of the world, from the petty but harassing worries and troubles of everyday life, and to raise them to the calmer and nobler, the higher and purer regions of Heaven above. I submit the Bill to your Lordships and trust that you will give it favourable consideration.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(Lord Avebury.)

LORD BELPER: My Lords, the case, as I understand it, for the Bill which has been introduced by my noble friend is that it is brought forward in the interests of shopkeepers. Where the lot of this hard-working class of the population can be alleviated your Lordships and Parliament have always been willing to pass legislation with that object, and I am sure that if it could safely be done your Lordships would be unanimously in favour of passing such a provision as would give them one day of rest in seven. But I venture to say that there are other considerations to which your Lordships must give attention, and I hope that in laying some of these before the House it will not be considered that I am at all wishing to disregard the very strong appeal which my noble friend has made on behalf of the class for which he speaks.

Now what does this Bill really propose to do? It repeals the Acts which have been in force for so many years, but my noble friend passed over that part of his Bill somewhat lightly. The Acts which this Bill proposes to repeal practically forbid Sunday trading; they forbid the sale, or offering for sale in shops and in other ways, of goods on Sundays; and they go much further than that, because the restrictions in these Acts refer to other matters besides trading in shops. The Acts of Charles I. and Charles II. prohibited any tradesman or artificer, workman or labourer, from exercising any worldly labour on the Lord's Day except where it was work of necessity or charity. Further than that, there are special provisions with regard to the baking of bread on Sundays, which the noble Lord's Bill also proposes to repeal. This Bill proposes, further, to alter the fine which is imposed. The fine under these Acts is only 5s., and, as the noble Lord explained, this Bill proposes to

impose a fine in the case of second and subsequent convictions rising to £5.

There is another provision to which the noble Lord did not allude, which presumably this Bill also proposes to repeal—the provision that no proceedings can be taken unless with the consent of two Justices and the Chief of Police of the locality in which it is desired that the prosecution should take place. Therefore, it lies at present with the local authority to say whether prosecutions would be in accordance with public policy in cases where the law is broken by Sunday trading. Those are, practically, the chief provisions which the Bill proposes to repeal. In their place the Bill inserts provisions against Sunday trading and sale in shops and public places, and makes several exceptions which have been explained by the noble Lord who introduced the Bill. But, in addition, there is the special prohibition that no barber is to be allowed to carry on his trade on a Sunday. I do not think the noble Lord referred to that particular provision, but I should have thought that that was one case which might well have been made an exception. If a man wants to get shaved on a Sunday, and cannot get shaved in his own house, there surely is no very great crime either on his part in getting shaved on that day, or on the part of the barber who performs the duty. I think I ought, however, to state that there has been a very strong request on the part of hairdressers themselves in favour of some prohibition of this sort.

The Bill makes one rather more serious exception. It gives power to a local authority to exempt any shops or any classes of shops from the operation of the Act up to ten o'clock in the morning on Sundays. I think that might, perhaps, give rise to some abuse; and I notice that the noble Lord has not adopted the safeguard which he introduced into his Bill of last year with regard to the closing of shops—namely, that it should not take place until the views of the shopkeepers interested were ascertained. If a local authority had full power to set aside the operation of this Act up to ten o'clock in the morning, it might to some extent defeat the object the noble

Lord has in view. The point I have to ask your Lordships to consider is whether there has been made out a *prima facie* case for such an alteration as is proposed, which makes the law in many cases much more stringent than at present. Has the law as it stands proved so inconvenient that it cannot be reasonably worked? I have some statistics which may throw light on the question. I find that in England and Wales in the year 1902—the last year in respect of which statistics are available—there were 5,293 prosecutions for trading on Sunday, and that of that number 4,072 took place in one borough, and that not a borough of first class importance. Out of the total of 5,293 prosecutions, no fewer than 5,167 were in the areas of five local authorities—that is to say, throughout the rest of England and Wales the number of prosecutions was almost infinitesimal.

That does not seem to show that, generally speaking, the law is working in such a way that it requires alteration, because one of two things must have been the case in the larger area—either there were no shops open on Sundays at all, with the result that the law was not broken, or the authorities did not think it desirable to allow prosecutions to be instituted. I believe there are a large number of boroughs in which a certain amount of Sunday trading goes on. Presumably that is the case for the Bill; but the fact that prosecutions have been so very few shows that public opinion in these boroughs is not in favour of prosecutions being taken, or, at all events, that the authorities empowered to order the proceedings were not prepared to take the responsibility of instituting them in the state of public opinion in their districts.

Then there is the question, What is the public opinion in this country on this matter? I am well aware that this Bill deals with a very difficult and a very delicate question, and one which arouses a good deal of contention on both sides. I notice that the society which represents those who take the strictest view of the keeping of Sunday have issued a paper on the subject, and I cannot say that they very keenly support the Bill of my noble friend. The fact is, they are afraid that his Bill

will, in some matters, extend the facilities now given for trading on Sunday; they deprecate very strongly some of the exceptions which he makes with regard to hours and to different sorts of trades, and they deprecate still more the proposals to entrust to local authorities the power of allowing Sunday trading up to ten o'clock in the morning in any class of shops. I venture to think, therefore, that they are hardly themselves prepared to support an alteration of the law, although in some respects it might be in the direction of making the prohibition of Sunday trading more stringent than it has hitherto been.

With regard to the public generally, is it wise to ask them for their opinion on an alteration of a law which has existed for a very great number of years? It may be that that law is not absolutely logical, or not drawn in the terms that it would be if we had to draft it as a new Act to-day. There is an old proverb, "Let sleeping dogs lie," and I think this is a case where, if you stir up this question, you will create a vast amount of feeling and opposition on both sides which it may be very difficult to quell. I would ask your Lordships to consider whether there has been a sufficient case made out for an alteration in the law at the present moment, and whether, in the circumstances, seeing the vast opposition that may be aroused, and the fact that this Bill, being a contentious measure, has little likelihood of being passed into law this session, it is wise on the whole to proceed with the Bill any further. That is a matter for the House, but I do think that some of the considerations which I have very imperfectly endeavoured to point out ought to be duly weighed before your Lordships give this Bill a Second Reading.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, the noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of this Bill, and whose efforts on behalf of all that affects the working classes of this country in matters of holidays and hours of labour, whether on Sundays or weekdays, have earned for him the respect, not only of those classes of the community on whose behalf he especially labours, but of all classes.

Lord Belper.

referred in his speech to the evidence taken before the Select Committee of your Lordships' House on the Early Closing of Shops. I had the advantage of being a member of that Committee, and I can entirely support what the noble Lord said as to the strength of the evidence which was brought before us in favour of something being done in the direction he advocates. In their Report the Committee called attention to the fact that many witnesses expressed a strong desire that the law affecting Sunday trading should be strengthened, and therefore I feel that the action taken by the noble Lord in raising this question is the natural and legitimate sequel to what was embodied in the Report of the Committee.

At the same time I venture to express the hope that the noble Lord will not to-night press the Second Reading of this Bill to a division; that he will not ask your Lordships' House to declare itself now upon a subject so extraordinarily delicate and difficult for it is quite possible that action on our part taken prematurely might defeat the very object which the noble Lord and probably all Members of your Lordships' House have at heart in this matter, and result in even worse difficulties than those which may at present exist. The subject is, as I say, extraordinarily delicate and difficult, and it seems to me to be one upon which further inquiry would be eminently desirable before any action of this kind is taken. Whether it is a good thing to have that inquiry in any formal shape, and raise the question prominently before the public in order to obtain legislation one way or the other, I am not so clearly convinced; but that we cannot legislate without some further inquiry does seem to me quite certain. The noble Lord who spoke on behalf of the Government quoted certain statistics. I should like to ask whether those statistics are the private property of the Government or whether they are published.

LORD BELPER: I cannot say whether they are published. I will inquire.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: The statistics which

the noble Lord quoted rather startled me. I was surprised to hear that there had been so many prosecutions in the course of a year, and I should like very much to go into these matters in detail before coming to a conclusion on the subject. I doubt whether, outside this House, attention has been directed very widely to the noble Lord's Bill. I venture to think that I would have been one of those who would have received a very large number of communications on both sides if the matter had been in the cognisance of the public at large. Nothing is more undesirable than to prematurely do something which is not consonant with that deliberate public opinion which might be arrived at after more consideration had been given to the matter. But the point I specially feel is that the matter is so delicate and difficult that it does require tender handling lest we defeat the object which the noble Lord has in view, an object which I join with him in desiring to see accomplished, though I doubt whether the best mode of accomplishing it would be by giving a Second Reading to his Bill.

VISCOUNT CROSS: My Lords, I hope the noble Lord will be content with having introduced this Bill. I can speak, from past experience at the Home Office, of the difficulties in connection with Sunday trading. There is very strong feeling both ways. I sympathise deeply with the views which have been put forward by the noble Lord who introduced this Bill, but I am afraid he may defeat his object if he presses it too strongly on the country at the present moment. Personally, I should very strongly object to the repeal of the old Acts of Charles I. and Charles II. I think they had better remain on the Statute-book. There is another part of the Bill to which I should entirely object, and that is the local option clause, which, I think, would lead to a great amount of unpleasant discussion up and down the country among local authorities. If there is to be legislation of this kind, I think it ought only to be brought forward after very mature and deliberate consideration, and certainly a Bill of this nature ought to be in the hands of the Government itself. Having every sympathy with the noble Lord's

object I hope he will not press his Bill to a division.

***LORD AVEBURY**: My Lords, I need hardly say that I listened with considerable regret to the speech which was delivered by my noble friend on behalf of His Majesty's Government. The noble Lord objected, in the first place, that the repeal of the statutes referred to might, in one or two points, effect the very opposite of that which those who introduced this Bill desired. I do not quite follow that, and, indeed, my noble friend himself seemed to have some doubt on the subject. I may say at once that if it could be shown that there was anything in the Acts which it is proposed to repeal, the repeal of which would enable things to be done on Sunday which cannot be done now, I should be the first to wish to see my Bill amended in that respect when it got into Committee. With regard to the question of fines, I would point out that the fines suggested in this Bill are those which were recommended by the Committee of your Lordships' House, and which were adopted by your Lordships in the Bill of last year. The noble Lord also objected to the inclusion of barbers in the Bill. I was at first under the same impression as my noble friend, that it would be desirable to exclude barbers; and, as a matter of fact, from the Bill as originally drafted barbers were excluded, and it was only at the urgent request of hairdressers' associations throughout the country, who pointed out the great hardship that would be inflicted upon them if Sunday trading was not stopped, that they were included in the Bill.

Objection has been raised by the noble Viscount opposite to giving the proposed power to the local authorities, and the noble Lord who represents the Government stated that I myself last year only suggested that the local authorities should have certain powers if supported by two-thirds of the shopkeepers. I would point out that there is very great difference between the two cases. In the one case the local authorities were to shut up the shops against the wish perhaps of the particular shopkeepers and we thought that ought not to be done unless there was a strong consensus of opinion in its favour; but in this case we are allowing the local

Viscount Cross.

authority to leave shops open, which is a totally different matter, and we therefore did not think it would be necessary to provide for a two-thirds majority in this case. At the same time, I frankly confess I do not think there are many cases in which the local authorities would be likely to act on these powers. I placed them in the Bill to obviate objection on that point; but local authorities generally would, I believe, desire that the shops should be closed on Sundays. Then my noble friend who represents the Government gave some statistics as to the operation of the present law. He told us that there had been 5,293 prosecutions, and that they were confined to very few places. I should have drawn from those statistics a totally different conclusion from that which appeared to recommend itself to my noble friend, because it would seem to me to be obvious that throughout the whole of the country, with these four or five exceptions, the present law is absolutely inoperative.

LORD BELPER: As they wish it to be.

***LORD AVEBURY**: I cannot admit that. My conviction is that the inadequacy of the fine is the reason. My noble friend said that that state of things could only have arisen in one of two cases—either there were no shops open or the local feeling was against prosecutions. But I would submit that there is a third explanation, and it is, in my opinion, the real explanation—namely, that the present fines are so small that the local authorities do not think it worth while to prosecute. The offender merely pays the fine, snaps his fingers at the authorities, and opens his shop as before. The shopkeepers say that the present Acts are well intentioned, but perfectly ineffectual because of the smallness of the fines. If we had a substantial fine for second and subsequent offences, you would see a different state of things.

I feel, however, I cannot resist the appeal which has been made to me by the most rev. Primate and by the noble Viscount opposite, that I should not put the House to the trouble of a division on the Bill to-night. I have done my best and fulfilled my promise to the shop-

keepers and assistants in calling attention to the subject. This is no hobby of my own. It has been at the urgent request of the shopkeepers themselves that I have asked your Lordships to take the matter into consideration. The noble Lord who spoke on behalf of the Government said that they wished to "let sleeping dogs lie." Well, I do not think the shopkeeping community are disposed to allow the subject to remain in its present condition. I am satisfied that they will move again, either in this House or in the other House of Parliament. Knowing as I do the strong and almost unanimous feeling of the shopkeeping community throughout the country, I have very little doubt that sooner or later we shall get a measure of this character passed into law. I do not even despair of His Majesty's Government dealing with the subject. I trust your Lordships will take the matter into your serious consideration. If you will make inquiries in your own districts you will find that this evil of Sunday trading is great and growing, and that the Bill which I have had the honour of submitting to your Lordships does express a general and earnest desire on the part of the shopkeeping community. For the present, however, I beg leave to withdraw the Bill.

Bill, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 28th April, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to—

1. Army (Annual) Act, 1904.

2. Wild Birds Protection Act, 1904.
3. London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Act, 1904.
4. Young and Bell's Patents Act, 1904.
5. Appleby Corporation Gas Act, 1904.
6. Southend Waterworks Act, 1904.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier Bill [Lords]. To be read the third time To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP NO. 5).

Mr. COMPTON RICKETT reported from the Committee on Group No. 5 of Railway Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Monday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Thames Steamboat Trust Bill. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

They have agreed to—Amendments to Amendment to Southend Water Bill; Amendments to Appleby Corporation Gas Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

PETITIONS.

LICENCES (RENEWAL).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Hornsey; Rhosbeirio; Leytonstone; Ilford; Reading; Crouch Hill; North Finchley; Clapham; Birmingham; Glasgow; Islington; Hucknall Torkard; and North Kensington; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Lower Cross; Carlisle; Sunderland; and Barnsbury; to lie upon the Table.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS AND ELECTIONS BILL.

Petition from Lanark, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petitions in favour; from Chatham; and Sunderland; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th April; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 145.]

LABOURERS' COTTAGES (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 9th February; *Mr. O'Shaughnessy*]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (HOISTS AND TEAGLES).

Copy presented, of Report by W. S. Smith, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, on the construction, arrangement, and fencing of Hoists and Teagles [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Accounts presented, of the Metropolitan Police and the Police Pension Funds for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 146.]

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Thames Conservancy. General Report and Accounts of the Conservators for 1903 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 147.]

ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

Address for "Return of all Royal Commissions issued in each year from 1896 to 1903, inclusive, specifying the objects of each such Commission, the name of each Commissioner and Secretary, the date of each Report, or if still sitting, and the cost of each up to the 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of and in the same form as Parliamentary Paper. No. 338, of Session 1896)." —(*Mr. John Ellis.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Repairs to Trinity and Irish Lights Yachts.

Mr. PLUMMER (Newcastle-on-Tyne): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state the amount of money spent on repairs to the Trinity yachts "Irene" and "Mermaid" and the Irish Lights yacht "Tearaght," since they were built; whether it is proposed to further repair the "Irene"; and, if so, what is the nature of such repairs and the probable cost.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I am informed by the Trinity House that the approximate amount expended in repairs to the hull and machinery of the "Irene," since she was built in 1890 up to the end of last year, is about £23,000, this amount representing ordinary and special repairs, as well as the cost incurred in respect of a collision a few years ago which was unrecoverable. In addition to the above the "Irene" has just undergone a thorough overhaul, including the fitment of new boilers, at a total cost of about £9,500, and it is anticipated that she will not require any further repairs for some time. As regards the "Mermaid," which was built in 1897, the total outlay for repairs to

hull and machinery up to the present time amounts approximately to the sum of £1,900. I am informed by the Commissioners of Irish Lights that the total expenditure on the "Tearaght," under the headings of ordinary and engine room repairs, during the period from 1st April, 1893, to the 31st March, 1904, amounts to £9,518 4s. 1d.

Accidents to Dover Pier Works Lightships.

MR. PLUMMER: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state how often during the period 1899 to 1903, the lightships placed by the Trinity House at the request of the Admiralty to mark Dover pier works have been run into, and sunk, or seriously damaged; what has been the amount of the loss which has thereby accrued to the Lighthouse Fund; and whether the Board of Trade proposes to make any application to the Admiralty to contribute towards such loss.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) During the period in question the lightship marking Dover pier works has been twice run into and sunk, and on three other occasions has been the subject of collision. In the latter cases the whole cost of the necessary repairs was recovered from the owners of the vessels causing the damage. In the case of the two vessels sunk a sum of £14,800 was recovered from the owners of the vessels which ran them down. The cost of the new vessels to replace those lost was £20,400, and a total expenditure of £5,600 has accordingly fallen on the general Lighthouse Fund, but, in view of the fact that the Trinity House were obtaining new vessels of the latest type in place of two that were respectively 54 and 40 years

old, it was held that the Admiralty could not reasonably be called upon to contribute to their cost.

Qualifications of Examiners to Civil Service Commission.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the qualification necessary for examiners and assistant examiners employed by the Civil Service Commission; and whether he will explain why vacancies in these posts have been filled by nomination.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The principal qualifications which the Civil Service Commissioners have looked for in selecting permanent examiners and assistant examiners has been high distinction in some branch or branches of study, according to the needs of the service at the time. Occasional examiners have been selected from among the number of those ascertained to be best qualified to conduct or take part in the particular examinations for which they are engaged. The Orders in Council from the first have given power to the Civil Service Commissioners, "subject to the approval of His Majesty's Treasury, to appoint from time to time such assistant examiners and other persons as may be required to assist them in the performance of their duties."

Exchequer and Audit Officials.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the number and rank of the Exchequer and Audit officials employed at headquarters, and the number and rank employed outside of headquarters, with the names of the different places at which they are so employed.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

Stationed at	Directing Officers.	Examiners.	Staff Clerks.	Second Division Clerks.	Boy Clerks, etc.	Total at each Station.
Headquarters (London) .	29	20	7	116	15	187
Chatham Dockyard .	1	1	—	3	1	6
Devonport do. .	—	1	—	4	1	6
Portsmouth do. .	—	2	—	4	1	7
Woolwich Arsenal .	1	—	1	6	2	10
Pretoria .	1	—	1	3	—	5
Outside of Headquarters	3	4	2	20	5	34

Report of Visit of H.M.S. "Odin" to Tristan da Cunha.

MR. LODER (Brighton): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Report of the recent visit of H.M.S. "Odin" to Tristan da Cunha has yet been received, and, if so, whether it will be laid upon the Table, as has been done on former occasions.

(Answered by Mr. Pretymen.) The Report has been received, but as it is of no particular public interest this year, it is not proposed to lay it upon the Table, unless it is desired that this should be done.

Promotions in Cork Post Office.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Cork): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in making the promotions pending at the Cork post office, he will carry into effect the recommendations of the Tweedmouth Committee, which stated that, on the

introduction of the amalgamation scheme, the higher postal appointments are proper to the old postal sorting clerks.

(Answered by Lord Stanley.) I am not aware of such a recommendation having been made by the Tweedmouth Committee, and I can only repeat what I have previously said respecting the promotions at Cork, that I will endeavour to secure that the officers promoted are the best qualified for the higher duties.

Postal Service Between London and Paris.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state the hours of the various daily despatches of letters from London to Paris, and *vice versa*, with their corresponding deliveries.

(Answered by Lord Stanley.) The information required by the hon. Member is as follows:—

Time of despatch from London.	Delivery commences in Paris at
9.5 a.m. viâ Dover	5.45 p.m. the same day.
10.0 a.m. viâ Folkestone	7.40 p.m. the same day.
11.0 a.m. viâ Dover }	7.10 a.m. the next day.
2.20 p.m. viâ Folkestone }	
9.5 p.m. viâ Dover }	

Time of despatch from Paris.	Delivery commences in	
	(a) City of London at	(b) Other London Districts at
9.45 a.m. viâ Calais .	6.20 p.m. the same day.	5.40 p.m. to 6.15 p.m. the same day.
11.35 a.m. viâ Calais .	8.30 p.m. the same day.	7.0 a.m. to 7.20 a.m. the next day.
4.0 p.m. viâ Boulogne } .	7.20 a.m. the next day.	7.0 a.m. to 7.20 a.m. the next day.
8.40 a.m. viâ Calais }		
9.0 p.m. viâ Dieppe .	8.30 a.m. the next day.	10.15 a.m. to 11.15 a.m. the next day.

Licences Refused on the Ground of their not being Wanted.

MR. HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle): To ask the Secretary of State or the Home Department if he will state the number of licences which magistrates in county boroughs and non-county boroughs, respectively, refused to renew during each of the past ten years on the grounds that they were no longer required for the neighbourhood; how many such refusals in county boroughs and non-county boroughs respectively, were appealed against, and what number of the refusals were confirmed by quarter sessions.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) The only figures which I can give are contained in the Parliamentary Returns on the subject. In the second column of the table below will be found the numbers of refusals in boroughs on the ground that the licences were not required. It is not possible to distinguish in the figures of appeals between these cases and refusals on other grounds; but the remaining columns of the table show the total number of appeals and the results.

Statement with regard to refusals to renew licences:—

		Licences refused on the sole ground that they were not required.	Appeals against all refusals.			
			Appeal dismissed.	Appeal allowed.	Appeal abandoned, pending, etc.	Total.
1894	County Boroughs .	14	17	27	—	44
	Non-County Boroughs	6	7	8	—	15
1895	County Boroughs .	2	18	10	2	30
	Non-County Boroughs	5	7	4	—	11
1896	County Boroughs .	2	17	10	2	29
	Non-County Boroughs	1	3	2	—	5
1897	County Boroughs .	10	17	12	1	30
	Non-County Boroughs	2	3	3	2	8
1898	County Boroughs . .	8	15	22	5	42
	Non-County Boroughs	2	1	2	—	3
1900	County Boroughs .	33	44	16	2	62
	Non-County Boroughs	8	5	5	—	10
1903	County Boroughs .	57	47	45	16	108
	Non-County Boroughs	35	25	34	9	68
Total	County Boroughs .	126	175	142	28	345
	Non-County Boroughs	59	51	58	11	120

No Returns were published for 1899 licensing meetings were held outside and 1901, and in 1902 no general annual London.

Workhouse Nursing—Report of Committee.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what steps, if any, have been taken to deal with the Report of the Departmental Committee on Nursing, which was made in November, 1902; and whether the recommendations of the Committee in that Report are to be adopted as they stand.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) As stated in the reply given to the hon. Member by my hon. friend, the Secretary to the Local Government Board, on the 21st instant,† after the Report of the Departmental Committee on this subject was made I received a considerable number of representations on points relating to their recommendations. I have caused these representations to be brought before the Committee, who have duly considered them. I am now in possession of the views of the Committee, and I will shortly decide precisely what course shall be taken in the matter.

Valuation and Population of Proposed Scotch School Board Districts.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Paper showing the population and valuation of the proposed school board districts under the Education Bill will be in the hands of Members before Monday.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) I have been in communication with the Stationery Office, and I am told that the Paper will be delivered in the Vote Office to-morrow evening.

Naval Speed Trials off the Coast of Cornwall—Damage to Fisheries.

SIR LEWIS MOLESWORTH (Cornwall, Bodmin): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether, with the view of preventing damage to the fishing interest on the south coast of Cornwall from the proposed naval speed trials near the shore, the Government will consider the advisability of first taking the opinion of their

fishing experts, and publish the report of such opinions.

(Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellows.) We have not previously received any representations on this subject, and at the moment I can only refer to the statement recently made in another place by the First Lord of the Admiralty, with whom my noble friend the President of the Board has placed himself in communication. Any evidence which may be supplied to us in support of the suggestion that fishery interests have been, or are likely to be, adversely affected, will of course receive careful attention.

Dog Tax in Scotland.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will consider the expediency of arranging for the dog tax in Scotland to be reduced as in Ireland; and, if not, will he state on what ground Ireland is given a preference in this matter.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I do not propose to initiate legislation for the assimilation of Ireland to the rest of the United Kingdom in the matter of establishment licences. As is well known, Ireland is exempt from payment of all these licences; and the small registration tax on dogs, imposed for local purposes, is neither collected by nor paid into the Exchequer.

Proposed Alterations in Drawback on Tobacco.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state the proposed alterations in the drawback on tobacco as recommended by the Joint Committee of the Customs and Inland Revenue authorities appointed by him.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I regret that I am not yet in a position to give the information desired by the hon. Member.

Agricultural Banks in India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the number of agricultural banks in India, and

he districts in which they are respectively situated.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The hon. Member is referred to the answer given by me to his Question on the same subject on 18th February last.† The Bill to provide for the establishment of agricultural banks has only just become law, and some time must necessarily elapse before its provisions will be practically operative, and before Returns are available of the banks established under it.

Mahony Estate.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the negotiations for the sale of the Mahony Estate, in which the Gap of Dunloe is comprised, have been completed; can he state how many applications from evicted tenants on that estate have been received by the Estates Commissioners, and how they have been dealt with.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I understand that negotiations for sale have taken place between the owner and tenants of this estate, but so far no application in respect of the property has been made to the Estates Commissioners. Seven applications have been received on behalf of evicted tenants and will be considered by the Commissioners.

Irish Constabulary Force Fund.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that members of the Royal Irish Constabulary retiring on pension are entitled according to Finance Code 656 to 4 per cent. on their pay from the Constabulary Force Fund, and that this amount was reduced in March, 1895, to 2 per cent. in consequence of the insolvency of the fund; will he say if the fund is now in a solvent condition, and what percentage it is able to pay to the remaining subscribers; and will he direct the Inspector-General to raise the percentage in accordance with the amount it is able to pay.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxx., 234.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The grant was calculated at the rate of 4 per cent. between the years 1891 and 1895, and was reduced to 2 per cent. in the latter year. It is payable only to members of the force who joined before 18th June, 1883, and its object is to cover the cost of expenses incurred when retiring from the service. The fund is solvent. The income of the reward branch of the fund, out of which the grant in question is paid, is not derived from subscriptions. It is not proposed to increase the percentage.

Discontent among Maryborough Prison Warders.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is the fact that discontent exists amongst the warders at Maryborough Prison owing to the conduct of Chief Warder Murray in insulting and abusing the warders in presence of convicts and on other occasions; and whether, seeing that several warders have complained to the Governor of the Prison about the conduct of this man towards them, he has reported the matter to the General Prison Board; and, if so, what steps have been taken, if any, to prevent the continuation of such conduct on the part of this man.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) It is not a fact that discontent exists among the warders of this prison, or that several warders have complained to the Governor of the conduct of the chief warder. A complaint was preferred by one warder named MacMahon, and as a result of the investigation held he was removed from Maryborough Prison by the Prisons Board, who considered the warder to be unfit for convict service duty. The chief warder performs his duties to the satisfaction of the Board.

Inspectors of Veterinary Branch of Irish Department of Agriculture.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the names and qualifications of the recently appointed inspectors to the veterinary branch of the Agricultural Department for Ireland, also their experience as veterinary surgeons and where

they were last employed; whether he can state the names and qualifications of the unsuccessful candidates; whether the appointment of a veterinary inspector is made by the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction; and, if not, can he give the name of the official who selects and recommends the candidates for appointment to the veterinary staff, and by whom finally is the appointment ratified.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Two appointments have been made to the staff of temporary veterinary inspectors since November, 1902, namely, Mr. J. D. Whitty, V.S., Wexford, and Mr. J. R. Thompson, V.S., Londonderry. Mr. Whitty, during his professional course, was the winner of six gold medals; he practised at Drogheda and Strabane, and in the counties of Aberdeen, Forfar, and Midlothian; he was last employed at Brechin. Mr. Thompson has practised in the United States and in Londonderry. It would be contrary to practice to give the names of the unsuccessful candidates. The appointments were made by the Department.

Commission on Irish Workhouses— Publication of Evidence.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will arrange for the Departmental Commission on Irish Workhouses to publish the evidence already submitted to them; and if the Commission, having finished their investigations for Ulster, could furnish a Report of the recommendations they are prepared to make for that Province.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) This Question only appeared on the Paper for the first time this morning, and it is not possible to reply to it to-day. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat the Question on Monday next.

Increased Pensions for Crimean Veterans.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the number of Crimean veterans still living; and whether he can arrange as an act of grace that the pensions of these veterans shall be increased.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The number of Crimean veterans still living cannot be stated at short notice. All those in receipt of small pensions, who are in necessitous circumstances, are now being granted special increases provided that they have either been wounded or discharged for disability or are at the present time suffering from a disability clearly due to their military service.

Japanese System of Army Land Transport.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any officer of the Army Service Corps has been attached to Sir W. Nicholson or Sir Ian Hamilton for the purpose of acquiring information as to the Japanese system of army land transport.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) No officer of the Army Service Corps has been attached. The system of Army land transport will be reported on by the officers who have been attached, several of whom have had experience in dealing with transport, notably Sir W. Nicholson, who was Director of Transport during the recent war in South Africa.

William Davies, of Dominica, v. The Crown— Delay in Settlement.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will give the reason for the delay in the case brought by Mr. William Davies, of Dominica, West Indies, against the Crown; and if he will use his influence to have the matter settled as soon as possible.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Governor has been instructed to endorse his consent on the statement of claim as provided by Section 370 of the Leeward Islands Act, No. 8, of 1876, so that the case may be tried by the Supreme Court of the Leeward Islands. No complaint has reached me that any avoidable delay has occurred.

Estate Schools in Ceylon.

MR. SCHWANN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any practical response has been made by

state owners in Ceylon to the information as to the terms on which Government aid can be obtained by planters towards the establishment of estate schools and procedure for obtaining registration of them, as set out in the letter from the Governor Sir West Ridgeway's letter and memorandum to the Planters' Association of Ceylon, of 16th November last.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I have no information as to this particular point. Before making inquiry I propose to await the arrival of the Report of the Committee on Education, which the Governor stated some weeks ago was being printed and would be sent shortly. In his telegram on the subject, dated 10th March, the Governor added that steps are being taken to submit definite proposals as to estate schools.

British-Indian Traders at East London, South Africa.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the order of the Town Council of East London requiring British-Indian traders to vacate the town in fourteen days, regarding which he has called for an inquiry and report from the local authorities, will not be enforced until he has considered and given his decision on the report, and to state if definite instructions are sent out to hold the order in abeyance till then; and if he will lay the Papers on the subject upon the Table of the House.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.) I am not in a position to give instructions in regard to a law in a self-governing colony under which powers have been conferred on a local authority. I am not able to lay Papers at present; the Governor has sent me a despatch on the subject which is on its way.

The Licensing Bill.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will see that provision is made in the new Licensing Bill that any award made under the Act by way of compensation shall be clearly defined as between the licence-holder and the brewer, so that

licence-holders shall have every protection.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) It is, of course, impossible in the Licensing Bill to define the manner in which the relative shares of the brewer and the licence-holder are to be determined in every case, owing to the immense variety which exists in the relations between the two. The Bill provides that the respective shares of the brewer and the licence-holder in the compensation money are to be determined by quarter sessions, who will consider the circumstances and determine what is fair in each case, and give full consideration to the claims of the licence-holder. The Government fully recognise the importance of the subject.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Birching Boys in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in view of the fact that boys under eighteen are liable to birching over the bare back, not exceeding twenty-four blows, and caning on the back, with clothes on, the number of blows not to exceed twelve; that these punishments are inflicted by the ship's police, and in the presence of the boys on board ship; that the offences for which boys are liable to caning or birching comprise every offence against discipline and the slightest faults; and that it is stated in 759 of the King's Regulations for the Navy that birches are to be supplied from the dockyard and the canings are to be inflicted with light and ordinary canes, specimens of these birches and canes will be placed for the inspection of Members in one of the rooms of this House; and whether the Admiralty authorities are prepared to recommend any alteration in the present system of birchings and canings for trivial offences.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The answer to both parts of the Question is in the negative.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Am I right in saying that these punishments have to be inflicted in the presence of all the boys on board ship?

***MR. PRETYMAN:** Yes, Sir, that is the regulation, but the hon. Member is not absolutely right in all his own particulars.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I will give the hon. Gentleman an opportunity to put me right when the Vote for the salary of the First Lord is debated?

The Capture of Fort Illig.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty a Question of which I have given private notice—whether it is the fact that a force of British sailors and Marines has attacked and captured Fort Illig in Italian Somaliland with the concurrence but without the help of the Italian men-of-war who were spectators of the action; for what reason was the attack made, and if made to destroy the power of the Mullah who is now located in Italian territory, whether the attack ought not to have been left to the Italians.

MR. SPEAKER: The latter part of the Question is a matter of opinion; but the first part is in order.

***MR. PRETYMAN:** The facts are as stated in the earlier part of the hon. Member's Question, but as to the remaining part I am not in a position to answer it, as I have only received the Question to-day. I sent the Question to my right hon. friend the Secretary for War, to whom it would be more properly addressed, but it did not reach him in time. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will give notice of the Question.

Claim against the War Office by an Imperial Yeoman.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is aware that a sum amounting to about £40 arrears of pay for service in South Africa, due to Sergeant W. C. Forster, 18th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry Corps, who, having served his full time with the colours,

went into reserve, re-enlisted, and volunteered after discharge for South Africa, has not yet been paid him, notwithstanding numerous personal applications made by him to the War Office, and urgent letters written on his behalf to Lord Roberts, the Secretary of State for War, and the War Office; and what explanation, if any, can be given for the delay by the War Office in the payment of this sum which has caused Sergeant Forster inconvenience and distress.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The hon. Member appears to be misinformed. The rank of sergeant was not conferred on this soldier, and it appears clearly from the accounts that no further sum is due to him. It is a fact that he has made many applications to the War Office and to various individuals. He has, however, been informed in writing more than once of the facts to which I have referred, and a verbal explanation to the same effect has also been given.

Director of Supplies and Transport.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the appointments of Director of Supplies and Director of Transport have yet been made; and whether, contrary to the recommendations of the Escher Committee, it is intended to appoint a non-expert to either or both of these posts.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER:** By Part I. Section II., paragraph 24 of the Report of the Escher Committee, "the selection of military subordinates in each branch should be made by the Secretary of State upon the sole recommendation of the responsible member of the Council." The appointments of Director of Supplies and Clothing, and Director of Transport and Remounts, have been made on the recommendation of the Quartermaster-General, who is the chief of the Department concerned.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Was it not recommended that these officers should be experts?

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER:** The head of the Department concerned

as well acquainted both with the recommendations of the Commission, and with the qualifications of the officers in question before he made the appointments.

The New Rifle.

MR. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether each of the new rifles will be separately tested by being shot at various ranges, or whether only ten out of a hundred will be so tested as was the former custom. I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the new Government rifle, on account of the reduction in its weight and the increased twist of the grooving of the barrel, kicks so much as to seriously affect accurate shooting, he will consider the advisability of discontinuing the manufacture of this rifle until it has been thoroughly tested in India.

***MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER**: In reply to these Questions, I have to say that each of the new rifles will be tested and sighted individually. The tests of the new rifle have been completed, and there are no grounds for discontinuing manufacture. The twist of the rifling has not been increased nor the accuracy of the rifle impaired by the reduction in weight.

Transvaal Labour Ordinance

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is able to state for how many Chinese coolies shipping accommodation has so far been provided by the agents of the Transvaal mine-owners; and what is the rate of wage which will be paid to the labourers.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I am not able to say for how many coolies shipping accommodation has been provided. I am still in communication with Lord Milner as to the rate of wage.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the plan of bringing to Hong-Kong all the Chinese labourers

enlisted for the Transvaal will be adhered to or whether they will be shipped from other ports also; whether the official whose duty it will be to explain to the labourers the terms of their contracts has yet been appointed; and, if there is to be more than one port of embarkation, whether similar officials have been appointed to each.

MR. LYTTTELTON: The Convention with China will provide for the shipment of the labourers from all the Treaty ports. An official will be appointed at each port from which they will be shipped, and two of these officials have been selected.

Kaffir Mortality in the Witwatersrand Gold Mines.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now lay Papers upon the Table giving the communications which have passed between himself and the High Commissioner, and the High Commissioner and the owners of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines, respecting the grievous mortality of the Kaffirs working in the mines, and also the promised Returns of such mortality.

MR. LYTTTELTON: I shall be in a position to lay Papers very shortly. I am waiting for a report by Sir G. Lagden, which I expect to receive by the next mail.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): Will the Papers include the one promised as to the mortality among the thousand labourers brought from Central Africa?

MR. LYTTTELTON: Yes, Sir.

Missing Property of the Late James Murray.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any reply has yet been received from Lord Milner in reply to the question addressed to him in reference to a missing sum of £25, the property of the late James Murray, alias M'Gowan, alias M'Gavan, of the Lendy Estate, Rhodesia.

Mr. LYTTTELTON: I have not yet received a reply to my inquiry, and will remind Lord Milner.

Income-Tax—Committee of Inquiry.

*Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyll): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will include among the subjects to be referred to the Committee on the Income-tax the question of the collection of the tax in Scotland, with a view to putting the proceedings in connection with this on the same footing as in the rest of the United Kingdom.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): No, Sir; this would I think, be a retrograde step. The Scottish system is superior to the English system, and, if there were to be any change, it should be in the opposite direction to that suggested by the hon. Member. But an examination of the merits of the two systems would be outside the scope of the proposed inquiry. As it arises out of this Question, hon. Members may like me to give the exact reference to the Committee which is to inquire into the income-tax system, and to state the names of the members of the Committee, which I was unable to do the other day. The names are Mr. Ritchie, Chairman; Sir H. Primrose, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue; Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P.; Mr. Cosmo Bonser, Chairman of the City Commissioners of Income-tax; Mr. Adam Murray, one of the General Commissioners for Manchester, and joint author of a guide to income-tax practice; and Mr. W. Gayler, Chief Inspector of Stamps and Taxes at Somerset House. The reference to the Committee is as follows:—"To inquire into and report whether it is desirable to effect any alteration in the system of the income-tax, as at present prescribed and administered, under the following heads:—(a) the prevention of fraud and evasion; (b) the treatment of income derived from copyrights, patent rights, and terminable annuities; (c) the allowances made in respect of the depreciation of assets charged to capital account; (d) the system of computing profits assessable under Schedule D on the average of the profits actually realised in the three years preceding the year of assessment; (e) the rules and regulations

governing the recovery by taxpayers of overpayments of income-tax."

*Mr. AINSWORTH: May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman will undertake that whatever the result of this inquiry the system in the two countries shall eventually be the same?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; that would require legislation, and it would be of a very contentious character.

Licensed Houses and the Death Duty.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, when the death duty has been paid on the full value of a licensed house based on the expectation, reasonably held, that such licence would be renewed, and this licence has not been renewed, the executors, if they have not already realised the full value, can recover any portion of the duty.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir. The executors can recover the duty if application be made before administration of the estate has been closed.

Education Act—Defaulting Authorities.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, in view of the introduction of the Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, it is intended to proceed with the machinery for mandamus local authorities provided in Section 16 of the Education Act of 1902.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board are not prepared to make any definite statement at present on the point named in the hon. Member's Question.

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill Finance.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether it is contemplated that the Education (Local Authority Default) Bill will involve any additional expenditure of Exchequer grants on education; if so, whether provision has been made in the Estimates for 1904-5; and, if not, whether he will indicate from what source

the funds are to be forthcoming for the purpose of rendering the non-provided schools specially assisted under the Bill more efficient than they are at present.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The answer to the last part is, I think, sufficiently indicated in the provisions of the Bill, which is now in the hands of hon. Members.

Powers of Defaulting Education Authorities.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether it is intended that in the case of non-provided schools specially assisted under the Education (Local Authority Default) Bill the provisions of Sections 6 and 7 of the Education Act of 1902, as to the appointment of managers by the local authority, the veto of the local authority over the appointment of teachers, and the general control of the local authority over the secular instruction given in such schools, shall continue to apply.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I must again refer the hon. Member to the provisions of the Bill. For a detailed explanation of these, he must await the discussion which will take place when the Bill is considered in Committee.

DR. MACNAMARA: May I ask whether if a local authority has not rate-aided a denominational school it will therefore *ipso facto* lose its right to appoint the managers under Sections 6 and 7 of the Act of 1902?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: This is not the time at which we can discuss these points.

Defaulting Education Authorities in Wales.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if he will give particulars and names of the local authorities who have been defaulters in the performance of their duties as respects elementary schools.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I am not in a position to give the information desired.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: May I expect an answer a week hence?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I am afraid I shall be in the same position then.

Roman Catholic Schools in Wales.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if he will state the number of Roman Catholic schools, and children attending them, there is in each of the Welsh Parliamentary constituencies.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The total number of Roman Catholic schools in Wales and Monmouthshire is fifty-two. The total average attendance is 11,246. The areas of Parliamentary constituencies are not recognised for the purposes of educational administration, but, if the hon. Member desires it, I shall be happy to send him a statement giving the figures for each local education authority in Wales and Monmouth separately.

MR. D. A. THOMAS: Do these figures include Monmouthshire?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: Yes, they are for Wales and Monmouthshire.

Government Grants to Welsh Schools.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if he will state the amount of Government grants given to Wales for educational purposes during the last financial year under the old system, and the prospective amount to be paid to the new educational authorities in Wales during the current year.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I presume that the hon. Member refers to grants paid to public elementary schools in Wales and Monmouthshire. The amount of these grants for the year ending 31st August, 1902, was, roughly, £554,000. No very accurate estimate can be made of the amount of the grants which will be paid during the financial year ending 31st March, 1905, but it may be estimated at approximately £680,000. The increase is due partly to the new aid grant, and partly to a very considerable increase in the average attendance, which influences all the grants.

White Estate, North Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that negotiations are pending for the sale of the White Estate in North Longford; that amongst the farms offered for sale was the evicted farm of Mary Hand, Cullenmore, Granard; and that the planter tenant in this case is only an eleven months tenant who has neither resided on or tended the farm since he got it; and, if so, will he direct the Estates Commissioners to take Mary Hand's application into favourable consideration when the sale of this estate comes up for sanction.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N., for Mr. WYNDHAM): Negotiations are pending for the sale of this estate but so far no application in respect of the proposed sale has been brought before the Estates Commissioners. The tenant in occupation of the evicted holding referred to took it as an ordinary tenant in 1896, and not on the eleven months system; he resides on the farm and works it. The application of Mary Hand will be considered by the Commissioners.

Dopping Estate, North Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of Dennis Mulligan, an evicted tenant on the Dopping property in the parish of Collumbkille, North Longford; whether he is aware that this man's house and farm have been taken by a policeman at present serving in the county Louth; and whether the Estates Commissioners intend to take any action towards providing Mulligan either with an equivalent holding elsewhere or compensating the planter with a view to the restoration of the evicted tenant.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The evicted tenant who is dead, was Ellen Beglan, not Dennis Mulligan. The claim of Mulligan appears to arise from the fact that he is married to a niece of the evicted tenant. His application will be considered by the Estates Commissioners.

Catholic Clerks in the Irish Agricultural Department.

***MR. DELANY** (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can explain how it is that the Roman Catholic clerks in the veterinary branch of the Agricultural Department are debarred from all hope of promotion or increment of salary, while certain other clerks who were transferred from that branch to Merrion Street offices, were, with the exception of one Roman Catholic, all given substantial increases of salary, in contradistinction to those remaining in the veterinary branch. The hon. Member protested against the insertion at the Table of the word "Roman" before "Catholic," without consultation with him.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The position of the clerks who had been employed in the former veterinary department prior to their transfer to the Department of Agriculture has been explained on more than one occasion by my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary. There is absolutely no foundation for the suggestion that the Department acted to the prejudice of any of its officials in consequence of their religious beliefs, which are quite unknown to the Department and have never formed the subject of investigation.

Maryborough Prison Warders and Insane Convict.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELI (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a convict, named Maurice Sheehan, was beaten by five warders in Maryborough Prison by order of Chief Warder Murray in December last; that the warders broke their batons on his head; that the Governor of the prison had him transferred to Dundrum Criminal Asylum with a view to preventing the prisoner from making a statement about the treatment he was subjected to; that the medical superintendent of the Dundrum Asylum certified the prisoner as not insane, and sent him back again to Maryborough; if so, what steps have been taken by the General Prisons Board in this matter; and

whether a sworn inquiry will be held in connection with the case.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): Sheehan was convicted in March, 1902, of the crime of breaking into two Roman Catholic Churches at Mitchelstown and Kanturk and of stealing a sum of money from the former. He was also convicted of the crime of malicious wounding. He was sentenced to penal servitude for a term of five years. He was transferred to the Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum from Maryborough Prison in December, 1902. He escaped from the asylum in March, 1903, and remained at large for three months, when he was captured and recommitted to the asylum. Subsequently he was certified as sane and re-transferred to Maryborough Prison on the 24th June, 1903. In December he made a determined effort to commit suicide by setting fire to his cell. He made a murderous attack on the warders who succeeded in removing him, only after much difficulty, from the burning cell. He was examined by three local doctors and by the medical member of the Prisons Board who pronounced him to be a dangerous lunatic, of homicidal and suicidal tendencies, and he was sent back to Dundrum Asylum, where he remains. There is no foundation for the statement that Sheehan was assaulted, as suggested, in Maryborough Prison. An allegation to this effect was made by the convict and, on investigation, was proved to be groundless. It is not proposed to hold a further inquiry.

Ely Estate, County Fermanagh.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that on the Ely Estate, county Fermanagh, over forty decrees have been recently granted for rent, and a promise given that they would not be executed till after the 2nd June, and, if so, whether he will take steps to expedite the passage of the Bill before that date, so that the estate may be sold to the tenants.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): Fifty-five Civil Bill decrees for rent were obtained against tenants on

this estate at the Enniskillen Quarter Sessions. An intimation has been given to the parties, I understand, that no further steps will be taken against them until after the 19th May, the date fixed for the collection of rents. The inquiry in the second part of the Question should be addressed to the Prime Minister.

Ballina Boot Manufacturing Company.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a case recently heard in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland wherein application was made for the winding-up of a boot manufacturing company in Ballina, and where, in the course of the proceedings, it was stated that the Department of Agriculture for Ireland was a creditor to the amount of over £500, having lent that sum to subsidise the industry; and, if so, will he say whether the lending of money for such an object is one of the objects of the Department.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The Department made the loan in question for the purpose of providing machinery to be used in the school promoted by the Ballina Technical Instruction Committee, and to be employed by the committee, acting in conjunction with the boot manufacturing company, in converting unskilled into skilled labour. The Department is empowered to provide machinery for the purposes of technical instruction.

Drummeel Bog, County Longford

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the Estates Commissioners are bound to become public trustees for large tracts of bog sold under the Act of 1903 which are not in direct occupation of tenants, he will say if any application has been made to them to assume this position in connection with the Drummeel, county Longford, bog on the Granard Estate.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): No application has been made to the

Estates Commissioners in respect of this bog. If made it will be considered.

Use of Urlingford Union Board Room for Meetings.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a resolution passed at a meeting of the Urlingford Board of Guardians condemning the action of the Local Government Board in refusing to allow a meeting to be held in the board room of that union; whether he is aware that the room was unanimously granted by the guardians; and, if so, will he state why the permission granted was cancelled by order of the Local Government Board and the decision of the guardians overruled; is he aware that the promoters of the meeting only received a few hours notice that the permission granted was withdrawn, thus preventing them from securing another hall; and whether meetings, having no connection with Poor Law administration, have been previously held in the board room of this union.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): On the 31st March the guardians granted permission to the hon. Member to address a meeting in the board room of the workhouse. The Local Government Board were not made aware of the fact until the 6th April, and on the following day the Board informed the guardians that it had been decided in a Court of Law that the workhouse could not be used for any purpose unconnected with the administration of the Poor Laws. Previous to this decision the workhouse board room had been so used.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Have not Sir Horace Plunkett's committees held meetings in this room without objection being raised.

MR. ATKINSON: I must ask for notice of that Question.

Butson Estate, County Galway.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the nature of the agreement entered into in

May, 1902, in the Land Judge's Court by Mrs. Butson for the purchase of the Abbeylands, on the Butson estate, county Galway; and whether any limit was put to the time within which the purchase was to take place.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The agreement entered into by Mrs. Butson (as trustee for her son, the minor owner) was to take the lands of Great Abbey on the usual Court tenancy for seven years. At the same time she agreed to purchase the said lands for such sum, not exceeding £12,000, as the Land Judge should declare to be necessary to discharge the incumbrances on the lands. No limit of time was contained in the agreement for completion of the sale, and the actual price to be paid cannot be ascertained until the other portions of the estate have been sold.

MR. ROCHE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this agreement was entered into two years ago? Is it to go on for ever?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

New College of Science, Dublin.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the materials for the erection of the work in connection with the laying of the foundation stone, by His Majesty the King, of the proposed new College of Science in Dublin have been imported from London; whether he will give the name of the contractor entrusted with the work; whether tenders were asked for from Irish builders; whether the decorations for the platform were also imported; and whether he will take such steps as will secure the use of Irish materials and local workmen as far as possible in the erection of the building.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH; Derbyshire, W.) Tenders for building were invited from Dublin builders, and one of these was accepted. This includes all the builder's work required in preparing the part of the site available, as well as the foundation piers on which

the first stone will rest, and also the construction of the pavilion, approaches, etc. Messrs. Edginton, of London, have been selected to carry out the covering with canvas of the pavilion and covered ways, floor and seat covering, and internal decoration. This class of work is not done by Dublin firms; but with this exception all the work has been done locally. Irish materials are being used as far as possible.

Dublin Telegraph School.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the Telegraph School in Dublin is overcrowded owing to the presence there of several ladies who have passed no examination, and that as a consequence the learners who have every right to preferential treatment are placed at a disadvantage in the manner of attaining proficiency in the telegraph service; and can he say what object the Department has in view in so training these ladies, or if it is his intention to give them appointments in the instrument room.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension, as out of the sixty-three persons who are receiving instruction in the Telegraph School in Dublin, not more than twenty-nine attend at the same time, whereas there is accommodation for forty-eight. The attendance of certain assistants and others—chiefly for the purpose of improving the working at sub-offices—does not in any way place the learners as a disadvantage.

MR. NANNETTI: Is there any chance of employment for these girls?

LORD STANLEY: Yes, for the learners. Those who are not learners in the technical sense of the word are connected with other post offices which will get the advantage of the experience they are gaining in the working of the instruments, etc.

Dual Working in the Dublin Post Office.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that several sorting clerks and telegraphists in Dublin of five years service are now

employed on dual working in Dublin, although they have been employed solely in the Telegraph Department for some time; can he say why this is so, in view of the departmental evidence before the present Wages Commission that dual working has only to be undertaken for the first few years of service.

LORD STANLEY: The officers referred to are liable to be called upon to work on either postal or telegraph duties if the exigencies of the service require them to do so, and the circumstances in the Dublin office have rendered it necessary to employ these officers for part of the day temporarily on sorting duties.

MR. NANNETTI: Is the noble Lord aware that these dual workers are kept on sorting duties for a year at a stretch and then the next year do telegraph work? Is the object to increase their efficiency?

LORD STANLEY: Yes.

Duties of the Irish Postmen.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state whether it is part of the duty of a night postman to do the work of a counter hand in making up parcels for despatch; whether he is aware that in most large post offices in Ireland postmen are called upon to sort, label, and cancel stamps on parcels, which in the daytime is done by the clerk on duty; and will he direct that either such work be done by the clerk on duty or that extra pay for the same be made to the postmen on night duty.

LORD STANLEY: Primary sorting and stamping are part of the recognised duties of a postman. If the hon. Member will furnish me with particulars as regards the office at which a postman is employed in despatching parcels, I will inquire into the circumstances.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: If I give the name of the postman will the noble Lord guarantee he shall not be dismissed?

LORD STANLEY: Most certainly, that is never done.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Oh, no!

Railway Delays in Dublin.

MR. CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the delays that occur at Amiens Street and Kingsbridge Stations in connection with the transit of passengers and mails between Kingstown and the Great Southern and Western system; and whether, in view of the importance of an improved connection, he will press upon the companies concerned the necessity, in the public interest, of coming to some arrangement by which these delays may be avoided.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I have been in communication for some time past with the railway companies concerned in this matter and regret that so far a satisfactory result has not been arrived at. The Board of Trade have no statutory powers to compel the companies to take action.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the time gained by improving the cross channel service at a cost of £500,000 is more than lost by these discreditable delays at Amiens Street.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, and we are doing our best to remedy it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I have to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether there is any alteration in the order of business announced yesterday.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): In consequence of the fact that we were not able to get the Report of all the Budget Resolutions last night, I shall have to ask the House to finish that stage of the Budget next Tuesday. Monday next remains allocated, so far as the first order is concerned, to the Scotch Education Bill. On Monday week I

propose to take the Second Reading of the Licensing Bill.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Cannot the Cunard Agreement (Money) Committee be taken at an early date as the right hon. Gentleman put it down as the second order for Tuesday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The sooner that business is disposed of the better, and I will consider the propriety of putting it down as the second order on Tuesday.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any forecast as to when the Irish Land Bill is likely to be reached?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think much is gained by making forecasts of the course of business. In the first place, it depends not upon me but upon the powers of discussion of the House whether the forecast turns out accurate or not; and if it proves inaccurate hon. Members are apt to slip into the habit of thinking that I have broken an engagement. I therefore abstain from legislative prophecy.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): If the Scottish Education debate is not finished on Monday will it be continued on Tuesday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot imagine the debate on the Scottish Education Bill lasting more than one day; but, in any case, the following day must be understood to be distinctly allocated to the Budget.

MR. BUCHANAN: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will put on the Paper as soon as possible the terms of the Motion with regard to the Cunard Agreement.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Army (Annual) Bill.

SUPPLY [7TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, enrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, 'That a sum, not exceeding £32,300, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Houses of Parliament Buildings.'

*MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire) said he had given notice of his intention to move the reduction of the Vote simply in order to call attention to the delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Select Committee regarding the ventilation and sanitation of the House, and to suggest certain additional improvements which the Board of Works should carry out at the earliest possible moment. He ought, perhaps, to apologise to the Committee for his persistence in raising this question, but his excuse was to be found in his belief that what he suggested was for the benefit of the health of hon. Members, of the officials of the House, and of the occupants of the Press Gallery. When in March, 1902, the predecessor of the present First Commissioner of Works concurred in his (Mr. Wylie's) Motion and promised to appoint, and did, in fact, appoint, a Committee to consider the question of ventilation he was sanguine enough to expect that the necessary improvements would be speedily carried out and that by the beginning of 1903 the House would be placed under better sanitary conditions. But this had not yet been accomplished. The present Vote, however, included a sum of £3,000, which was to be spent in carrying out important recommendations of the Committee, including the substitution of electric fans for the present exhaust furnaces. He was glad that the antediluvian arrangements in use for many years past were to be got rid of, as they had proved very ineffective.

He regretted that it was not proposed to substitute hot water pipes for steam pipes and radiating plates because he held that the working of the latter was most uncomfortable for hon. Members, and tended to produce thirst; but he noticed that hon. Members who were very careless about bacteria in the air were particularly careful to destroy them in the water they consumed, by adding a killer of, he believed, Scottish origin. What was needed was a better supply of air for the Ladies', Reporters', and Strangers' Galleries. Fans had been put in the Ladies' Gallery which did not draw fresh air from the outside or expel the bad air, while in the Press Gallery reporters had to work in a vitiated atmosphere. If the buildings had been under the Factory Act, the First Commissioner of Works, he believed, would have been summoned and fined for the condition in which they were. Next to the Members of that House, the reporters were the most important people in it, and he was therefore very glad that, notwithstanding the absence of any recommendation, a sum of £500 had been put down for the purpose of improving the ventilation in the Press Gallery. He hoped that a larger sum would be applied to that purpose, and that they should very soon have the reporters in as good a sanitary condition as themselves.

Then he would like to press upon the noble Lord the hon. Member for the Chorley Division the advantage which might be secured by introducing ventilating fans into the dining-rooms upstairs, and the ladies' dining-rooms downstairs, for these rooms, when crowded, and even when used in ordinary circumstances, required better ventilation. He wished to say that the official responsible for the cleaning of the House was carrying out his duties with great ability, with credit to himself and with advantage to the health of the Members, and he thought the more frequent removal of the matting for the purposes of cleansing had been of much benefit and the vacuum cleaner had proved a great success. He was informed that no less than 50 lbs. of dust weekly, or 10 lbs. per day, was being carried out of the House by means of this machine, a large portion of which used to be carried out in the lungs of hon. Members. In connection with the problems of

ventilation an inquiry had been set afoot, and he believed men of considerable experience and ability were conducting it. They might hope for still better things in the future. Looking at the condition of the House at present as compared with two or three years ago, he must congratulate those who had to do with the bringing about of the marked improvement. He went into this question thoroughly some years ago, and he could state that under the new arrangements bacteria, which found a happy hunting ground there and outside, were now having a very bad time of it. In the House and in the library the thorough daily cleansing and disinfection were having a most beneficial effect. Under the old conditions he scarcely understood how the Whips and some regular attenders, like the hon. Member for Mid Lanark, existed. They must have had constitutions perfectly impenetrable to bacteria. With the improved conditions they might now expect to live very much longer than they otherwise would have done. He had devoted himself very persistently to this question, but necessity had compelled him to do so. He believed that in a few years this House would be a model in regard to sanitation, and, although he would not be there then, he would always have the pleasure of knowing that he had contributed to the giving of more sweetness and light to those with whom he had had such pleasant associations in that Assembly.

*MR. FREDRICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.) called attention to the evidence given by Dr. Graham Smith before the Select Committee on Accommodation which sat in 1901. In regard to what might be called the debating chamber it was found that the bacterial organisms in the air amounted to 5·8 per litre; in Committee Room No. 9, with fans working, and 150 persons present, the figure was 20·9 per litre; in the smoking-room at 9 p.m., when twenty-four persons were present, the bacterial organisms got up to 30 per litre; in Committee Room No. 1, fans not going, but windows open, and forty-one present, the figure was 34·6. Dr. Graham Smith reported that the unsatisfactory condition of the Committee rooms and smoking-room was due to insufficient ventilation. He thought some credit

was due to the Committee for the improvement which had been effected in the ventilation of the debating chamber. Speaking of the time before the Committee sat, Mr. Francis Fox, C.E., said—

“If there are fifty people in No. 6 Committee Room the air is not good for more than twenty minutes at the outside. The consequence is that you gentlemen are simply breathing and re-breathing the air over and over again, which is absolutely insanitary.”

But if that was the condition of the Committee rooms and the smoking room, what must be the state of the division lobbies when crowded? There the bacteria must be something tremendous. Hon. Members could not always be in the debating chamber. He could never tolerate long sermons. After three quarters of an hour in the debating chamber he liked to walk into the smoking-room or somewhere else. The smoking-room, which was in an unwholesome condition, was immediately over the kitchen. The kitchen got pretty hot about dinner time, with the result that the smoking-room also became very hot on account of the fires underneath, and no amount of ventilation would ever make that room wholesome. But the Committee of 1901 not only pronounced the smoking-room unsatisfactory, but the kitchen underneath was said to be still worse—so bad, in fact, that one right hon. Member, a Member of the Government, went into it and deliberately smashed the windows because of its unwholesome condition. And if the smoking and Committee-rooms were unsatisfactory, what, the hon. Member asked, must the state of the lobby be on crowded nights? It must, he declared, be in a very shocking state. He commended the attention of the Government to the recommendations of the Committee of 1901. It offered for a very reasonable sum to make a nice suite of rooms all along the Terrace, and this, he added, would make the House increasingly popular, and keep a majority for the Government of the day. He suggested also that some of the rooms over the present Committee-rooms might be put to more useful purpose than such as the storage of the Journals of the House from the reign of Queen Anne. He submitted that if the recommendations of the Committee of 1901 were carried out

Mr. Wylie.

they would have a satisfactory House of Commons.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said that in consideration of the long delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Committee, he would move a reduction of the Vote by £100. He called attention to the utterly inadequate telephone accommodation. At present it seemed more suitable or a third-rate "bucket-shop" in the East End than for the House of Commons. If the convenience of Members was a secondary matter, surely the moral welfare of the servants should be considered. He had been pained to hear language used by grey-headed venerable statesmen outside the telephone room which really might have been equalled, but he did not think could have been surpassed, during the progress of the Parliamentary Golf Handicap. It was certainly language unsuitable to be heard by the young people in charge of the telephone instruments. The inconvenience suffered by hon. Members was very great in that wretched box of a place when crowded with people who were trying to send messages. It was high time that better accommodation was provided. In the Legislative Assemblies he had visited in Paris and Berlin the telephonic arrangements were of the most perfect and commodious character. He trusted that his noble friend would take this matter into consideration and endeavour to bring about the changes which were urgently needed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,200, be granted for the said Service."—(*Major Evans-Gordon.*)

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said that this was a Vote in which he had always taken a considerable interest, because, amongst other reasons, he had been a member of the House of Commons Accommodation Committee. He agreed with the hon. Member for Mid. Norfolk that it was extremely regrettable that the recommendations of that Committee had been mainly ignored. He quite admitted that one or two things contemplated by the Committee had been carried out, but why should all the rest of their recommendations have been

ignored? Anyone who read the evidence given before the Committee must come to the conclusion that the alterations recommended by them in their Report were absolutely necessary in the interest of the health and well-being of the men who spent the greater portion of their lives in the House. The condition of the Members' smoking-room was a perfect scandal, and was a constant menace to the health and well-being of the Members. By some extremely ignorant people this House was supposed to be the best club in the world. There were 670 members of this club, and the only smoking-room was situated in the worst part of the building, over the kitchen, where the atmosphere was extremely hot; and which, they had been told by experts, was capable of accommodating not more than forty Members. Surely, that was state of affairs that ought to be remedied at once. They might be told that there was another smoking-room on the terrace, but that was not a Members' smoking-room; it was constantly filled with strangers. There should be a Members' smoking-room capable of accommodating 150. The Committee recommended that there should be a second Members' smoking room on the terrace where there was a whole series of rooms between the present strangers' room and the Speaker's residence, and which were now not used for any particular purpose. He asked the noble Lord that that recommendation should be carried out. Then, although the ventilation of the kitchen had been considerably improved, it was, in his opinion, still in a shocking bad state. If hon. Members thought he was exaggerating let them visit the kitchen and they would find that they could not stand the heat, even in this cool weather, for more than a minute. By the expenditure of a small sum of money he was sure that something might be done to make the place habitable. There was no bakery or workshop in the city where such arrangements would be allowed to continue for a day by the Government Inspectors of Workshops and Factories.

There was one item in the Vote which gave him great satisfaction. At last something was to be done to improve the accommodation for the gentlemen representing the Press. There

was to be a lift. Goodness knew it was time that that should be provided. The climb up the stairs to where these gentleman had to work was quite a severe piece of business, and the absence of a lift had been a scandalous disadvantage, and would not have been permitted in any other Assembly except the House of Commons. He trusted the work would be carried out with all expedition, and that everything else necessary to improve the accommodation for the gentlemen of the Press would be done. These gentlemen had to sit there just as long as hon. Members, and the hours during which they had to listen were far less entertaining to them than to hon. Members who did the talking. He was glad to see that recently there had been some extension of telephone accommodation. That was a great advantage. The Post Office staff used to charge 1d. for the use of the telephone. That was a mean proceeding, and he was pleased that when a representation was made to the Postmaster-General on the subject that charge was put an end to. The hon. Member for Stepney had said that the telephone service in the Legislative Assemblies in Paris and Berlin as superior to that in the House of Commons, but even those were miles behind the accommodation provided for members of Congress in Washington. Everything connected with the working life of members and officials in the American Congress was infinitely superior to that provided in the House of Commons. He did not know why that should be so. The Americans seemed to think more of the comfort and well-being of their representatives than they did. But that was a matter which lay with the House of Commons itself. When Members were not paid a salary or even their travelling expenses, at least they ought to have every accommodation given to them in a proper way.

He hoped the noble Lord would frankly admit at once the reasonableness of what he had said, and promise that during the recess all the reforms recommended by the Committee should be carried out. The recommendations of the Ventilation Committee had been carried out, and why not the recommendations of the House of Commons Accommodation Committee?

Mr. William Redmond.

The war came and the Chancellor of the Exchequer found it difficult to get the money. But the war was now over. They had, according to hon. Gentlemen opposite, a flourishing Budget, and the money market was reviving, and that being so, the least thing they could do was to make themselves as comfortable as they possibly could. Some hon. Members did not attend in the House, and the divisions showed that a large number were in the habit of only dropping in to take part in divisions. Those who had to spend their lives in the House of Commons must smoke somewhere and they ought to have a suitable smoking-room. At the present time they could hardly ever find a vacant seat in the smoke-room, and they ought to have some place provided to rest themselves in. He appealed to the noble Lord opposite to meet him fairly. If he did, the noble Lord would hear no more from him upon this subject, but if he did not he would hear more of it.

*SIR MICHAEL FOSTER (London University) said he wished to make a few general remarks with regard to the question of ventilation. The Committee appointed to investigate this matter had given its chief attention to the ventilation of the House of Commons itself. Those who had read the Report would see that the air of this Chamber, as compared with other buildings in which large assemblies of people were held, was very good. The air which they breathed under ordinary circumstances in the Chamber of the House of Commons was such air as was seldom breathed in other public buildings. Even from the bacteriological point of view it was also good, but in this respect they were dealing with a difficult subject, because our knowledge of bacteria was far less than that of the chemical constituents of the air. With reference to bacteria, he would remind hon. Members that some were their friends and some were their enemies, and they did not always know which were their friends and which their enemies. If a too zealous Committee had decided to deprive the air of the Chamber of all its micro-organisms it was probable that the House would suffer from such a complete deprivation. But although the air of the House of Commons was found to be relatively good the House ought not to be content with air that was only relatively

ed, but the air ought to be as good could be provided with all the modern resources of science. The Committee had considered what changes could be made, and they had taken into consideration the whole system of ventilation at present in use. One objection was that the air they were breathing in that Chamber was brought through the carpet on the floor. There is another objection which was that the air was brought from the Terrace through devious underground passages. And the Committee considered whether they should recommend a total change in the system. Several systems were strongly urged upon the Committee, and I might remark that when a man had invented a particular system of ventilation he was prouder of that system than anything else a man could be of. The Committee, however, came to the conclusion that they could not recommend any of the new systems suggested to them with the certainty that they would lead to a better condition of things than they had at the present time. Therefore, they contented themselves with seeing if they could not make certain improvements in the present system pending the advancement of the science of ventilation. They found that the want of an adequate and proper system of ventilation was largely due to the backward system of the science of ventilation itself.

To him few things seemed to be more in want of ventilation than the science of ventilation itself, and pending increased knowledge in this respect they desired to limit themselves to making certain obvious improvements. One of these, which he was glad to say had already been put in force, was increased cleanliness all over the House. He thought every hon. Member would have noticed that the House had been in a far cleaner condition recently than it had ever been before. The method of dealing with the exhaust air was somewhat antiquated, and they found that the engineer had not adequate control over the supply of air. They had, therefore, recommended that two new fans should be introduced. With regard to the system of heating, the artificial means adopted appeared to be in past at least the cause of that dulness in the air which they all

complained of. But the present state of our knowledge did not permit any definite statement as to the exact cause of that dulness and how it could be prevented. He thought they wanted a large inquiry into the whole of this question, and until they had clearer evidence than they had that some system which would be successful could be introduced instead of the old system, they thought it was not worth while to recommend large expenditure and they confined their recommendations simply to those improvements which they knew would be efficient and would produce good. They had not been able, for want of time to devote much attention to matters outside the Chamber itself, and he desired to express his personal regret that the Report contained no specific recommendation with regard to the Reporters' Gallery. He thought it was absolutely impossible by any scientific method whatever to make the present smoking-room a place in which the Members of the House could smoke in a good atmosphere, and what they wanted was more complete accommodation. If they only knew more about the science of ventilation than they did he was sure they could supply very much better air in that Chamber and all over the House than they were getting at the present time. One of the recommendations of the Committee was that a definite inquiry should be instituted into the whole subject of the ventilation of the House, and by that he meant an extensive and complete inquiry using the best scientific power they could command. He regretted to say that that recommendation of the Committee had not been carried out. He knew that there was a small inquiry going on, but what he meant, and what the Committee meant, was that there should be a very distinct and large inquiry into the whole system of ventilation, using the House of Commons as an example. He trusted that sooner or later that larger inquiry would be undertaken.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said there could be no doubt that the accommodation of the House at the present time was far from adequate, but it must not be forgotten that the requirements of the Members of

the House now were vastly in excess of what they were a few years ago. Unfortunately, whilst the requirements of the Members increased year by year, the capacity of the building remained the same. The whole of the interior had been altered from time to time and every particle of room had been utilised without, however, carrying out all the requirements of the House. He agreed that no amount of ventilation would render the smoking-room of use for any large body of Members, but still something had been done by turning over what was called the Irish dining-room to the use of smokers after a certain hour. He did not, however, agree that the kitchen was badly ventilated. No doubt more accommodation was required, but it was fairly well ventilated.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.) called attention to the meagre accommodation provided in the House for ladies, and contrasted the arrangements made by the House of Commons with those provided by the Upper House, which he stated were far superior. He called attention to the retention of the grille. He admitted that this question had been raised some half century ago, and that a predecessor of the noble Lord had stated that he had taken the opinion of some hundreds of ladies who were in favour of the retention of the grille, but he invited the noble Lord to go up into the Ladies' Gallery now and take the opinion of those at present occupying it, by whose verdict he (Mr. Campbell) would be content to abide. He also asked for an annunciator in the Ladies' Gallery, in order that ladies should know who was addressing the House.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.) said, with reference to the question of ventilation, that all that was required was a little common sense on the part of those responsible. Between three and five in the afternoon the atmosphere of the House was most oppressive and not nearly so free and pure as at nine or ten at night. The reason was plain—in the early part of the day not a window was open or a ventilator working. The bad ventilation of the House was entirely due to a lack of common sense among the officials. He had been in the Con-

Colonel Lockwood.

ference-room when it had been impossible to get a breath of air without opening one of the large windows, and the un-ventilated condition in which the library corridors were allowed to remain when the House was not in session was, in his opinion, largely the cause of the absence of so many Members through indisposition early in the sessions. The Committee-rooms were more unhealthy than a Court presided over by a Judge of eighty years of age, who kept the temperature at such a height as to make it uncomfortable for everybody but himself. What was wanted in the Committee-rooms was a through current of air—a draught of fresh air running through them. They were the worst ventilated rooms for a tribunal in any Legislative Assembly in the world. He agreed that the condition of the tea-room was fearful. With regard to the accommodation for ladies, he thought the first thing to do was to provide for the Members and let the ladies shift for themselves. The House was not called together to give dinners downstairs and teas on the terrace. In his opinion the best thing to do would be to discourage female attendance at the House, and then perhaps hon. Members would be more in attendance in the Chamber. He objected to the House of Commons being made a place for social gatherings. So far from the House of Commons being the best club in the world, it was the worst to which he belonged, and certainly the most expensive. He appealed to the noble Lord to see that the attention of the officials was called to the state of the atmosphere in the House itself, and to the condition of the other rooms to which reference had been made. In those portions of the building where Members were compelled to be, they had a right to demand that they should be enabled to live under healthy conditions.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said that considering the construction of the House it was surprising that the ventilation should be as good as it was. He remembered that the Committee on Ventilation, in the course of their labours, had great difficulty, owing to absence of plans, in finding out where the drains really went, and one of the discoveries they made was, that

Members were actually breathing sewer-gas. That condition of things, combined with the late hours which the House used to keep, made him wonder that any Members were left to tell the tale. It was probably a case of the survival of the fittest. He deeply sympathised with the occupants of the Ladies' Gallery; their lot was, indeed, not a happy one. If the House would appoint him a sub-Committee, with power to add to his number, he, accompanied by some other intrepid Members, preferably married men, would be glad to proceed to the Ladies' Gallery and take a census of the opinions of the ladies as to whether the grille should be removed, and as to the conditions under which they would prefer to carry out their difficult task of following the debates. A great deal had been heard of the objective condition of the atmosphere in the House; but what Members were interested in was not so much the objective as the subjective conditions. He believed that much of the depression to which Members were subject was due to the condition of mental inertia to which they were reduced after a long day in the House. Members sat there for hours doing nothing beyond vainly endeavouring to catch the Speaker's eye. That was a terribly worrying process, and was largely responsible for the lack of capacity for work which so many hon. Gentlemen experienced. He fully agreed as to the desirability of better accommodation in the smoking-room and the tea-room. The great object of the authorities ought to be to induce men to remain in the House instead of causing them to go elsewhere by the lack of reasonable accommodation. The feeding arrangements were much better than was formerly the case, and the 2s. dinner was a perfect marvel. As to the artistic decoration of the House, much remained to be done before the House would be, as it ought to be, a treasury of art, both in painting and sculpture. In this connection, he desired to render his appreciative thanks to Professor Church who had so kindly—and, he believed, gratuitously—given his valuable services in restoring the frescoes, many of which had fallen into a very bad condition. Two more plaques—one Scotch and one Irish—were wanted in the lobby. He

was aware that the present was not a favourable opportunity on which to ask for money for decorative purposes, but if any patriotic gentlemen were willing to provide the plaques at their own cost he would guarantee to find an excellent artist—hailing from Aberdeen—who would do the work both cheaply and well.

Mr. MILD MAY (Devonshire, Totnes) thought it was little short of scandalous that some better method of taking divisions should not have been devised. At present Members were jammed together at one end of the lobby while the House was being cleared, with the result that they were breathing one another's exhalations, and it should be remembered that towards the end of the session the health of many Members was not in the best possible state. The position was very disagreeable in another sense, because Members frequently found themselves next to their most importunate acquaintances from whom they could not then escape. An improvement might be effected by recurring to the system which, on the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, was tried for a session, and by which Members proceeded straightway through the lobbies without any disagreeable waiting at the doors. There might be some slight structural alteration made which would provide them with an exit from the Outer Lobby, and in that way they would get rid of the disagreeable wait he had complained of, and they would save a good deal of time. He thought some alteration, at any rate in this particular, was really very necessary, whether they accepted his suggestion or not, because nothing could be more disagreeable than the way divisions were taken at the present time. As to the question of ventilation, the hon. Member for the University of London had condemned their present system. At the present time all the fresh air that came into that Chamber was pumped up through the matting on the floor of the House, upon which Members deposited the filth from the streets through walking upon it. If the Committee would report against this system he was sure they would have the

hearty support of the whole of the House.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich) said that a more important question than ventilation was the safety of the House of Commons buildings from fire. A little time ago a proposal was made with regard to the safeguarding of the House of Commons buildings from fire, by the Superintendent of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade. Soon after this proposal was made, the sum of £1,400 was voted as a Supplementary Estimate on the recommendation of the Chief Officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, but he noticed, although at that time the matter was considered urgent, only £611 was expended, and it was stated, in a note of explanation, that it had not been found possible to give full effect during the year to all the recommendations of the Chief Officer of the Fire Brigade. He had tried to find the balance in the following year's Estimates, but no such Vote had been taken last year nor was it in the Estimates this year. He supposed, therefore, that those recommendations were not going to be carried out, and either there had been a mistake in assuming that the matter was urgent or else more money had been asked for than had been found to be necessary. As the House voted this money for this distinct purpose, he thought they had a right to know why those recommendations were not carried out, and why money had not been taken to complete the recommendations of the Superintendent of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

*COLONEL STOPFORD SACKVILLE (Northamptonshire, N.) said he could not understand what must be the feeling of the stranger who came into the most central part of the Houses of Parliament and found only two mosaics. He thought the noble Lord might afford a little more money to fill in those terrible gaps in the central part of the House. In thirty-six years since he first entered the House only one additional mosaic had been placed in the Central Hall, viz., that representing St. David. He joined in the appeal made by the hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire that the Patron saints of Scotland and Ireland should be inserted in the vacant panels.

Mr. Mildmay.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) said that what in his opinion was wanted to purify the atmosphere of the House of Commons was a general election, because there were too many hon. Members on the Benches opposite. There was one complaint he had to make. The door behind the Speaker's Chair was extremely inconvenient, and common Members of Parliament like himself had to tap at that door to get it opened whilst Members sitting on the Front Bench were provided with a key. ["No, no!"] At any rate, Cabinet Ministers were provided with keys, and he thought all Members of Parliament ought to have the same privilege, because at present it was a regular nuisance and the door might be kept open. Then there was the ridiculous notion of keeping the door leading into the cloak-room locked during a division. This was too ridiculous for words, and if the Whips could not keep their Party in order why did they not employ a couple of policemen? After hon. Members passed through the lobby and got into the central lobby, why they should not be permitted to go straight into the cloak-room he could not understand. If the noble Lord would give them free ingress and egress behind the Speaker's Chair, and open the door going straight down into the cloak-room, it would be a great convenience to hon. Members.

MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.) complained that in the library they were constantly unable to find a place to sit down to work. He desired to ask the noble Lord if more provision could not be made in that respect; he was afraid, however, that they would get very little sympathy in that matter, because Ministers had their own private rooms.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said this debate had been fruitful in eliciting a useful speech from the hon. Member for the University of London, and he was delighted to find that the recommendations of the Committee did not call for any great amount of expenditure. Nearly every hon. Member had been calling out for expensive alterations, not for the benefit of the country but for the comfort of hon. Members of the House. One point,

however, had been brought out, and that was that the atmosphere of the Chamber was as good as the atmosphere of any public assembly in the United Kingdom, and the experiments which had been made recently bore out that contention on scientific grounds. As regarded the Chamber itself they had no ground to complain of the condition of the atmosphere. The improvements made on the other side of the House in regard to introducing the air under the seats might be extended to the Opposition side. There was one point which had been brought out which he had contended for more than once, and it was that they did not want so much changes of structure as more attention to cleanliness. He was delighted that the House had been made cleaner than it ever was in his recollection before. There were, however, various portions of the Press Gallery which had not been attended to in this respect, and one place he desired to mention was what was known in the Press Gallery as the black room, the surroundings of which were not a credit to the House of Commons. He hoped the improved method of cleaning which had been adopted would be continued, because if they kept the building clean they would do a good deal to improve the general condition of the House. He thought the cleanliness might be extended to the outside structure. One improvement he had noticed was that the ramps had been cleaned along the front of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and that was an improvement.

He was delighted that lately some enterprise had been shown in introducing incandescent lamps in some of the courts of the Houses of Parliament. The lighting was worse than that of any municipal building in the country. This was brought out strikingly when one walked into the street under the jurisdiction of the City of Westminster where there was a system of lighting which was modern compared with the almost antiquated system which was used to light the approaches to the House of Commons and the House of Lords. He hoped the noble Lord would give an assurance that the matter would be remedied in the near future. In regard to the warming of the rooms he said the temperature was exceedingly irregular. The temperature

of the reading-room, smoking-room, and tea-room had risen to sixty-seven and sixty-eight, and on one occasion to sixty-nine. That was a dangerous condition for Members who had to go out of those rooms into the cold temperature outside. That was how they caught chills. He should like those who had charge of the thermometers to give a little more care and attention to that matter. The smoking accommodation was really a disgrace, and it ought to be improved, because, after all, the amenities in connection with one's duty in the House were really things which ought to be looked after, in order to keep Members within the reach of the division bell. He did feel that Members of the House of Commons had been treated rather badly in recent years in regard to accommodation. A large number of rooms had been taken away from officers of the House, and this proceeding had not given Members of the House any advantage. With a selfishness which was almost monumental, Ministers had kept all these good things to themselves, and they had now an opportunity of revelling in much better rooms than their predecessors ever dreamt of. The consequence was that the attendance on the Treasury Bench was much worse now than it ever was before. He thought Ministers ought to exercise self-denial and give up some of the extra space they now occupied for the benefit of Members of the House. They might then get an adequate smoking-room, a room where one could write with comfort, and a tea-room where a refreshing beverage might be taken in a not excessive temperature.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said the matter of the door behind the Chair and the doors in the lobby was one over which the Office of Works had no control whatever.

MR. LAMBERT: Who is responsible?

LORD BALCARRES said he was not. The Minister in charge of a Vote was only responsible for matters included in that Vote. He could not say who was responsible for the matter to which the hon. Member had referred. With regard to the suggestion that a change should be made in the system in the division

lobbies, he did not think the Office of Works would be justified, on its own volition, in proposing to revolutionise a system which, however imperfect, had lasted a good many years. If the House were to direct that a new system should be adopted, the Office of Works would carry out any instructions given in that respect. The hon. Member for the Ilkeston Division had complained of the lamps outside. He had never heard a complaint about that matter before. The hon. Member had also complained of the variation of the temperature. The temperature no doubt varied here just as it did outside the Houses of Parliament, but hon. Members must in fairness recollect that what was hot for one Member was exceedingly cool for another. Varied temperaments had to be met, and it was not in their power to satisfy all. The hon. Member for Ipswich had asked about the fire protection arrangements. He was perfectly correct in saying that a Vote was taken which was not entirely expended, and that next year it was not placed on the Paper. The entire recommendations of the Superintendent of the Fire Brigade were carried out. The balance of the cost had been defrayed out of savings on other Votes. The whole of that question had been before the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. GODDARD : The money that was voted was not really expended.

LORD BALCARRES said it was expended later on. His hon. friend had asked about the mosaics in the outer lobby. If the Treasury would provide the money, the Office of Works would provide the mosaics. In regard to the Ladies' Gallery two suggestions had been made, namely, that the grille should be removed, and that an annunciator should be provided. His own experience was that ladies who applied for admission to the Ladies' Gallery would prefer that no alteration should be made. That was also the impression of hon. friends to whom he had spoken on the subject. In the absence of proof that the grille was a nuisance, he did not think they could be reasonably called upon to make that alteration. An annunciator was a noisy thing, but two annunciators would be

Lord Balcarres.

required as there were too galleries. He agreed with a great deal of what was said by the hon. Member for East Clare, but he would remind him that the Select Committee on Accommodation a few years ago recommended the outlay of a large sum of money on certain alterations and improvements, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, in view of the cost which would have been involved, did not support the proposals. He admitted as freely as the hon. Member that the whole question of accommodation, not merely for smoking and dining-rooms, but for other purposes was one of very urgent importance. He had no announcement to make on the subject, but the First Commissioner of Works realised that there were difficulties with respect to the accommodation for the Press, secretaries, and shorthand writers. Hon. Members were aware there was a plan of the House of Commons in the tea-room. If any hon. Member would refer to the plan and find where there was a vacant room available for any of the purposes to which allusion had been made suggestions on the subject would be considered. The fact was that at present there was only one unoccupied room in the premises. It was twelve feet long by six feet broad. There were rooms above the Committee-rooms, and he imagined that it was in that direction the extension of the accommodation could be made. In the Estimates for the year a considerable sum was taken for the improvement of the accommodation, chiefly in regard to the Press Gallery.

As to ventilation, he would only deal with what the Select Committee recommended. What they had got to do was to place within the House air of sufficient quantity, proper purity, and moderate temperature, and to distribute it as best they could and finally to disperse the impure air. The air was drawn into a large chamber from the Terrace and by a long passage underneath the Cromwell Statue where it was heated in winter and cooled in summer, and, in foggy weather, driven through cotton wool and thence distributed all over the House. The system, no doubt, was open to the objection that the air they consumed arose from their feet; but the hon. Member who raised this question,

nd those who supported him, had never been able to propose an alternative solution of the problem. The only alternative scheme that had been suggested was that mentioned in page 5 of the report, the ruling feature of which was that no doors should ever be open. But considering that there were seventeen doors into the Chamber it was impossible either to control them, or to open the windows, and it would be out of the question to reverse the system by which hon. Members entered the Chamber. The Committee had pointed out various features in which the system could be improved, and he had concurred in making those improvements. At the present moment the air coming into the Chamber was afterwards drawn through openings in the glass ceiling where the gas, which was their illuminant, served as the motive power. Then it went up through an exhaust chamber above the public gallery and by that means was thrown into the open air. The hon. Member had suggested that the furnaces should be done away with; but it had not been possible to adopt that suggestion, for the immediate result would have been that the exhaust air would have been drawn up to the Ladies' Gallery and would have asphyxiated the Press in their gallery. It had been further suggested that the channels through which the air was carried should be simplified. That was going to be done. Then the air was to be purified by being forced through three streams of water. The intake fan would be made more powerful. One of the recommendations of the Committee was now being actually carried out as to the more frequent removal, for the purposes of cleansing, of the matting on the floor. Hon. Members should realise that although they had been complaining for years about the ventilation of the House of Commons, the diseases from which they suffered were of a zymotic character rather than those resulting from bad air. During the last few years progress had been made in tracing the origin of zymotic disease. The matting was going to be replaced by a matting of a superior character, and that had been provided for in the Estimate before the Committee. A disinfecting chamber was arranged for where the matting would be

frequently cleansed, and, by adopting the vacuum system of cleaning, an enormous improvement would be effected in all the cleaning operations in the House.

When hon. Members complained that the conditions prevailing in the House were such as would be invariably condemned by the factory inspectors, they very greatly exaggerated the state of things. He maintained that the ventilation and cleansing of the House was infinitely better than in any theatre, church, or public building at home or abroad. Moreover, the difficulties they had to face were very much greater. The session was very much longer, and there was a constant movement in every part of the House which made it very difficult to carry out cleansing improvements. He, therefore, claimed that enormous improvements had been recently made, and when, as he hoped, it was possible to extend the system of vacuum cleaning still further, every nuisance would be removed to all intents and purposes. The hon. Member had done good service, in conjunction with his Committee, in this matter, with the assistance of Dr. Gordon, who had placed his services at their disposal. The Office of Works were, however, prepared to allow further claims for bacteriological investigations, but he asked for a sum of money to continue those scientific investigations not dealing primarily with our own problem, but with the problems from a general point of view. That was the reason why his hon. friend had to complain of the delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Committee. At the end of July or the beginning of August last, formal sanction had been obtained from the Treasury to carry out the work; but the Office of Works concluded that further general inquiry should be made into the whole of this delicate problem. Therefore, in November, an Estimate was framed for £3,000, which he now asked the Committee to sanction, for further research which it was reasonably hoped would be for the benefit not only of the House of Commons but of other institutions in the country.

MAJOR EVANS (GORDON): What about the telephone service?

LORD BALCARRES said that as regarded the telephone service, lifts, further accommodation, and the newspaper room, much was to be desired in a general way, and the Office of Works was very anxious to do what they could.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said that the Committee must feel that they had had a most interesting discussion, and that they were indebted to the noble Lord for the very clear way in which he had explained the manner in which the various suggestions of the two Committees had been carried out. Anyone who had investigated the ventilation of the House must feel that it had been originally carried out on a system with which tricks could not be played. It would be, in his opinion, dangerous to meddle with, or to recast completely, the system as a whole, though here and there improvements might be carried out. As to accommodation he could not say that he was a non-smoker, although he seldom visited the smoking-room; but when he did go there occasionally he must confess that he found the atmosphere absolutely unbearable. He understood that the noble Lord was giving his serious attention to the whole question of accommodation in all respects, with a view, if at all possible, to make further improvements. He did not think that the resources of civilisation were exhausted yet in that direction. He believed that the House of Commons had not come off second best in recasting the accommodation for Ministers of high degree. One aspect of the question had been lost sight of, and that was economy. This Vote showed an increase of 10 per cent. over that of last year. No doubt the Committees had done their work most efficiently, but it was now at an end and their suggestions were being carried out. The Commissioner of Works was now looked upon as being responsible. He said that between £5,000 and £6,000 had been spent already arising out of the suggestions of the Committees, and, having regard to the times we lived in, and to the discussion within the previous twenty-four hours, when Member after Member got up and spoke of the burdens that were being put on the people and the country, they ought to begin on

those Estimates, and refrain from increasing expenditure. They should aim at keeping down expenditure in those matters. He did not see any advantage in pressing the Government to swell the Estimates, and then criticising them afterwards. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to give an assurance that next year, if he were responsible, the present 10 per cent. increase would not be maintained; but that, on the contrary, there would be a reduction in respect of improvements and new works.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON said that after the explanation of the noble Lord he begged leave to withdraw his Motion.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) objected to the Motion being withdrawn.

*SIR HENRY SETON-KARR (St. Helens) said he wished to make a suggestion in reference to the smoking accommodation. What was really wanted was a place where a Member could write and smoke. He was not concerned for idle and frivolous Members. As far as they were concerned the present smoking accommodation was, comparatively speaking, ample. But a Member who wanted to write and smoke had only two miserable little rooms at his disposal with two small tables which could accommodate only six Members. There was no other room in the House where a Member with serious work to do could do it and smoke at the same time. It could not be done in the large smoking-room, because there was a frivolous air about it which hindered writing, and there was a political atmosphere about the Irish dining-room which did not suit him. He did not mean that in any offensive sense. Why should not two, or at least one, of the compartments of the library be given over to smoking and writing? It would not cost any money except the cost of a number of small tables, and would provide much needed accommodation.

*Mr. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.) said that the hon. Gentleman made a characteristic remark about the Irish dining-room. He would only remark that, although the room was called the Irish dining-room, it was occupied more

y Members of the Party to which the on. Member belonged than any other room in the building. The noble Lord had expressed his individual opinion that the whole question of accommodation should be looked into. They had all heard these pious opinions before, they generally, however, came from the Chief Secretary for Ireland when he was about to take up a *non possumus* attitude on behalf of the Government. When the Committee reported in 1901, there were a series of rooms on the Terrace, and the report recommended that they should be thrown into one large room; but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hoxton objected to that on the ground of expense, not because the accommodation was not available. Since that time two of the officials of the House had died, and the rooms which they occupied were not transferred to their successors. The Government thought those rooms were very desirable, and appropriated them for their own use. The fact was that private Members might talk as much as they liked, but the Front Bench annexed all the available accommodation for themselves, and accordingly took a very languid interest in the complaints of private Members. He listened to the extremely interesting statement of the noble Lord as to how they got their air. The hon. Member for the London University stated that they had no scientific ventilation at all. He himself thought they were suffering from too much ventilation. He was in the smoke-room the other night, and finding one side too hot crossed to the other to find a hurricane blowing down the wall. He complained to the attendant, and five minutes afterwards an official from the ventilation department appeared. He told him that there was a horrible draught, but the official answered that the temperature was 60 degrees, that there was a fan working over his head, and a pump beneath his feet, and appeared to think he was an unreasonable person altogether. He repeated that there was an awful draught, but the official said that was not in his department. He did not care what the temperature was as long as he could bear it; he did not care about the working of a fan or a pump; but he did care about a draught down the back of his neck. They had a choice

of two evils in the smoke-room; they could either be roasted or frozen. At least the room might be rendered habitable. He also thought there should be an annunciator in the tea-room. It was quite true that the room was not full for the greater portion of a sitting, but it was generally full at a time when interesting speeches were generally delivered. That would only be a matter of £70 and he hoped the noble Lord would favourably consider it.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said he wished to suggest that one of the library rooms should be devoted to reading only. It would be a great convenience if the room next to the Speaker's Library were furnished entirely for reading. It would be the one quiet room in the building where a Member could read undisturbed. At present Members were continually passing in and out to write letters. If more space were wanted for writing why should not the Committee-rooms upstairs be used for that purpose after the Committees had risen? They were admirably suited for writing rooms.

*MR. WEIR said he wished to know if the noble Lord had come to any decision with reference to the ventilation of the Vote Office. The officials in the Vote Office must suffer intensely in consequence of the want of ventilation, while the man who blocked up the fireplaces ought to be turned out of his office neck and crop, as he evidently knew nothing whatever about the principles of ventilation. The place was not fit for pigs to live in. He desired to suggest an alternative plan to that proposed by the noble Lord in charge of the Vote. In Japan nobody ever dreamt of entering a house or public building without removing his boots, and what he suggested was that eight Japanese girls should be brought over and placed two at each door of the House; then as soon as Members entered their boots would be quickly removed by these girls and a pair of comfortable slippers substituted. None of the filth and dust of the streets would then be brought in, and the result would be a great increase in the comfort, and an enormous improvement in the health, of the Members. He noticed an item of £900 for the supply of water. Surely that sum was

not required for the pumping of water from the artesian well; if so, there was something wrong somewhere. Another matter which, in the interests of economy, ought to be looked into was the item of an increase of £1,000 for furniture. These might be said to be small matters, but he intended carefully to scrutinise every Vote and demand explanations, as that was the only way in which economies could be effected. If the pence were looked after, the pounds would take care of themselves.

MR. RITCHIE (Croydon) said the existing method by which divisions were taken was objectionable from two points of view—first, that of the enormous waste of time involved, and secondly, that of the inconvenience caused to Members by their being shut up in the lobbies for a considerable time. If any method, not open to serious objections, could be devised it ought certainly to be tried. Some years ago a plan which he suggested to the then Speaker was put in operation for a session. Instead of the “Ayes” and the “Noes” going through different exits, they both went out behind the Speaker’s Chair, and as soon as the swing-doors were locked and the tellers had gone through, the Members passed into the outer lobby without any delay whatever, and the divisions occupied only half the time now taken. The system was abandoned for certain reasons, one of which was that much irritation existed amongst the Irish Members on various topics, with the result that they were very active in their opposition and were not at all desirous that business should proceed rapidly. The plan could be rendered successful only by the co-operation of all Members of the House. Another reason was that the doors leading to the tea-room and other places were kept locked until the division was over, and this led to a block of Members. Neither of those causes would now operate, and he would greatly like to see the experiment given another trial. No expenditure of money would be required; it was entirely a matter for the authorities of the House; and he was satisfied that if a general disposition was evinced for some alteration to be made, Mr. Speaker would be perfectly willing to consider the matter.

Mr. Weir.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) urged that one room should be set apart in which Members might both write and smoke, and that another should be appropriated by Members who wished simply to sit and chat. At present the only places where that could be done were the tea-room and the division lobbies. Accommodation ought to be provided for both smokers and non-smokers. He was not one of those who complained of the temperature of the House itself; he thought the air was remarkably equable and pure; but the side rooms upstairs would be more used if they were better favoured in winter. He was altogether in favour of economy, but it was economy of the truest kind to take care of the health and lives of Members. In the past there had been a great wastage of life, owing partly to the long hours and partly to the nature of the accommodation provided. He could not agree that a system of ventilation by which a draught was caused to the feet was a good one. It was bad for the health, especially in exciting times, that while one’s head was hot one’s feet should be made cold by a draught. The air ought to be so introduced that no draught was caused to any part of the body whatever. The present system was almost too scientific; it certainly was not perfect. The objection which had been raised to the annunciators on the ground of their noisiness might possibly be got over if certain parts were made of india-rubber. There could be no objection to ladies knowing who was addressing the House. He shared the objection to the House of Commons being made a society meeting-place, but while their lady friends were there they ought to treat them as courteously as possible and if by a little trouble on the part of the maker the annunciators could be made noiseless it would be a great boon to the ladies and little expense to the State.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that with regard to annunciators being rendered noiseless he did not quite understand whether the suggestion applied to those within or without the Bar. As to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, he did not think it was altogether desirable that the time occupied by divisions should be

hortened. It was on such occasions that Members were able to meet other Members of their Party whom they rarely, if ever, saw at other times, and the few minutes thus afforded was often invaluable for purposes of consultation and advice. He well remembered, when the Unionists were in opposition, conspiracies being hatched in the lobbies which evenuated in great results—results which, but for the opportunity of consultation afforded by the time spent in the division lobbies, would not have been achieved. A further point to be considered was that if both Parties were sent in the same direction, it might, in times of political excitement, lead to awkward encounters and scenes. Suggestions had been made for the setting apart of separate rooms for reading and smoking. The library consisted of five rooms. Could not a compromise be effected by which a room at one end should be given to the readers and a room at the other, say the chart room, to the smokers? Smoking would preserve the books, and there would still be three rooms left for those who desired to write and not to smoke. The suggestion that the Committee-rooms should be utilised as smoking-rooms was impracticable, as it was essential that the main accommodation should be on the same floor. Moreover, it could be so arranged. At present one end of the building was crowded to overflowing, while the other was practically empty. Could not some arrangement be made with the authorities of this august Assembly at the other end of the building by which a portion of the accommodation there existing might be rendered available for Members of this House? Another question that might be considered was that of the officials' residences. He had no desire to interfere with the Speaker's house, but the Clerk at the Table had a residence, and he suggested that that might be given up. Black Rod, too, had a whole suite of rooms. In short, there was room enough in the building if only the great question of redistribution were properly faced. With regard to ventilation, he did not believe that so much science was necessary. All that was necessary was that the windows should be opened and left open. If they had ventilation they would have draughts or they could not have the fresh air.

As for all these devices of straining the air through water and cotton wool he was a little bit afraid of them, because he did not know how the air came out. As they had just been told, there were friendly microbes and unfriendly microbes.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND : Free-feeders.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that by this straining process they might strain out some of the friendly microbes. If he could have his way he would adopt the simple method of opening the windows. If that was not agreeable to the House, perhaps the windows might be opened at the break of day and left open till the House met.

LORD BALCARRES : That is done.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he was glad to hear that. This question could only be solved satisfactorily if the building was used as it might be used by getting some consideration from the other House into which all the great men of the country went. As regarded the question of additional smoking-room accommodation, and the other necessary rooms, they must be on the same floor as the Chamber of the House of Commons. He thanked the noble Lord for the attention he had paid to the question of ventilation, and he trusted that he would pay the same amount of attention to the question of the general accommodation of the House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said the noble Lord had practically admitted the genuineness of the grievances, but he had practically said that nothing could be done. He had admitted that a good case had been put forward for increased smoking-room accommodation and yet he could not promise any reform. That was not satisfactory, and it would be the duty of hon. Gentlemen who felt strongly upon this subject to divide the House. The hon. Member for St. Helens said he agreed that there was insufficient smoking-room accommodation for those who wanted to write and smoke at the same time, but when it was pointed out that after nine o'clock hon. Members were at

liberty to cross the corridor and smoke in the Irish Members' dining-room, he said that that did not meet his views, because there was a flavour about the Irish Members that he did not like. He might consider that a remark of that kind was smart, but it was just one of those tactless English statements which were extremely offensive to Irishmen, and which went a considerable distance to widen the gulf between the English and the Irish people in spite of 100 years of union.

*SIR HENRY SETON-KARR said the hon. Member had entirely misconstrued what he said. He assured the hon. Member that he had no intention whatever of saying anything of that kind, and he was very sorry if he had said anything which hon. Members opposite considered offensive.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said that if the hon. Member stated that he did not mean anything offensive, of course he must accept that disclaimer. The hon. Gentleman had a constituency in St. Helens where there were a number of Irish voters and he wished to know if the hon. Member had the same objection to the flavour of Irish voters as he had to Irish Members of Parliament.

*SIR HENRY SETON-KARR said he had already withdrawn his expression, and stated that he did not mean anything offensive. He hoped that the hon. Member for East Clare would, in the future, be ready to act on the principle he preached when he made statements about our soldiers abroad.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said there was no parallel in regard to the action of our soldiers abroad, or anywhere else, and the observations made between men who were supposed to be Gentlemen in this House. Irish Members fought for what they believed was right, but it was not in the power of any hon. Gentleman to say that they had personally been offensive in any way, for that had never been the intention of any Irish Member. It had been said that there ought to be a room where hon. Members might talk and read without smoking, but what

Mr. William Redmond.

they were complaining of was the failure to carry out the recommendations of the Committee. There was widespread dissatisfaction in all parts of the House in regard to the accommodation. It was no use arguing now that they must economise, because if they wished to do that they might commence at once by stopping the war against the Mullah and little things of that kind, but he did not see why they should economise at the expense of the Irish Members. For all evils there was generally a sovereign remedy, and a remedy for the difficulty they were in with regard to accommodation would be found by granting Ireland Home Rule. They had been told that they were going to have more indicators and a fresh one in the tea-room and the Ladies' Gallery. He hoped they would have some assurance that those indicators would be accurate. An indicator that was accurate was an exceedingly useful thing, but, if they could not rely on it, it was no use and it was inconvenient and misleading. He remembered being in the Members' smoke-room upon one occasion when the indicator clicked, and to his astonishment it announced that he himself was speaking. He mentioned the fact because he had to undergo the humiliation of seeing all the hon. Members in the smoke-room settle themselves back in their chairs and order fresh cigars. If the First Commissioner of Works would take cognisance in some indirect way of what he had asked for it would be an improvement.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) said that if the change which had been suggested in the method of taking divisions was introduced divisions would be taken much more rapidly. He thought, at any rate, that the new method might be given a trial for a time, and, if it did not meet with the approval of hon. Members, it could be dispensed with. Any hon. Members, who sat in the House between 1892 and 1895 when the Home Rule Bill was considered, and who had to crowd in the lobbies, knew the state of the atmosphere at that time and the great inconvenience to which hon. Members were put. He supported the suggestion that a room should be provided for those Members who wished not to smoke or read but to confer with each other. He wished to

irect the noble Lord's attention to a matter on which he had already communicated with him privately. It was within the knowledge of Members that such inconvenience was caused to those who came in from Westminster Hall through the door leading to the cloak-room, because the door opened only in one direction. There was no reason why it should not be a swing-door, and he hoped that the suggestion would be considered.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.) said he was a Member of the House when the method of taking divisions which an hon. Member had suggested was tried. It was done when the Irish permanent Preamble Bill was under discussion, and the object, no doubt, was to expedite the taking of divisions. He believed it did hasten the work of taking divisions, but he reminded the Committee that the Bill was passed, although fourteen of its clauses were not discussed at all. As a result of the trial given to the method then, the verdict was against it. He thought a great deal of the inconvenience complained of would be obviated if more doors were opened. He suggested that the authorities of the House might consider whether some means could be adopted whereby Members of this House who might be at the Bar of the other House could be informed of divisions. He objected to the suggestion that an indicator should be provided in the Ladies' Gallery because of the noise it would make. He suggested that an effort should be made to get some form of indicator which would make less noise than that now in use.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) called attention to the practice of clearing the permanent officials and distinguished strangers out of the benches reserved for them when divisions were taken. The occupants of the strangers' gallery were very properly allowed to stay where they were during divisions, and there was no reason why those in the benches referred to should not also be allowed to remain, instead of being hustled out to the inconvenience not only of themselves but of Members. He suggested that the noble Lord might make a representation

to the Speaker, or some other authority, with the view to an alteration in the practice.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS rose to a point of order and asked whether the head of an executive Department such as the Commission of Works, who might even be a Member of the other House, could possibly have anything to do with arrangements respecting divisions of that House.

MR. JOHN BURNS said that what he suggested was that a representation should be made to the Speaker, or some other authority. If the hon. Member thought the suggestion meant that a Member of the other House should infringe the rights of this House he had misconstrued his remarks.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS said he was not expressing any opinion on the merits of the suggestion, but he strongly protested against the idea that any head of a Government Department had any connection with such matters as the internal procedure of that House.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The regulation affecting the withdrawal of strangers is provided for by Standing Order 90, and the proper course is really to move an Amendment of the Standing Order. The matter does not rest with the First Commissioner of Works.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I gather from you that the Standing Order can only be amended by the House itself.

LORD BALCARRES said the Office of Works could not alter the arrangements made by the House for the taking of divisions. That was beyond their province, and it would be most imprudent for them to interfere in the matter. The hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty had drawn attention to the condition of the post office. He had had no notice that the matter would be brought up, and he suggested that the hon. Member should put a Question on the Paper on the subject. The increase for the cost of furniture was due to necessary changes, and also to the charge for recovering some of the Benches in the House.

The amount paid in connection with the water supply was a payment to one of the water companies for an improved supply. He would make further inquiries as to the question of the doors. The hon. Member said that the indicators were inaccurate, but the explanation was simply that some hon. Members only made speeches two or three minutes in length, and had consequently sat down before Gentlemen came from the smoking-room.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said the debate had been a very useful one so far as results were concerned. He had sat on two Committees in connection with the management of the House. One of these Committees ten or eleven years ago made a recommendation that new smoking-room accommodation should be provided, and that in the event of any room becoming vacant, it should be utilised for that purpose. His complaint was that when hon. Members gave their services on the Committee upstairs, and carefully considered a Report, the Government of the day took no notice of it. The rooms of the late Chief Clerk were at the disposal of the Government, and instead of carrying out the recommendation of the Committee, he understood that they were given over to the accommodation of Ministers. If so, hon. Members ought to enter an emphatic protest against it. He thought that Ministers had quite sufficient accommodation and comfort without encroaching on the privileges of private Members. He imagined that one of the reasons why they did not now see one or two Ministers on the Treasury Bench was the luxurious surroundings they enjoyed in the neighbourhood of the Chamber. In dealing with this matter hon. Members could not complain of the noble Lord, who had given most courteous replies, but the unfortunate thing was that the noble Lord was not the First Commissioner of Works; he was only there to hear complaints, and to represent them to a higher authority. The time had come when the House itself should take the matter into its own hands. He suggested that the best way to make the Government realise the importance of this matter and desire to carry out the reforms recommended by the Committee, was that hon. Members should have the

courage of their opinions, and go into the division lobby against the Vote. He agreed with the hon. Member for Clare that the smoking-room accommodation was a scandal, whereas it ought to be one of the most comfortable rooms in the House. There were half a dozen rooms which were never utilised by the House of Lords which ought to be appropriated. There was too much Ministerial influence against the interests of private Members, especially when the House was up. The First Commissioner of Works, who was not a strong man, was badgered by Ministers; and in that way the interests of private Members were left out of consideration. In order to give hon. Members an opportunity to protest against their treatment, he should divide the Committee.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said that hon. Members ought to recognise the fact that the House had outgrown its accommodation. They must get a new House, enlarge the present one, or make a raid on the House of Lords. The last speaker had pointed out that rooms had been appropriated to Ministers which ought to have gone to private Members. It was quite true that the beautiful house formerly occupied by the late Chief Clerk had been appropriated to Ministers. But it should be remembered that Ministers had to do a great deal of work in the House, and formerly they had to do it in what were no better than cells. He had had one of those cells for five years, and he told the House candidly that the accommodation was so wretched that it was scarcely possible to do a scrap of work in it. Why should not Ministers have a comfortable room in which to do their work, which was national business? He, for one, preferred that the work of the country should be done in comfortable surroundings, rather than that smoking-room accommodation should be provided for private Members. He did not smoke himself, although he had not the slightest objection to the fullest accommodation for smokers being afforded. He agreed with the hon. Member for Greenwich that a room next the Speaker's room should be set aside solely for reading, and he thought that the suggestion of a writing-room was an excellent proposal. He

Lord Balcarras.

was all for making a raid on the premises of the House of Lords, and that on the grounds of economy. It was no use for hon. Members to talk of economy in the House and in the country, and then, the first week after an alarming Budget was presented, propose that thousands of pounds should be spent on a new smoking-room. He did not believe that the public outside would view such a proposal with satisfaction. A good deal of nonsense had been talked about the ventilation of the House. He thought it was very good. Open windows were the best ventilation in the world. Early in the debate the Ladies' Gallery had been referred to. Why should there be a separation of the sexes in two galleries? It was absurd that when an hon. Member brought two of his constituents, a lady and a gentleman, to the House, he should have to take the lady up to one gallery, and make a long roundabout to take the gentleman to another gallery. He believed in the mingling of the sexes.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said the matter was simply a question of re-arrangement. There would be no expense involved in turning one of the library rooms into a smoke-room. As to getting some more rooms from the House of Lords, something might be done in that direction. He thought the noble Lord might be able to arrange that Members should have the use of the Lords' tea-room and join with them in the catering. The House of Lords catering was in difficulties because there

was not enough custom; the House of Commons catering was in difficulties because there was too much custom. It was quite right that the House of Lords should be exclusive; but the two Houses might join together in a catering arrangement. If pressure were exercised, he thought the House of Lords would grant that concession. Other points which would not involve expenditure might also be taken in hand. There were rooms in the building which were scarcely used at all, and which might be turned into smoking-rooms. He hoped the noble Lord would give an assurance that something would be done.

MR. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid) said he wished to ask the noble Lord what became of the Report of the Accommodation Committee. It contained several important recommendations, such as the construction of another smoking-room downstairs, better accommodation for ladies' dining-rooms, and other arrangements. He hoped that the Government would carry out some at least of the recommendations of the Committee. The arrangements for ladies' dining at the present time were a positive disgrace. The hon. Member for South Tyrone thought a great deal about the country, but he ought also to have regard for the health of Members of Parliament. He wished to know if the recommendations of the Committee were to be entirely overlooked.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 158; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 99.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James

Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.

Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E. C. (S. Andw's Bghs)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Glihooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford

Grant, Corrie
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gordon, Sir W. Brompton
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lambert, George
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Logan, John William
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 MacYeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Hugh, Patrick A.
 M'Kean, John
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)

Markham, Arthur Basil
 Mantagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Mooney, John J.
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Moss, Samuel
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Partington, Oswald
 Perks, Robert William
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Rea, Russell
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)

Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
 Slack, John Bamford
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Soares, Ernest J.
 Spencer, Rt. Hon. C. R. (Northants)
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donald
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Tillet, Louis John
 Tomkinson, James
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
 Wallace, Robert
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, George (Norfolk)
 Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Young, Samuel
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr.
 Dalziel and Mr. Jacoby.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Alsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline Fitzroy
 Bailey, James (Watforth)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Boulnois, Edmund
 Bousfield, William Robert
 Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brassey, Albert
 Brodriok, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Glasgow)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)

Carlile, William Walter
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worc.)
 Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton)
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Coates, Edward Feetham
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Saville
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davenport, William Bromley
 Denny, Colonel
 Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dickson Poynder, Sir John P.
 Diasraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
 Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers

Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
 Faber, George Denison (York)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r)
 Fieldon, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitzgerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Sir Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (Warick, S. W.)
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
 Gore, Hon. G. R. C. Ormsby- (Salop)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ry's Edm'nds)
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, W. Raymond (Camba.)
 Gretton, John
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Hamilton, Marq. of L'nd'nderry
 Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)

Hare, Thomas Leigh	Maxwell, Rt.Hn.Sir H.E. (Wigt'n)	Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)	Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire)	Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.	Middlemore, John Throgmorton	Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Hasett, Sir James Horner	Mildmay, Francis Bingham	Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.	Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Helder Augustus	Milvain, Thomas	Skewes-'ox, Thomas
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)	Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)	Sloan, Thomas Henry
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.	Molesworth, Sir Lewis	Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
Hickman, Sir Alfred	Moon, Edward Robert Pacy	Spear, John Ward
Hobhouse, Rt.Hn.H. (Somers't, E)	Morrell, George Herbert	Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Hogg, Lindsay	Morrison, James Archibald	Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)	Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer	Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
Hornby, Sir William Henry	Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry	Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute)	Stone, Sir Benjamin
Hoult, Joseph	Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)	Stroyan, John
Houston, Robert Paterson	Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)	Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Howard J. (Midd., Tottenham)	Newdegate, Francis A. N.	Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Ceci	Nicholson, William Graham	Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
Hudson, George Bickersteth	O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens	Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Hunt, Rowland	Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)	Thompson, Dr. EC (Monagh'n N.)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse	Parkes, Ebenezer	Thornton, Percy M.
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.	Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley	Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton	Pemberton, John S. G.	Tritton, Charles Ernest
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)	Percy, Earl	Tuff, Charles
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.	Pierpoint, Robert	Tuke, Sir John Batty
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)	Platt-Higgins, Frederick	Valentia, Viscount
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)	Plummer, Walter R.	Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield)
King, Sir Henry Seymour	Powell, Sir Francis Sharp	Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Knowles, Sir Lees	Pretyman, Ernest George	Warde, Colonel C. E.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)	Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward	Webb, Colonel William George
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)	Rankin, Sir James	Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)	Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne	Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
Lawsen, John Grant (Yorks. N.R.)	Ratcliff, R. F.	Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham)	Reid, James (Greenock)	Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage	Remnant, James Farquharson	Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.	Renwick, George	Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine	Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge)	Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)	Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)	Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)	Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson	Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee	Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)	Wolf, Gustav Wilhelm
Low, Francois William	Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)	Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)	Rolleston, Sir John F. L.	Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)	Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye	Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred	Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert	Younger, William
Maconochie, A. W.	Rose, Charles Day	
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)	Round, Rt. Hon. James	
M'Calmont, Colonel James	Russell, T. W.	
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.)	Rutherford, John (Lancashire)	
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)	Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)	
Martin, Richard Biddulph	Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford	

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir
Alexander Acland-Hood
and Mr. Alwyn Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) asked if the noble Lord could see his way to having annunciators and an Exchange Telegraph Company's machine placed in the writing-room of the Press Gallery for the benefit of those engaged there, to whom they would be of great utility, and expressed a hope that provision would be made for the purpose. He further desired that the lobbyists should have the use of the Ladies' Gallery lift, which was not overworked, and which would be a great convenience to them if they were allowed to use it.

LORD BALCARRES pointed out that the Government proposed to give a new lift for the use of the Press Gallery. It would not admit into the corridors at the back and around the Chamber, in which the public were not allowed unless accompanied by a Member. They would have to consider whether it would be desirable to allow these gentlemen to have admittance to them. He would communicate with the hon. Gentleman later as to the tape machine. The whole question of providing fresh instruments would come up for discussion later on, and it was possible the annunciators would be more useful in the House than in the Press Gallery.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,930, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for maintaining certain Harbours under the Board of Trade, and for Grants-in-Aid of Harbours."

* Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) moved to reduce the Vote by £100, in order to call attention to the need of a harbour of refuge on the north coast of Devon and Cornwall. Previously he had brought up this question on the salary of the President of the Board of Trade; but they had then been confined to a criticism of his administrative action and had not been allowed to go into the merits of the case. With this Harbour Vote before them he hoped they would be allowed to go thoroughly into the matter. This was in no sense an electioneering matter. There was no Party political capital to be made out of it in any shape or form. They recognised that both Governments had been to blame, and they were only anxious whatever Government was in power should perform the duty incumbent upon it. It was quite true they had not yet succeeded in making this a national question, although there could be no doubt that everyone who thoroughly investigated it would come to the conclusion, as hon. Members concerned had done, that that should be the case. If the President of the Board of Trade would investigate the matter personally, he was quite sure he would agree with them, and he would almost risk the right hon. Gentleman going into his constituency to address a Primrose League meeting if he would have a look round this most dangerous coast the day following his labours. In order to prove his case there were two things he had to do. Firstly, to show the necessity of such a harbour; and secondly, to prove that it was a proper subject for the expenditure of public money.

Before, however, dealing with the merits of the case, he must give a short history of the matter. He admitted the

subject was an old one, and it was a curious fact that it was difficult to arouse popular enthusiasm about some questions which had been before the public for some considerable time; but he hoped when the facts of the case were put before the President of the Board of Trade in a thorough manner, he would come to a different conclusion to the conclusion he came to in the previous year. The matter was first brought before the House of Commons by the Report of a Royal Commission in 1859, which recommended harbours of refuge on this coast, picturesquely and appropriately calling them life harbours. The members of that Commission described the coast as a long iron-bound coast, having a deadly lee shore during the heaviest and most deadly gales. Nothing was done and then a Select Committee on harbour accommodation was appointed. It reported in 1884, recommending a national harbour somewhere between Land's End and the Welsh coast, and it also recommended a harbour of refuge on the north coast of Cornwall, notwithstanding the fact that harbours of refuge were not within the terms of reference to the Committee; but nothing at all was done with regard to that Commission, and in 1885 a deputation waited upon the hon. Member for West Birmingham, who was then President of the Board of Trade, under a Liberal Administration. The right hon. Gentleman said they laid too much stress on the humanitarian argument, and he told the deputation that it must dismiss from its mind the slightest probability that any Government would be so imprudent as to initiate a series of eleemosynary grants for such a purpose. They could only hope the right hon. Gentleman had changed his views in this respect, as he had done in others since that date. They all knew that since that date he had begun to think Imperially, and surely he must admit that it was as much an Imperial duty, and as proper a method of spending public money, to save the lives of British sailors as to spend it on those enormous wars in which they had recently been engaged. The matter, after this snub of the right hon. Gentleman, was allowed to rest till 1887, when it was brought up in that House by Mr. Yeo. In 1886 there had been a

great storm, in which 400 sailors lost their lives, and when the Government gave the same answer as had previously been given, the House was not in any mood to stand it, and the Government only escaped defeat by a majority of five. After that successive Governments gave specific assurances. Last year they succeeded in getting a little shade of hope from the President of the Board of Trade, but he hoped to-day the hope would be very much greater. The right hon. Gentleman said last year that he was prepared to urge on the Treasury, in this particular case that they should not require the full contribution which, under the Treasury rules, would be ordinarily required from a local authority making an application. It was a shade of hope, but it was not enough.

And now he would, having given a history of the matter, proceed to deal with the merits of the question. The coast was one of the most deadly description, consisting of sheer cliffs rising from the sea to a tremendous height. He could most easily bring the nature of the coast before the Committee by describing a wreck which happened within the last two or three years, and of which he had personal knowledge. It was the wreck of the schooner "Goonlaze." Owing to the lack of a harbour of refuge, this vessel was driven on to the rocks close by Cockington Point. All hands were lost at sea with the exception of one man who clambered to the top of those terrible cliffs only to be found dead from exhaustion the following morning. He was a fine young fellow in the Naval Reserve, and he confidently asserted that such incidents ought not to happen. There was no harbour of refuge from Land's End to the Severn, and the only place of refuge was the lee of Lundy, which was not a suitable place. Yet, in spite of that, whenever there was a likelihood of a storm vessels crowded in, and the lights of the ships looked like the lights of a town. Smaller vessels dared not enter for fear of being crushed by the large steamships. But perhaps the most positive proof of the need of such a harbour was furnished by the Wreck Returns of the Board of Trade. From them he found that in the year ending 30th June, 1902, there were 371

casualties in that district alone, sixty eight being from Hartland Point to Land's End, and 303 to the north of Hartland Point. The total number of casualties around all the coasts of the United Kingdom amounted to 2,272, so that in that comparatively small strip of coast they had the sixth of the total casualties of the United Kingdom. That fact in itself was a very strong one, and surely it was one which ought to make the Government consider the desirability of constructing a harbour of refuge. It must be remembered that the Royal Commission in 1879 reported in favour of it; the Select Committee on Harbour Accommodation also reported in favour of it; everyone acquainted with the district was in favour of it; and last, but not least, an undue proportion of the wrecks round the coast of the United Kingdom appeared in that particular neighbourhood.

He thought he had proved the necessity for such a harbour on the merits of the question, and now he would prove that this was a proper object for the expenditure of public money. There was no danger whatever of such a harbour of refuge ever being in competition with private enterprise. The fact of the matter was that if the Board of Trade did not make it no one else would. No one who knew the district would say that it could ever come into competition with the great commercial ports of Bristol and South Wales. It was conclusively an Imperial matter and not a local matter. No one would deny the great importance of the shipping trade. No one would say it was not an Imperial trade; it was the trade of which this country was proudest, and in which it was *facile princeps*; and he thought it was as much the duty of the Government to look after the lives of the men engaged in that trade as it was their duty to make every legitimate effort to protect it by every means in their power. He wished to indicate what other countries were doing in regard to this matter of harbours of refuge. There was only one country to which England need ever look forward with any degree of fear as a competitor in the shipping industry and that was America, and he admitted that such a position could not arise until that country altered its present fiscal system. A little time

ago he wrote to the United States Government to ascertain what they were doing with regard to the question of harbours of refuge, and he received the following reply from the Treasury Department—

"Dear Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ult. stating that you have been told that the United States Government sometimes make harbours of refuge in dangerous places on their coasts with public money, not asking for any contribution from the locality, and requesting that you be informed whether such statement is correct. In reply, I have to say you have been correctly informed. Not only are harbours of refuge on the coast constructed by the general Government without any contribution whatever from the locality, but the improvement of the harbours and navigable waters of the United States are so met."

If the United States could do that, surely, having regard to the stupendous magnitude and vast interests of the shipping trade of this country, the Government should not be behind hand in the matter. It was no good for the President of the Board of Trade to say he would give them a portion of the money if the locality would find the rest. That was nothing more nor less than a refusal, and a refusal of the most cruel description, for he would be asking them to do something which it was out of their power to do. It must be remembered this coast was inhabited by farmers, the soil was poor, the population sparse, and it was impossible to ask those farmers to rate themselves in order to provide a harbour of refuge for shipping. If the Board of Trade did not make that harbour nobody else would, and if it were not made the loss of life and property would continue in the future as it had done in the past until every single yard of the coast would have its own tale of bloodshed and horror to recall.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,830, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Soares*).

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (*Lynn Regis*) said the speech to which they had just listened had been delivered under false pretences; it was a speech apparently advocating reduction in the Estimates and at the same time pressing extra expenditure on Ministers.

Mr. Soares.

**Mr. SOARES* said the hon. Gentleman knew very well that under the Rules of the House it was not possible for him to bring the matter forward by any other method.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he was not quite so sure of that. The ballot on Tuesdays and Wednesdays would be a more appropriate method. At any rate, he protested against Committee of Supply being used not for the purpose of economising in national expenditure, but for the purpose of pressing extra expenditure on the Government. The hon. Gentleman talked about a harbour of refuge and said that a great many lives had been lost on that part of the coast to which he referred. He himself thought that was to be expected, because the traffic off that coast was very great. The hon. Gentleman did not tell the House exactly where he wanted to put this harbour. He would not, however, follow the hon. Gentleman's arguments as he did not approve of this method of using Committee of Supply. He thought, on the contrary, that the time had come when they should address themselves to the Estimates with a view to the strictest parsimony. To that end, he desired to direct attention on this Vote to the enormity of the system of grants in aid. The whole Vote amounted to £31,530 of which £23,563 consisted of grants in aid; and, therefore, the proportion of grants in aid to the whole Vote constituted an extreme case. It would not be necessary for him to describe what a grant in aid was, but he might be allowed to say that the essence of a grant in aid was this, it was a grant not made for the purpose of national public expenditure and it was not to be expended by any public office. It was a grant for outside purposes, made once for all, and made under conditions which enabled it to escape all the financial securities whereby the House exercised financial control over public affairs. He thought that it would be recognised generally that it was only by insistence on parsimony, where it could be insisted on without affecting the public welfare, that the House could ever succeed in diminishing expenditure on the part of the Exchequer. If the hon. Gentleman had not moved a reduction of £100 he himself would have moved a reduction

of £18,000, as he desired to get rid as far as possible of grants in aid.

There were two kinds of grants in aid; in some cases the grant was allowed to be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. In other cases that was not even allowed; so that the moment the grant was made it passed out of the control of the House of Commons and was left to be dispensed as it might. The Public Accounts Committee stated that in the interests of financial control the use of grants in aid should be restricted as far as possible, and the Treasury also stated that they regarded grants in aid as an exception to the rule which should prevail in the financial system of the country, and that they desired that such grants should be restricted as much as possible to those cases to which ordinary grants were not applicable. So far, however, from grants in aid being restricted they had increased enormously; they were still increasing, and they ought to be and must be diminished, if this House were to achieve anything in the nature of economy. In 1901 the total grant in aid amounted to £1,600,000; in 1901-2 to £7,600,000; and in 1902-3 to £12,600,000, so that the exceptional grants in aid which the Treasury said ought to be diminished had now reached proportions of the most extravagant character. One of the chief culprits was the Colonial Secretary. He freely admitted that there were certain kinds of grants in aid, few in number and small in amount, which were justifiable, such as grants in aid to the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures, grants to schools, and grants to certain colleges. Against such grants he had nothing to say; but it was the enormous increase in the amount of money that was absolutely withdrawn from the control of Parliament against which he protested. Sir Edward Hamilton than whom there was no greater authority on finance in the country, and who had presided at the birth of many a successful Budget, said in 1902 that the Treasury were fully alive to the importance of this matter. He objected in the cause of economy to the grants in aid for Fraserburgh, Pwllheli, and Macduff Harbours. These were particularly obnoxious grants in aid because they escaped the examination of

the Comptroller and Auditor-General and the control of the House of Commons.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) supported the plea that had been put forward in favour of a harbour of refuge on the North Devon coast. It was not an extravagance on the part of the Government to devote money to the saving of human life, and some remedy ought to be evolved for the enormous loss of life which occurred annually on the North Devon and Cornish coasts. He would infinitely rather see the Naval Votes cut down and less ships built, and the money saved devoted to this purpose. Every year it was becoming a more and more important trade and shipping route, and there certainly ought to be a harbour of refuge into which vessels might run when storms swept the Channel. He further pointed out that such an expenditure, in the amount of life and property saved, would be a reproductive expenditure.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

BAKER STREET AND WATERLOO
RAILWAY BILL (BY ORDER) (KING'S
CONSENT SIGNIFIED).

[THIRD READING.]

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the Bill be now read a third time."

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.), on the Motion for the Third Reading of this Bill, said he was glad to be able not to ask the House to divide on this question. At a previous stage it was his duty to move a new clause to compel the railway company to carry out its Parliamentary bargain to create subways in the crowded area of the Elephant and Castle.

His Resolution was rejected by a majority of ten. The Chairman of Committees was good enough to repeat in the House what he had said to the parties in his own room, that he thought this was a case for compromise. Since the division an interview had been arranged between Mr. Yerkes, a representative of the company, and himself, and the result was that a satisfactory arrangement had been come to between the company and the corporation of Southwark. Mr. Yerkes did not admit his legal liability, but at the same time desired to act honourably and liberally towards the corporation. He said he should like to do something towards the construction of subways. The estimate on one side was £15,000 and on the other £10,000, and so he suggested £12,000 would probably be the price they would cost to construct, and he was prepared to give half that amount. A satisfactory arrangement had been come to. The terms were that the company should contribute £6,000 towards the subways at the Elephant and Castle, the council to find the remainder of the money necessary. This was to be carried out by the insertion of a clause in the Bill which was to be introduced in the House of Lords. The borough council was to be empowered to construct the subway and borrow the necessary additional money. At present the borough council had not power to do this. On the other hand, the company agreed not to construct the underground station at the Elephant and Castle referred to in the Act. He hoped the Chairman of Committees would facilitate the arrangement being carried through. If this clause found its way into an Act, it was the intention of the Corporation to commence the construction of these subways at once.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith) congratulated the parties on the arrangement they had come to. All he had to do was to play the part of the heavy father in the comedy and say, "Bless you, my children."

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Mr. Causton.

SUPPLY [7TH ALLOTTED DAY]

(Considered in Committee.)

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,930, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for maintaining certain Harbours under the Board of Trade, and for Grants in Aid of Harbours."

MR. LAMBERT, continuing his speech, said the building of this harbour of refuge was essentially a national matter. It concerned British seamen and those concerned in British maritime enterprise. He personally had no interest in the matter, representing as he did a purely inland constituency; he took the matter up from a purely humanitarian point of view. It seemed to him that though they had many claims upon the finances of the country, there could be no greater claim for the expenditure of money than the saving of the lives of "those who go down to the sea in ships." The whole question was, Was this harbour of refuge necessary? Anyone who had listened to the speech of the hon. Member who had moved the reduction and who had told the Committee that one-sixth of the wrecks that occurred on our shores occurred on the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, must come to the conclusion that there should be some kind of harbour of refuge for the protection of the people who navigated this Channel. In this country we rightly had a great regard on human life. The President of the Board of Trade was almost continuously engaged in evolving all sorts of regulations to be imposed on railway companies in order to prevent loss of life, and it was a most surprising thing that we could not spend a small sum in making more secure the lives of those engaged in maritime enterprise. A good deal had been said of late about the development

of the Empire, but it was most important in the interests of the Empire that this country should be developed, and it would surely have been better if one-tenth of the sum that had been devoted to the Somaliland campaign had been diverted to the construction of this harbour. It was no doubt a laudable object to devote money to the experiment of growing cotton in West Africa, but it was far more necessary to provide harbours on bleak coasts where they were necessary for the protection of life. In conclusion, he hoped some favourable consideration would be given to this matter.

*MR. DUKE (Plymouth) said it was a curious reflection upon the course of Parliamentary proceedings that for the last half century Royal Commissions and Committees of the House should have over and over again recognised the public duty of providing a harbour of refuge in the Bristol Channel on the plainest ground of humanity, and that now when the Government was invited to take some practical action his hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn with the pedantry of a practised financier should seek to divert attention from the matter by starting a purely academic discussion about grants in aid. He did not propose to describe the geographical characteristics of the Bristol Channel, nor to draw any harrowing pictures of the wrecks that constantly had occurred, constantly did occur, and, unless something was done by the Government of this country, constantly would occur on that coast. Year after year, as long as records and statistics existed, the Bristol Channel and its shores had been marked with enormous loss of life in a manner which had attracted attention, not only among sailors and people connected with commerce, but among public men. One of his hon. friends had suggested that it was quite to be expected we should lose some hundreds of lives every year in the Bristol Channel, because there was a great deal of commerce there. It was true the commerce of the Bristol Channel was probably one-fifth of the commerce of the country, and the wrecks were not more than one-fifth of the wrecks round our coasts; but the coast-line of the Bristol Channel was not one-fifth, it was not one-twentieth, of the coast-line of

the country. It was a comparatively small part of the coast-line upon which wrecks occurred, and in that part of the coast-line they would not find a parish which had not evidences of disaster to vessels plying their commerce to and from ports of the Bristol Channel. The Commission of 1857-9 had been referred to. That Commission insisted on the necessity of a harbour of refuge somewhere between St. Ives and Bristol. The public duty had become more urgent since 1857 because the commerce of the Bristol Channel had increased enormously, yet the Board of Trade had done nothing.

It was asked why did not the ship-owners or the locality do what was needed? His answer to that was that they could only raise the money by taxation, and, as the greater proportion of men who used the Bristol Channel were foreign ship-owners, how could they tax them? It was not a merely local affair for the towns along the coast. Surely a great commercial country like England could protect the shipping which came to our coasts. In 1884, in the evidence given before a Committee in that year, Admiral Bedford declared that this was one of the most crying cases for additional harbour accommodation in the whole of the British Isles. The Committee reported to that effect, and it specified places where a harbour could be constructed, and even went so far as to estimate the cost. It was a common saying that Parliament never did anything in a hurry, and now again, after twenty years, the demand for a harbour was repeated. In 1886, between October and November, no less than 300 lives were lost through shipwrecks in the Bristol Channel, because no sort of provision had been made for performing a public duty. This loss of life recurred as often as the coast was visited with severe storms. In 1893, just round St. Ives, four steamers went ashore and two steamers were lost at sea, and these losses must have involved at least £100,000. The real question was what was the Board of Trade going to do? Last year when the matter was discussed it was said that if the people of Devon and Cornwall would provide two-thirds of the

cost the Board of Trade would provide the balance. He supposed that was the highwater mark of the official idea of a recognition of humanitarian duty. The two counties were among the poorest in the country. He did not think this was a year in which they could go to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a considerable sum. A good scheme would involve at least £500,000, whether they extended the shelter at Lundy or improved the Roads at Clovelly or Padstow. That £500,000 would no doubt represent the cost of a second-class cruiser, the object of which was certainly not to save lives. But this coast was a shambles for mariners, and he associated himself most strongly with the demand for official action which should put an end to the disasters which yearly occurred. If it was a public duty to save the lives which were now squandered for want of proper harbour accommodation, he asked his right hon. friend who was responsible in this matter what he was going to do to bring it home to the conscience of the country?

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said that he would put in a plea for economy. In the afternoon hon. Gentlemen wished more money spent upon a smoking-room, and that evening hon. Gentlemen interested in the southern parts of England wished money spent on harbours of refuge. This was a matter for which he thought the localities or the shipping interest ought to find the necessary money. He hoped the House would reject the scheme, not on the ground that it might not possibly do good, but on the ground that it was a business institution and not a philanthropic institution, and that it could not afford to spend money in every possible way in order to make this era a millennium.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey) said he proposed to address himself to another matter which was specifically mentioned in this Vote—that of Holyhead Harbour, concerning which he had troubled the President of the Board of Trade and his predecessors on various occasions during the last ten years. That harbour seemed to be dominated entirely by the Board of Trade on one

side and the railway company on the other. Between them there was nothing left for the poor people who lived there. As a matter of fact, the Urban District Council of Holyhead did not possess a single inch of foreshore in that place. The matter had been before the right hon. Gentleman and his predecessors, and from time to time they had given what was technically called a sympathetic answer. By that means a division was averted, and the whole controversy then assumed its old position and nothing was done. He felt that if the President of the Board of Trade realised the hardship which existed at Holyhead he would do something in the matter. At present there was no pier there at which to land passengers. They had to be landed by boats, and the result was that passenger steamers did not touch at Holyhead. The railway company was assuming a monopoly of the traffic of the place. There were several matters which might be done in Holyhead at very little cost. In the first place the water at Pelham Quay might be deepened. At present it had only a depth of eight or ten feet at spring tides, and it was dry at low water. A wharf might very well be built at Salt Island within the limits of the harbour of refuge, and the harbour of refuge itself was not complete until some such facilities had been provided. If the President of the Board of Trade did not agree with that, there was what was now called the Mackenzie Pier, which might be extended for a considerable distance to give some facilities to the town for the landing of passengers and goods. He did not say anything about the length of the period for which the right hon. Gentleman might preside over the Department. Promises had been made by some of his predecessors, and he did ask him to seize the time while it was still his, or to do something in a matter which he could assure the right hon. Gentleman would bring great facilities and advantages to the town of Holyhead.

***MR. WEIR** said the hon. Member for Plymouth had spoken sympathetically of the necessity for harbours of refuge, but he had confined his attention to one particular part of the country. It should be remembered that there were many other places around our coasts where

Mr. Duke.

there was danger. The hon. Member for Peckham suggested that the cost should be borne by the localities and the shipping interest, but that was not a practicable way of obtaining the accommodation required. In the Highlands and Islands of Scotland how could poor crofters, cotters, and fishermen, the majority of whom paid rentals of from £1 to £4 a year, provide two-thirds of the cost of a harbour of refuge? It was the greatest nonsense to talk in that way. It was impossible for these poor people to provide the money, but the Treasury went on cast-iron rules and insisted on what was an utter impossibility. It was the duty of the Government to see that the lives of fishermen and seamen were protected. An enormous sum was spent on the Navy, and he for one did not grudge it. It was, and always would be, a costly Department. The Government could afford to go to war in Somaliland and Tibet, and carry out the road-making fads of the Colonial Secretary in the West Indies for the benefit of lazy, idle planters who would not work, but money was not provided for necessary improvements at home for the benefit of our own people. In 1890 a Commission reported in favour of the construction of a harbour of refuge at Portnagurin, Broad Bay, Island of Lewis, and since then he had repeatedly brought the matter under the notice of the Board of Trade, but nothing had been done. He asked himself whether anything would ever be done by this warlike and extravagant Government. That would cost £30 000, and the Board of Trade said that the shipping interest should provide the whole or the greater part of the money. The great ship-owners were not interested in providing this harbour but the fishermen and the owners of fishing boats, who were unable to provide the money. He wished also to urge the claims of Avoch, Ross-shire. That matter had already been brought before the Board of Trade, and an application had been made for financial aid to construct a harbour. He had that day received a letter from a clergyman stating that nearly £1,800 had been raised in the locality, and requesting him to support the application to the Treasury for the further sum required to carry out the work.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): As a matter of fact the application has not yet been made.

*MR. WEIR said he was informed by the people who had the matter in hand that the application had been made. By the screwing down process of the Board of Trade they were told that they must provide more money. Two years ago a dozen fishing boats were destroyed at the place in one night. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would look into the matter and see that the Treasury provided the necessary funds. Only a few hundred pounds more were required to carry out the work. Let economy be practised in the right quarters and especially in connection with warlike matters and wild-cat schemes, but not in connection with works required for the saving of valuable lives. This was one of the most important fishing stations in the North of Scotland, and the sum proposed to be devoted to that harbour was insufficient. Then there was the case of the harbour at Pwllheli, in Wales, for which there was £14,000 on the Estimates. He would like to know whether the people in the locality had been asked to provide two-thirds of the cost of the harbour.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that the people of Pwllheli had provided two-thirds of the money.

*MR. WEIR said there had been some doubt certainly about it. It was utterly impossible for these poor districts to provide two-thirds of the cost of a harbour. As the saying was, "How can you take the brecks off a Highlandman?" It was simply playing with the question and with the lives of the fishing population. He was patriotic, and supported a strong Navy. He wanted to see our Navy well manned by hardy men who knew something of sea life; and he regretted that the Government Department miserably neglected to look after the welfare of that important section of the community.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) said he wished to support all that had been said by the hon. Members for Devon and Plymouth in regard to the necessity

of a harbour of refuge in the Bristol Channel. He had lived for a long time on that coast, and knew it was one of the most dangerous coasts in the British Islands, and in the event of a severe storm it was almost impossible for vessels to escape shipwreck. He ventured to urge upon the Government the necessity of doing something to prevent the serious loss of life which frequently took place, simply because there was no harbour of refuge there. He was confident that the President of the Board of Trade was anxious to save life, and he did not forget the sympathetic speech which the right hon. Gentleman had made when this matter was last discussed. The right hon. Gentleman, however, seemed to be under the impression that a large share of the cost of the harbour of refuge should be raised locally. That he considered to be both impossible and unfair, because while it might afford some protection to the local fishermen the chief advantage of a harbour of refuge would be for vessels going up the Channel. He hoped the President of the Board of Trade would make inquiries as to the place where this harbour of refuge should be constructed. Something had been said about economy, but it seemed to him that the economy of human life was of far more importance than mere economy of expenditure.

MR. MOULTON (Cornwall, Launceston) said he wished to join in earnestly appealing for notice by the Board of Trade of the great need of a harbour of refuge on the coast of Cornwall and North Devon. It was not only a most important but also a very practical question. They contended that of all the coasts of England there was not one so iron-bound, so dangerous to life and property, and so ill-provided with refuge, and he claimed that the case should be treated first and promptly. For the past fifty years there had been a consistent responsible admission by the Board of Trade that the need of a harbour of refuge on that coast was great. Although he felt the difficulty of appealing for the expenditure of large sums out of the national purse, the Board of Trade's consistent admissions proved the justice of their claim. On 28th December, 1900, the ship "Capricornia," went down at Bude, and twelve

lives were lost, and at the inquiry an official gave evidence as to the number of strandings. The chart of strandings between Trevoase and Tintagel was a most appalling one. The report of the inquiry was that if a harbour of refuge could be erected there would be a great saving of life and property. This was a case in which the Board of Trade had admitted a great public duty, and it was for the House to put pressure upon the President of the Board of Trade to take up the duty promptly. Another question was, were the localities prepared to pay a part of the expense? He contended that this was a case which from its nature excluded such a demand. An iron-bound coast like this was not likely to be a rich one. In fact great tracts of it were desolate. The danger was chiefly to the ships that passed, and not to the ships that visited the coast. He had fifty miles of it in his own constituency, and there was not a single port which even a small vessel could make, except in the smoothest weather. When the north and north-west winds blew no vessels except steamers had sufficient room to get round the headlands but came to grief in the small bays. They had no right to come upon the poor agriculturists of Cornwall to contribute to the protection of the shipping. As to the particular place which should be selected he admitted there was a natural conflict of opinion upon the subject. In a matter like this the Board of Trade ought to appoint an impartial authority to investigate the circumstances of the case and report as to the best place suitable for the harbour. If it was taken up promptly the people in the different localities would be satisfied.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton) said he just wished to add a few words in support of the practical suggestion made by the hon. and learned Member for Launceston. It might bring this matter within the range of practical affairs. He had no connection with that particular part of the county, because he resided on the southern coast of Devonshire, where they had not the same severe storms as on the north coast. The important trade route round the South-west of the island had claims on the Treasury second to none. He and his

Mr. Spear.

friends wished to remove the stain which rested on Parliament through their neglect of the lives of those who contributed so greatly to the prosperity of the country. He hoped that something practical would come of this discussion.

MR. WILLIAM MCARTHUR (Cornwall, St. Austell) said he protested against the doctrine laid down that these harbours of refuge were, in any sense, a local matter not concerning the country as a whole. It seemed to him that the credit of the country was involved in setting right a state of things so appalling. Surely where, as had here been most clearly shown, they had got one of the most dangerous coasts in England, where they had wreck after wreck and the most serious loss of life possible, they were not going to neglect to prevent that loss of life simply because the locality was not rich. The argument that the locality should bear its share of the expense of establishing works for the purpose of saving life seemed to him one which should not have been advanced. Moreover, they had in this case a particular and pressing claim on the Board of Trade because it was one which had been recognised for years, one which had been proved by the Commission and the officials of the Board of Trade, and one which had been proved also by the loss of life which regularly took place on the coast. It was not, he admitted, fair to ask the President of the Board of Trade to tell them what money he was going to spend and where he was going to establish the harbour; but seeing that there was a unanimous consensus of opinion in the whole of the west country as to the absolute necessity of something being done, he did feel justified in pressing him to tell them that, at all events, his Department was really taking the matter up in earnest. The situation of the harbour was, after all, a matter for experts to decide.

MR. WILLIAM JONES (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) said that in connection with the Holyhead Harbour the matter had been engaging attention for quite ten or twelve years, but the reply that was given was always unsatisfactory. All that they wanted was that the harbour should be rendered capable of

accommodating vessels. Already £2,000,000 sterling had been spent on the harbour, but the result achieved was by no means commensurate with the expense incurred. A very narrow channel led into the inner harbour, and when a south-westerly gale was blowing no sailing vessel could pass through it. Consequently a number of vessels were always in the outer harbour and there was danger of their dragging anchor and being driven on the shore. The question of making Holyhead Harbour a harbour of refuge for the shipping of the whole world had been raised again and again in the House yet nothing had been accomplished. They asked now for an undertaking that something tangible would be the result of the present discussion; if so, a great boon would be conferred on the shipping community at large.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that the hon. Member for Barnstaple had truly said that the topic he introduced had been before the House again and again. It had certainly been discussed in every one of the three or four years that he had been at the Board of Trade. He did not complain of that, but the repetition of the same arguments could only be met by a repetition of the same replies. The proposal of the hon. Member for Barnstaple was that public money should be spent on a harbour in the locality in which he was interested, and that without the special provisions which the Treasury had advised in analogous cases. He had raised that claim mainly on the Report of the Select Committee appointed in 1884. There appeared to be a considerable confusion of ideas among those who supported the hon. Member's proposal. The Select Committee made two recommendations, and the first was that it would be desirable to establish a great national harbour at some point between Land's End and the coast of South Wales. That was the proposal that the hon. Member for South Molton appeared to have in his mind. The hon. Member said that it was essentially a commercial proposal, and that while the agriculturists of Devonshire should not be expected to pay money for this expenditure, it would be

reproductive because it would enable goods to be carried at lower rates than at present. What he had in his mind, therefore, was a great harbour of refuge for the extensive commerce running up the Bristol Channel. That, he ventured to say, was not the proposal which the hon. Member for Barnstaple had in his mind. What he had in his mind was the second recommendation of the Select Committee, which was that a small harbour of refuge should be established between Hartland Point and Land's End.

*MR. SOARES said he was quite prepared to leave the kind of harbour and the site to any committee of experts that the Board of Trade might appoint.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that even if a large harbour of refuge were constructed somewhere on the coast of South Wales that would be of exceedingly little advantage to the hon. Member's constituents. He would deal with the proposal which appeared to commend itself to the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Molton. What the Committee said was that it was not expedient to make grants of public money for harbour construction, but to give the necessary aid at a low rate of interest. There was one class of harbour which it was evident should be constructed at the public expense, namely, those great national harbours, the site, extent, and mode of construction of which should be determined, not by considerations of the mercantile marine of the country, or of the Navy, but by considerations of strategic defence and Imperial policy. It was evident that what the Committee had in their mind was a great harbour such as the Admiralty were now constructing at Dover. A harbour of that class, however, could not be discussed on the present Vote. The other proposal of the Committee was that grants of public money might, to a limited extent, be given in aid of work to provide a harbour of refuge chiefly for fishermen on certain portions of the coast; and the Committee added in another paragraph that it fell entirely within the province of the Government to provide this needed reform in those districts, it being absolutely impossible that the

fishermen themselves could raise sufficient funds or find security to borrow money. The Committee then enumerated six places where such works were most needed. The Committee, it would be observed, made those recommendations in the interests of the fishing industry, not in the interests of commerce, and among numerous proposals of the same kind was a harbour of refuge on the north coast of Cornwall, which was sixth on the list. Anyone listening to the discussion would come to the conclusion that the one proposal which the Committee made was in connection with this harbour of refuge on the coast of Cornwall, and that successive Governments had been very remiss in not giving effect to that recommendation. He would add, however, that not one of the proposals of the Committee for harbours of refuge had been carried out. The hon. Gentleman and his friends seemed to think that whenever a Committee made a Report in favour of expenditure on a particular harbour that that recommendation should finally decide the question. He was afraid he was unable to accept that view. He could not regard the recommendation of any Committee as necessarily inspired; and the fact that the Committee referred to had reported twenty years ago, and that successive Governments had had the matter repeatedly under consideration and had done nothing, was not necessarily a proof that they had been remiss, but rather indicated that in their opinion the recommendations of the Committee went beyond the real necessities of the case.

He did not wish to prejudge the question whether a harbour of refuge should or should not be made on the north coast of Cornwall. He admitted that it was a dangerous coast. The hon. Member for South Molton said that no amount of money value could be placed upon human life, and he seemed to argue that, if a single life could be saved by the construction of a harbour of refuge at whatever cost, such expenditure would be economical; but while he had great sympathy with the views of the hon. Member, it must be admitted that this was a counsel of perfection. If they were to proceed on this principle it was clear that they would have to dot the

Mr. Gerald Balfour.

coast of the United Kingdom with harbours of refuge. But when they came to consider whether such harbours should or should not be constructed in particular instances, it was clear that they were bound to take other matters into consideration. After all, the seafaring calling was necessarily dangerous, and all that could be done was to diminish the dangers, not remove them altogether. The hon. Member for Barnstaple gave certain figures which he quoted from the official wreck Returns for 1903, giving the total number of casualties on this part of the coast as 371—68 being from Hartland Point to Land's End, and 303 to the north of Hartland Point. But the hon. Member seemed to have forgotten that if the harbour of refuge was to be made between Hartland Point and Land's End the proper number of casualties to quote was sixty-eight.

*MR. SOARES said he did not say that a harbour of refuge ought to be constructed between Hartland Point and Land's End, but somewhere between Land's End and the Severn.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that in that case the hon. Member no longer had support for his proposal from the recommendation of the Select Committee, which was that a fishing harbour should be constructed on this coast. If it was to be a great national harbour as distinguished from a harbour of refuge for fishermen it did not come within the scope of this Vote; if it was to be a harbour for the benefit of fishermen the statistics quoted by the hon. Member were hardly relevant. He had asked the expert adviser to the Board of Trade to analyse very carefully the wrecks that had taken place on this coast, in order to ascertain what proportion might have been avoided if there had been a harbour of refuge, or two harbours north and south of Trevoze Head respectively. Casualties occurred repeatedly from causes which the existence of a harbour of refuge could not possibly prevent. Captain Fredericks had gone most carefully into the figures for the last twenty years, with the result that he had discovered that the total number of casualties which might be attributed to the absence of harbours of refuge was forty-eight, and that the number of lives lost was 118. So it worked out in this

way, that on this rock-bound coast of between seventy and eighty miles in length the number of casualties which might have been prevented had there been harbours of refuge amounted on the average to 2½ a year and the number of lives lost to six a year. Captain Fredericks told him also that he was himself astonished at the smallness of the numbers, but the reason was no doubt clear; the coast was known to be dangerous; it was known that in heavy weather vessels would be in a position of great peril and they consequently avoided it. Another interesting point was that although the amount of traffic had enormously increased the actual number of casualties and of lives lost had not shown a proportionate increase, and probably the lesser total of small coasting vessels wrecked was due to the fact that more of them were now worked by steam. Although he did not wish for one minute to minimise the seriousness of these figures, still he thought the state of things they revealed was not nearly so serious as the hon. Member had indicated. He had not quoted Captain Fredericks in order to show that it would not be desirable to construct a harbour of refuge on this coast, but he thought he showed that it was very doubtful whether it would be worth the enormous expenditure for original construction and maintenance that would be involved. The character of the coast was such that if they were really to deal with the problem they would have to construct not one harbour, but two. The force of the seas on this coast was terrific, and consequently the original cost of construction would be heavy as well as the cost of maintenance. These reasons made him doubt whether it would really be worth while to spend public money on the construction of the harbour which was asked for.

But there was another objection. If the proposal were acceded to it would have the effect of giving the go-by to the rules laid down by the Treasury with respect to the construction of harbours of refuge. So much pressure had been brought to bear on respective Governments for the construction of these harbours that the Treasury were obliged—quite recently, within, he believed, the last five years—to lay

down the conditions that the application for a harbour of refuge should come from the local authority, and that it should be accompanied by an undertaking to contribute to the original cost and to provide for the maintenance of the harbour. No application had come from a local authority in the present case. He had offered before, and he repeated the offer now, that if such an application came from the local authority, and it it were favourably viewed by the Harbour Grants Committee, to whom it would be referred, he would press the Treasury to forego the contribution which under their rules they would require from the local authority.

***MR. SOARES :** To what local authority does the right hon. Gentleman refer?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR : I suppose the county council.

***MR. SOARES :** Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman requires an application from the county councils of Devon and Cornwall?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said an application from any local authority would be sufficient to initiate the matter but it was necessary it should be accompanied by an offer to contribute part of the expense.

MR. LAMBERT : Have they the power?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said clearly there was some such power because under the Treasury regulation sums had actually been subscribed. He rather thought the county council had the power.

***MR. SOARES :** This is most important. Does the right hon. Gentleman require an application from the county councils of Devon and Cornwall.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said he had already stated that an application from some local authority with an offer to pay part of the estimated expense would be sufficient to initiate the movement. No such application had been made and hon. Members had instead come to the House and asked it to adopt a procedure in direct contradiction of the rules laid down by the Treasury. The hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty had put forward certain proposals affecting the

North of Scotland, and he could only promise that if proper representations were made to the Board of Trade they would be duly considered. With regard to Holyhead Harbour, very considerable sums of money had been spent on its improvement during the last five years, but if any special additional expenditure were required the matter would be carefully considered by the Board of Trade. Not long ago a rather extensive scheme was brought forward and actually received the assent of the Treasury but further investigation showed that the cost would considerably exceed the estimate and it had consequently to be dropped.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire. Ilkeston) suggested that the *non possumus* attitude of the right hon. Gentleman was more applicable to a coast line where there were mercantile ports capable of making representation. But here they had a long coast line, known to be one of the most dangerous around the country, and there was no mercantile port along it to make the application which the right hon. Gentleman had said was essential; and it was scarcely a matter for the county council, or for any smaller local authority. The position of this coast line was unique, and, being unique, the reply of the President of the Board of Trade might have been more sympathetic. What were the facts? Every Committee of inquiry which had considered this matter had reported in favour of providing harbours of refuge. It had been proved that there had been a lamentable and unnecessary loss of life on the iron-bound coast of Cornwall, and it would have been more to his credit if the right hon. Gentleman had been more sympathetic in his reply. It was not the duty of a Minister to be bound by rules and regulations, it was for him, if necessary, to break the rules in the interests of the people at large; and in this case, if there was no precedent for the present demand, the right hon. Gentleman might make a precedent where the saving of life at sea was concerned. If the right hon. Gentleman chose to put it on economical grounds, surely if they had to spend £50,000 or £60,000 on harbours of refuge they would get a good return for their money in the shape of the saving of life and the protection of property. There could be no better investment of public money.

Mr. Gerald Balfour.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.) proposed to discuss matters connected with Wexford Harbour, but was ruled out of order by the Chairman.

*SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) said that no doubt it was well he Treasury should lay down strict rules with regard to the expenditure of public money, but, when the right hon. Gentleman suggested it was desirable that some application should be made from the district where this harbour of refuge was required, he would like to ask whether similar applications were insisted on before the grants were made for the relief of the West Indies. Again, did the local authorities in Uganda guarantee interest on the £6,000,000 required for the construction of the railway? Nobody accused the President of the Board of Trade of extravagance; but they asked the Government to observe a certain proportion in their expenditure, and have some regard to the relative importance of these islands as compared with, say, the West Indies or Uganda, in which so much was so freely spent. The Committee appointed in 1884 reported two years later that a certain number of harbours was required in the public interest, yet not one of them had been made! He would like to be able to convince the right hon. Gentleman, or his successor, whoever he might be, that there were better ways of spending public money than scattering it in all parts of the world except at home, even if they only applied it to the saving of life. Now he was well acquainted with the coast of France and there he found that they studied the interests of the coasting trade and provided harbours of refuge for its benefit instead of limiting their expenditure to military harbours. He had come to the conclusion that they ought to follow the example of France, and instead of spending money almost exclusively on military harbours, the Treasury should do something for harbours of refuge in poor but important districts on the coast. It was just in the most poverty-stricken districts where the greatest danger existed, and as long as the Treasury maintained its present rule, it was those very districts which would suffer most. If they could not convince the right hon. Gentleman, then it was to be hoped the right hon. Gentleman would soon have a

successor who would prove more approachable to reason in this matter.

MR. DUKE asked whether, if a joint application was made by the county councils of Devon and Cornwall, the right hon. Gentleman would direct a public inquiry to be held, with a view to some practical action being taken in the matter.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR replied that if the county councils made an application, accompanied by a statement as to where they thought such a harbour was desirable, an estimate of the cost, and an expression of their readiness to bear a proportion of the expenditure, the matter would go before the Harbours Committee and an inquiry would be made.

MR. LAMBERT said that that was practically no offer at all. It was impossible for the county councils to submit estimates of the cost; they had not the necessary officers and machinery for the work. He understood that the Treasury required two-thirds of the cost to be borne by the locality.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that that was the rule of the Treasury, but if it could be shown that this harbour was really desirable he would be prepared to urge that the severity of that regulation should be relaxed.

MR. LAMBERT pointed out that a penny rate in his county would produce only £8,000, and they could hardly expect inland ratepayers to bear a six-penny rate for this purpose. Moreover, it was not a local affair at all; it was a matter of national concern, and should be dealt with by the Board of Trade. Would the right hon. Gentleman meet the demand which had been made so far as to send an inspector or engineer to make inquiries?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said he was not prepared to take the initiative by sending down an inspector, because, in his opinion, that would be begging the principal question at issue, viz., whether such a harbour should be made or not.

MR. LAMBERT contended that the Board of Trade were just the body who

should decide that question. The county councils certainly could not do it. The right hon. Gentleman had really not made a fair offer at all. If the Board of Trade were to do their duty, it was necessary that they should send down an inspector or engineer to ascertain whether or not such a harbour was a pressing necessity. *E. ...*

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that if such an argument were admitted, it could, and immediately would, be used in reference to many other districts in the country.

*MR. SOARES said that unless the right hon. Gentleman consented to the appointment of a committee to examine into the matter he would be obliged to take a division. The Board of Trade had all the necessary machinery at its command, and that machinery was paid for by the State. The county councils had not the necessary machinery. Why, then, could not the right hon. Gentleman allow it to be used? The right hon. Gentleman had referred to a private Report; but hon. Members were in entire ignorance of the contents of that Report and of the evidence upon which it was based. What they wanted was that the evidence should be taken locally, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would grant the committee for which he had been asked.

SIR ROBERT ROPNER (Stockton) said that if this harbour of refuge was intended simply for fishing boats and small coasting vessels he could understand the demand being made, but if it was meant to benefit the mercantile marine it would be an absolute waste of money. Sailing vessels were rapidly becoming obsolete; the mercantile marine was now mainly composed of steam vessels, which, in case of necessity, could always leave the coast and get out of danger.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) said that this particular part of the coast was that where sailing vessels most abounded. In the Bristol Channel ports last year 3,000 sailing vessels arrived and only 11,000 steamers. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the Report of 1886, and had said that none of its recommen-

dations had been carried out. Two of those recommendations referred to the coast between Duncansby Head and Aberdeen, and between the North Foreland and Beachy Head. He would call the attention of the President of the Board of Trade to the fact that the refuge harbour of Peterhead, between Duncansby Head and Aberdeen, was built out of public money. As to the coast between the North Foreland and Beachy Head, was not the new harbour at Dover a refuge harbour? Whether it was an Admiralty harbour or not, it was a refuge harbour on one of the most dangerous coasts, and would be very largely built out of funds that would have to be guaranteed by the Exchequer. Therefore the statement of the right hon. Gentleman on that point was inaccurate. The opinion of the county councils as to a suitable site for a refuge harbour on the coast of North Devon or North Cornwall would not be worth the paper it was printed on; they were not harbour authorities. The Board of Trade would compromise neither their dignity nor independence by sending a man down to inquire into the feasibility of the proposal. But he feared the only way to persuade the President of the Board of Trade to alter his mind would be to take him down the Bristol Channel when there was a strong nor'wester blowing and leave him under the lee of Lundy Island for a couple of tides, with the wind blowing first with the tide and then against it. He was convinced the first act of the right hon. Gentleman on his return to *terra firma* would be to grant the prayer which had been made.

*MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) remarked that the country had no more valuable asset than its fishing population. The fact that sailing vessels were becoming obsolete in the mercantile marine was an additional proof of the value of the fishing fleets, because it was only on sailing vessels that sailors could be properly educated. His constituency had a coast line of over 100 miles, but a penny rate in Argyllshire would probably produce only £800, so that it was just in those places where the need for protection was greatest that the power of local assistance was smallest. It was high time that the officials of the Board of Trade should be

Mr Lambert.

oused to a sense of the responsibility
sting upon them, and immediate steps
ight to be taken for the encouragement
one of the most important interests of
the British Empire. It was much easier
to build ironclads than to get sailors to
work them, and without sailors of what
value were the ironclads? He hoped the
interests of the fishing industry would no
longer be neglected in the manner they
had been.

*MR. HUMPHREYS-OWEN (Mont-
gomeryshire) pointed out that the long
stretch of Cardigan Bay, although it
possessed several places well adapted for
the purpose, was entirely destitute of
small harbours of refuge for fishing boats.
The Welsh people had been taunted with
not being good sailors, but the reason
was that their coast was altogether
wanting in harbours. Their kinsmen in
Brittany provided the French navy with
many of its most illustrious seamen.
He pressed upon the Board of Trade the
desirability of an amendment of their
policy in this respect. A very small
percentage of the scandalous waste on the
Army might well be applied to the pro-
vision of harbours on the coast of Wales.

On the House being cleared for a
division,

*MR. SOARES, seated and with his
hat on, said that he had moved an
Amendment, whereas the Chairman had
put the Main Question.

*THE CHAIRMAN explained that the
Amendment had been moved before the
dinner-hour, and that all Motions for
reductions dropped when Progress was
reported.

*MR. SOARES pointed out that at
the time of the adjournment for dinner
an hon. Member was in the middle of
a speech on the Amendment, which
speech he resumed at nine o'clock.
Under those circumstances was it neces-
sary that the Amendment should be again
moved, and, if so, by whom?

*THE CHAIRMAN said it was certainly
necessary that the Amendment should be
again moved. It was a well-known Rule
of the House that on Progress being
reported all Motions for reduction
dropped. The Amendment could have
been moved by any hon. Member.

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 164 ;
Noes, 105. (Division List No. 100.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worc.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.

Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Diarseli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r)
Fielden, Edward Brooklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Fyler, John Arthur

Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn).
Gordon, Maj Evans (T'r Hmlets)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (Salop)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'ndery)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hiokman, Sir Alfred
Hogg, Lindsey
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Low, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N.R.)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol), S.
 Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
 Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 McCalmont, Colonel James
 McIver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.)
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire)
 Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, Colonel Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp

Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
 Reid, James (Greenock)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
 Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
 Sackville, Col. S. G.
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Sanderson, Rt. Hon. Col. Edw. J.
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tyneside)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)

Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxford Univ.)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tuff, Charles
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Webb, Colonel William George
 Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Wilson, John (Glasgow)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wyndham-Quinn, Col. W. H.
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
 Alexander Acland-Hood
 and Mr. Ailwyn Ffellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
 Ainsworth, John Stirling
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Black, Alexander William
 Bolland, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Cremer, William Randal
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway)
 Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Elibank, Master of
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Fenwick, Charles
 French, Peter
 Field, William
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
 Gilhooly, James
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert John
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Griffith, Ellis J.

Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lambert, George
 Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 Lough, Thomas
 London, W.
 Lyell, Charles Henry
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 McArthur, William (Cornwall)
 McHugh, Patrick A.
 McKean, John
 McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Moss, Samuel
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Doherty, William
 O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)

O'Dowd, John
 O'Malley, William
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Partington, Oswald
 Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
 Roche, John
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sheehy, David
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Slack, John Bamford
 Sullivan, Donald
 Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Tomkinson, James
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
 Weir, James Galloway
 Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersfield)
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr.
 Soares and Mr. Fletcher
 Moulton.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That a sum, not exceeding £35,500, be
 granted to His Majesty, to complete the
 sum necessary to defray the Charge
 which will come in course of payment
 during the year ending on the 31st day
 of March, 1905, for Expenditure in re-
 spect of Royal Palaces."

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) thought that this Vote needed some further explanation, for he would be able to show that the promises made by the Government in regard to this expenditure had not been carried out. This Vote was for £61,500, and it had increased during the past four years by no less than 60 per cent. Two years ago the reason given for this increase was on account of alterations carried out in consequence of His Majesty's accession to the Throne, and it was then stated that this was purely a temporary increase. Now they discovered that this excessive sum was being maintained permanently. On the 15th May, 1902, when the present Home Secretary was First Commissioner of Works, he stated that although this Vote was larger than the normal Vote it was accounted for by the extra expenditure rendered necessary by a change in the occupancy of the Throne and the accession of His Majesty, and the right hon. Gentleman also stated that this extra expenditure would disappear from the Estimates in future years. He wished to know where the disappearance was, because the Vote had shown no signs of any reduction, and he felt sure it was much higher than it ought to be. The two items which were excessive were those for new works, alterations and additions, and for maintenance and repairs. They all recognised that substantial alterations were required to bring the Royal Palaces up to date, but they did not anticipate that temporary additions to the expenditure would remain as permanent increases. If this kind of thing was allowed to go on economy would never be attained by the Committee. Last year they complained of the large sums of money spent upon new works, and they were then told that those works had brought the Royal Palaces up to date. He did not see why they should continue spending £40,000 per annum upon maintenance and repairs and in order to elicit an explanation and to get to know why the promise of the Home Secretary had not been carried out, he begged to move a reduction of this Vote by £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £30,000, be granted for the said service."—(Mr. Whitley.)

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said they were accustomed to extraordinary precedents in connection with the business of the House, but he looked with surprise at the reluctance of the noble Lord to reply upon this point. If the noble Lord was ready to reply he would give way at once. He associated himself entirely with the protest which had been made by the hon. Member for Halifax. This Estimate was on a par with several other Estimates which had been before the Committee during the last week, in which temporary expenditure in previous years had now appeared as permanent expenditure. He did not care whether it was for Royal Palaces or for any other building, but he thought £40,000 a year put on the Estimates year after year for maintenance and repairs was a great deal too much; more especially when they remembered that upon the last occasion when this Estimate was before the Committee the Home Secretary distinctly stated that this expenditure was purely consequent upon the lamented death of the late Queen, and that it was only a temporary matter. It had not been suggested that any new or expensive building had been put up. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to give them more information in regard to this Vote. There was another matter he wished to raise. He would like to know if the noble Lord got estimates for all this expenditure. There seemed to be a general feeling amongst contractors that if they only got a Government job once for a Royal Palace they would keep it for all time, and if they got the original contract they could have as many additions as they liked. It was the habit in some Government offices where contracts were invited, to leave the whole thing to one particular official, and no matter whether thirty or forty large contractors spent thousands of pounds in preparing estimates, the work invariably went to some particular contractor. He hoped that was not the case with the Department for which the noble Lord was responsible, but he wished to know who had the giving out of those contracts and who was responsible for seeing that the work was properly carried out. These items now appeared to be permanently charged on the Estimates, and

he would like to know if the noble Lord had any suggestions to make that, in regard to this Vote, it was not a permanent charge and that his predecessor was not mistaken in regard to the statement he had made.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said he meant no discourtesy to the hon. Member in not rising when he was invited to do so, for he was fully prepared to deal with the Question which had been put to him. The hon. Member opposite had asked a Question in regard to a pledge given by the Home Secretary that the expenditure upon new works was of a temporary character. He wished to point out that when the Home Secretary made that statement he was not dealing with item E but item D.

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES REFUSED).

Address for "Return of the number of victuallers', beerhouse, and other Licences for the sale of Intoxicating Liquors the renewal of which has been refused at the general annual licensing meetings and adjournments thereof held in England and Wales during February and March, 1904, showing in each case the ground of the refusal, especially where such ground was in any instance that the Licence was not required; with the number of cases in which notice of appeal was given, and the result of such appeal

Mr. Dalziel.

(in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 194, of session 1903). — (*Mr. Cochrane.*)

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT (DEFICIENCY ANNUITY).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [25th April], "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Resolution, 'That it is expedient to authorise the continuance of the payment of the terminable annuity payable under Section 1 of the Savings Banks Act, 1880, in each year up to the end of the half-year ending on 20th May, 1917, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Savings Banks Acts.'"

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

Question put, and agreed to.

MOTOR CARS (LICENCES).

Address for "Return showing the number of Motor Cars (distinguishing Motor Cycles from other Motor Cars) registered by each registering authority in the United Kingdom under the Motor Car Act, 1903, up to the 1st day of January, 1904, and the 1st day of April, 1904, respectively; together with the number of licences under the Act granted to drivers of Motor Cars by each authority at the same dates, distinguishing between licences limited to the driving of Motor Cycles and licences not so limited." — (*Mr. Scott Montagu.*)

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACT FROM FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR YEAR 1903—1904.

REVENUE (EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS) AND EXPENDITURE (EXCHEQUER ISSUES) FOR 1903—1904.

Revenue (Exchequer Receipts) —1903-04.		Expenditure (Exchequer Issues)—1903-04.	
	£		£
CUSTOMS	33,850,000	I. CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.	
INLAND REVENUE :		National Debt Services :	27,000,000
Excise	31,550,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,624,000
Estate, etc., Duties ...	13,000,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts ...	1,157,000
Stamps	7,500,000	Total Consolidated Fund Services	29,781,000
Land Tax	725,000		
House Duty	1,925,000	II. SUPPLY SERVICES.	
Property and Income Tax (at 11d. in the £)	30,800,000	Army (including Ordnance Factories) ...	36,677,000
Total Tax Revenue ...	119,350,000	Navy	35,476,000
		Civil Services	26,870,000
POST OFFICE	15,450,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	3,085,000
TELEGRAPH SERVICE ...	3,700,000	Post Office	9,758,000
CROWN LANDS	460,000	Telegraph Service ...	4,528,000
RECEIPTS FROM SUEZ CANAL SHARES AND SUNDRY LOANS ...	983,000	Packet Service	786,000
MISCELLANEOUS	1,603,000	Total Supply Services ...	117,180,000
Total Non-Tax Revenue...	22,196,000	Total Expenditure ...	146,961,000
Total Revenue	141,546,000		
Deficit	5,415,000		
	146,961,000		

Note.—See, for fuller figures, House of Commons Paper 132.

APPENDIX I.—*cont.*

**BALANCE SHEET (ESTIMATED) FOR 1904-1905 ON BASIS OF EXISTING
TAXATION, AND BEFORE TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CHANGES
PROPOSED BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.**

Revenue (Exchequer Receipts) 1904-1905.		Expenditure (Exchequer Issues) 1904-1905.	
	£	I.—CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.	£
CUSTOMS	33,900,000		
INLAND REVENUE :		National Debt Services :	27,000,000
Excise	31,500,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,640,000
Estate, &c., Duties ...	13,000,000	Payments to Local Taxa- tion Accounts ...	1,160,000
Stamps... ..	7,550,000		
Land Tax	750,000	Total Consolidated Fund Services	29,800,000
House Duty	1,900,000		
Property and Income Tax (at 11d. in the £)	28,000,000	II.—SUPPLY SERVICES :	
Total Tax Revenue ...	116,600,000	Army (including Ord- nance Factories) ...	28,900,000
		Navy	36,889,000
POST OFFICE	15,950,000	Civil Services	27,984,000
TELEGRAPH SERVICE ...	3,750,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	3,104,000
CROWN LANDS	450,000	Post Office	10,201,000
RECEIPTS FROM SUEZ CANAL SHARES AND SUNDRY LOANS	960,000	Telegraph Service ...	4,716,000
MISCELLANEOUS	1,350,000	Packet Service	786,000
Total Non-Tax Revenue ...	22,460,000	Total Supply Services ...	112,580,000
Total Revenue	139,060,000	Total Expenditure ...	142,380,000

Note.—See, for fuller figures, House of Commons Paper 132.

APPENDIX I.—*cont.*

FINAL BALANCE SHEET (ESTIMATED) 1904-1905, SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Revenue (Exchequer Receipts)—1904-1905.			Expenditure (Exchequer Issues)— 1904-1905.	
CUSTOMS—	£	£	I.—CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.	£
As in Appendix II.	33,900,000		National Debt Services	27,000,000
Add—			Other Consolidated Fund Services ...	1,840,000
Increase to Tea Duty ..	£2,000,000	36,450,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts	1,160,000
Increase to Tobacco Duty	£550,000		Total Consolidated Fund Services ...	29,800,000
INLAND REVENUE—			II.—SUPPLY SERVICES.	
Excise		31,500,000	Army (in- cluding Ordnance £ Factories) 28,900,000	
Estate, &c., Duties		13,000,000	Add for So- maliland 500,000	29,400,000
Stamps		7,550,000	Navy	36,889,000
Land Tax		750,000	Civil Services ...	27,984,000
House Duty		1,900,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	3,104,000
Property and Income Tax at 1ld. in the £, as in Appendix II.	28,000,000		Post Office... ..	10,201,000
Add—			Telegraph Service	4,716,000
Increase of 1d. in the £ ...	2,000,000	30,000,000	Packet Service ...	786,000
Total Tax Revenue		121,150,000	Total Supply Ser- vices ...	113,080,000
POST OFFICE		15,950,000	Total Estimated Expenditure ..	142,880,000
TELEGRAPH SERVICE		3,750,000	Balance	730,000
CROWN LANDS		450,000	Total	143,610,000
RECEIPTS FROM SUEZ CANAL SHARES AND SUNDRY LOANS		960,000		
MISCELLANEOUS		1,350,000		
Total Non-Tax Revenue		22,460,000		
Total Estimated Revenue ..		143,610,000		

NOTE.—See, for fuller figures, House of Commons Paper 132.

APPENDIX II.

ESTIMATES FOR CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1904-5.

MEMORANDUM BY THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY.

I.—CIVIL SERVICES.

1. The net total of the Estimates for Civil Services for 1904-5 is 27,983,920*l*. The original Estimates for 1903-4 amounted to 26,561,033*l*. The increase is therefore 1,422,887*l*., of which no less than 1,262,893*l*. arises under Class IV. (Education, Science and Art).

2. In the following Abstract and throughout the detailed Estimates comparison is made, however, according to the usual practice, with the total grants made for the service of the year 1903-4 in the Session of 1903. These include Supplementary Estimates to the amount of 354,416*l*., making the total for 1903-4 (after allowing for the sum of 4,920*l*. transferred for purposes of comparison to the Vote for Public Buildings (Class I., 9.) from Army Votes) 26,920,369*l*. Upon this comparison the total for 1904-5 shows an increase of 1,063,551*l*.

3. The number of Votes is 104—the same as the original number for the present year. Two new Votes have been added, viz. :—that for Osborne in Class I. (now separated from Royal Palaces) and that for Ireland Development Grant in Class VII., the first payment in respect of the latter having been the subject of a Supplementary Estimate last summer. On the other hand two Votes which were included this year do not appear ;—no Grant-in-Aid of Cyprus being proposed, while the deficiencies upon the last accounts of Savings Banks and Friendly Societies are being provided for by Supplementary Estimate in 1903-4.

CLASS I.

WORKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS,

1904-5.	1903-4.
2,617,368 <i>l</i> .	2,563,642 <i>l</i> .
Increase 53,726 <i>l</i> .	

* 4. Osborne, since it has been presented by His Majesty to the nation, cannot properly be classed as a Royal Palace. The expenditure, therefore, in respect of this Establishment now appears for the first time under a separate Vote. The figures for the current year have been adjusted for comparison, and the amount required for the service shows a decrease of 3,900*l*. The original Estimate for 1903-4 included part of the cost of adapting a portion of the fabric to the purposes of a Convalescent Home, the balance being provided in a Supplementary Vote taken in the present Session. Part of the building will be thrown open to the public, as being of national interest.

APPENDIX II.

5. The principal increases in the Class are:—Revenue Buildings (31,300*l.*), Peterhead Harbour (8,020*l.*), and Rates on Government Property (20,580*l.*). On the other hand, Railways, Ireland, shew a decrease of 19,399*l.*, due to the termination of one of the annuities to repay advances by the National Debt Commissioners for the purposes of the Light Railways (Ireland) Acts, 1889 to 1893.

6. The increase under Revenue Buildings is chiefly for Post Office New Works, Alterations and Enlargements due to growth of business. The expenditure on these Services was kept as low as possible during the South African War, with the result that the accommodation is inadequate for present needs in many localities, and arrears have to be made up.

7. Increased provision is made for Peterhead Harbour in view of the desirability of proceeding more rapidly with the works.

8. The continued growth of the Rates Vote is, as in past years, due partly to the larger amount of Government property, in respect of which contributions are made, but even more to the increased poundage of the rates themselves.

CLASS II.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

1904-5.	1903-4.
2,685,621 <i>l.</i>	2,595,182 <i>l.</i>
Increase 90,439 <i>l.</i>	

9. The figures of 1903-4 include a Supplementary Estimate of 10,000*l.* for the Congested District Board, Ireland (under Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction). The net increase over the original total is therefore 100,439*l.*

10. The Vote for the Board of Trade has been relieved of the expenses of the Fishery Department, now included under Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, and the cost of Inspection of Poor Law Schools has been transferred from the Local Government Board to the Board of Education (Class IV., Vote I.). The figures for 1903-4 have, however, been adjusted for purposes of comparison, and the transfers do not affect the statements of increase and decrease.

11. The increase of 9,361*l.* under House of Lords Offices is due almost entirely to the decline in the amount realised from Private Bill Fees, which reduces the amount expected to be received for appropriation in aid of the Vote by 9,000*l.* The same explanation applies to the increase of 4,510*l.* under House of Commons Offices, where the credit sub-head is expected to yield 4,500*l.* less than the amount anticipated for the current year. Under Home Office 6,500*l.* more is required for Contributions to Certified Inebriate Reformatories. The re-organisation of the establishment of the Commercial, Labour, and Statistical Departments and the Patent Office accounts for most of the net increase of 12,976*l.* under Board of Trade, while 8,242*l.* out of the additional 8,682*l.* needed under Local Government Board is in respect of salaries and travelling expenses of District Auditors to cope with the additional work resulting from the operation of the Education Acts, (and to a smaller extent) in respect of the first audit of the accounts of the Metropolis Water Board.

12. The heaviest item of increase in this Class (43,029*l.*) is for Stationery and Printing for which the current year's provision had to be supplemented by an additional Estimate of 31,000*l.* voted this Session.

13. The Registrar-General's Offices (England and Scotland) show decreases of 1,796*l.* and 3413*l.* respectively, due to the cessation of special charges connected with the Census.

14. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) shews an apparent decrease of 1,093*l.*, but the special grant of 10,000*l.* for the Congested Districts Board referred to above is included in the 1903-4 figures. There is,

APPENDIX II.

herefore, an increase of 8,907*l.* upon the original Estimate for the current year. Of this, 3,000*l.* is due to the allocation of a larger proportion of the Swine Fever Grant to Ireland, the corresponding saving as regards Great Britain being shewn under the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries; 2,500*l.* to growth in the amount of the grants to Schools of Science and Art, and the balance mainly to additional staff requirements.

CLASS III.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

1904-5.	1903-4.
3,891,853 <i>l.</i>	3,939,579 <i>l.</i>
Decrease 57,726 <i>l.</i>	

15. Under Services common to the United Kingdom and the special English and Scottish Services there is a net increase of 12,767*l.*, which is more than accounted for by the additional amount (19,865*l.*) which is required for Prisons (England and the Colonies). About half the increase under this head is on account of Buildings, including 12,000*l.* for further accommodation for Criminal Lunatics at Parkhurst, while the balance is distributed over the various subheads for Staff and Maintenance, being due to the increase in the number of prisoners in local prisons, and to the higher price of food stuffs and materials.

16. The Estimate for Law Charges is 6,248*l.* more than in the present year. It includes, however, special non-recurrent items of 6,482*l.* and 2,000*l.* for contributions to the Bank of England towards exceptional expenses in connection with the prosecution of Bank Note Forgers, and to the cost of the Whitaker Wright prosecution respectively. As regards the latter, it may be noted that the Extradition Expenses were provided for in the Supplementary Estimate for Miscellaneous Legal Expenses voted this Session.

17. In spite of the increase on general English and Scottish services the total of the Class shows a decrease of 57,726*l.*, owing to the reductions (amounting to 70,493*l.*) which have been effected on the Irish Estimates.

Of these the most important is that of 52,394*l.* under Royal Irish Constabulary resulting from reductions in the force which have already taken place and others in immediate contemplation. Provision is included in 1904-5 for an average force of 10,383 as against 11,190 in the current year. The Land Commission will require 5,398*l.* less than this year, in spite of the additional duties thrown upon this department by the Land Act of last Session. The saving is principally due to the reduction which has taken place in the number of Lay Assistant Commissioners.

18. There are decreases under all the Irish Votes in this class with the exception of that for Dundrum Asylum which shows an increase of trifling amount.

CLASS IV.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND ART.

1904-5.	1903-4.
15,798,217 <i>l.</i>	14,580,324 <i>l.</i>
Increase 1,217,893 <i>l.</i>	

19. The 1903-4 figures include a Supplementary Estimate of 45,000*l.* for the relief of the National Antarctic Expedition—a Service of a quite exceptional character, for which any provision that may prove to be necessary next year will be made in a similar form. The increase of 1,262,893*l.* over the original total for 1903-4 (as adjusted to allow for the transfer of the Inspection of Poor Law Schools from the Local Government Board, referred to under Class II.) is the real measure of the increase of expenditure upon these Services. The bulk of the addition naturally arises on the Vote for the Board of Education, as the result of recent legislation, but Public Education (Scotland), Public Education (Ireland), and Universities and Colleges (Great Britain), also show substantial increases.

APPENDIX. II.

20. The Board of Education (England and Wales) requires 985,131*l.* more than this year. Of this increase 50,580*l.* is for grants for Training Teachers, Pupil Teachers, &c., and 52,303*l.* for grants in respect of Education other than elementary. The principal increase, however (889,888*l.*), is for grants towards expenditure on Public Elementary Schools. Of this 233,465*l.* is due to the automatic growth in the amount required for the grants unaffected by recent legislation. As regards the new grants under the Education Acts, 1902 and 1903, the Estimates for the present year included provision for a half-a-year under the former Act only. In 1904-5 provision has to be made for a full year, and more scholars have to be provided for. Provision has also to be made for the new grants in respect of London for eleven months. The increase under the new Aid Grants (Subheads C 6) is 1,249,000*l.*, against which must be set the saving on account of the superseded grants to Board and Voluntary Schools (Subheads C 5 and 6), 592,577*l.*—net increase 656,423*l.*

21. Under Public Education, Scotland, 194,896*l.* more is required. In this case, too, the Estimate for 1903-4 included only half-a-year's provision in respect of the General Aid Grant—the equivalent of the additional grants in England and Wales. The inclusion of the full year's provision accounts for more than 100,000*l.* out of the total increase, the remainder of which is due to growth in number of scholars and in their grant-earning capacity.

22. The increase of 46,524*l.* under Public Education, Ireland, is chiefly due to the addition of 30,000*l.* to the amount which will be required for Salaries, &c., of Teachers in National Schools, and of 13,300*l.* for Evening Elementary Schools. Supplementary provision has had to be asked for in respect of these Services in the current year.

23. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain, will require an additional 32,100*l.* to provide for grants for the new Universities at Liverpool and Leeds (for each of which 2,000*l.* is included), and for the proposed augmentation of the Grants-in-Aid of Colleges, for which 54,000*l.* is inserted, or double the amount voted in the current year. Under National Gallery, Scotland, the increase of 3,150*l.* is chiefly due to the recommendations of the recent Committee on the Board of Manufactures, whose Report was presented to Parliament (C. 1812-3).

CLASS V.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

1904-5	1903-4.
2,006,288 <i>l.</i>	2,223,998 <i>l.</i>
Decrease 217,710 <i>l.</i>	

24. After deducting from the total for 1903-4 the additional Estimate presented last summer for the Treasury Chest Fund—a Service for which the necessary provision cannot be determined until after the close of the financial year—Foreign and Colonial Services still shew a substantial decrease of 114,710*l.* upon the current year's Vote.

25. The greater part of this reduction arises from the fact that no grant is required for Cyprus. In the present year 87,000*l.* was included under this head, an exceptionally large provision being required in view of the financial situation of the island owing to prolonged drought. A portion of last year's Vote having been for the purpose of providing temporary accommodation pending the collection of delayed revenue, it is now available to meet the requirements of 1904-5 without a fresh demand being made on the Exchequer.

26. Diplomatic and Consular Services require 18,287*l.* more than in 1903-4, increases of 13,000*l.* under "Special Missions and Services" and 2,000*l.* under "Outfits" accounting for the greater part of the addition.

27. The Vote for Protectorates in East Africa, &c., no longer includes the Grant-in-Aid of the Central Africa Protectorate which has been transferred to Colonial

APPENDIX II.

Services, as the administration of this Protectorate will be taken over by the Colonial Office on the 1st April next. The transferred grant shews a decrease of 11,200*l.* and accordingly what would otherwise have been a decrease of 8,093*l.* on the Vote upon last year's basis becomes an increase of 3,107*l.*

28. The automatic addition to the Uganda Railway Annuity, to repay sums borrowed from the National Debt Commissioners in 1903, imposes an additional charge of 23,524*l.*, which is, however, more than counterbalanced by a reduction of 25,400*l.* under Somaliland. In the latter case this year's grant included 31,405*l.* for sums owing to India on capital account. Uganda requires 9,850*l.* more, but British East Africa 4,867*l.* less, than in 1903-4.

29. Colonial Services (apart from the British Central Africa Grant already noted) shew a decrease of 52,904*l.* of which 35,500*l.* is under Grants-in-Aid of Local Revenues, 2,300*l.* under Boundary Commissions and 8,000*l.* under Telegrams. The Vote for 1903-4 included a non-recurrent item of 8,673*l.* for the Balance of Purchase Money due to the Niger Company.

30. In the Estimate for 'Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable, the Grant-in-Aid required to supplement the earnings of the Pacific Cable shews a reduction of 5,000*l.*, from 95,000*l.* in 1903-4 to 90,000*l.* in 1904-5. But the Colonial Contributions to be received in the year are reduced by 20,000*l.*, from 85,000*l.* to 65,000*l.*, so that the net charge upon the Vote is increased by 15,000*l.* The Colonial Contributions receivable in each year are a fixed proportion of the expenditure charged to the Grant-in-Aid in the preceding year; and it is because the estimated expenditure in 1903-4 is less than the expenditure in 1902-3 (as estimated a year ago) that a reduction is made in the amount of receipts anticipated in 1904-5.

CLASS VI.

NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

1804-5.	1903-4.
661,246 <i>l.</i>	693,521 <i>l.</i>
Decrease 32,275 <i>l.</i>	

31. The Vote for Savings Banks' and Friendly Societies' deficiencies corresponding to that which is included in the 1903-4 figures was taken this Session upon a Supplementary Estimate for the expiring year. Leaving this Estimate out of account there is an increase on the class of 16,344*l.* Superannuation and Retired Allowances are expected to require 16,815*l.* more than in the previous year. The increase is automatic in character, and rather below the average amount.

32. The other Votes in this Class, as usual, show small decreases due to the cessation of expiring charges.

CLASS VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1904-5.	1903-4.
333,327 <i>l.</i>	324,123 <i>l.</i>
Increase 9,204 <i>l.</i>	

33. Compared with the original Estimates for the current year, there is an increase upon this Class of 201,620*l.*, but the former included no provision for the Ireland Development Grant, the proportion accruing for the latter part of the year (123,334*l.*) being taken in a Supplementary Estimate last Session. For next year the statutory grant of 185,000*l.* falls to be provided in full.

34. The Estimate for Temporary Commissions is 2,000*l.* less than this year, the reduction being upon the sub-head for Commissions not specifically provided for, under which 7,000*l.* is expected to suffice. Miscellaneous Expenses will require 7,663*l.* less, one year's provision only being needed for the Mallaig Extension Railway Guarantee. The Estimate for Repayments to the Local Loans Fund shows a

APPENDIX II.

diminution of 13,717*l.*, the amounts written off the assets of the Fund by the Public Works Loans Act, 1903, having been less than in the preceding year. Under St. Louis Exhibition, 70,000*l.* is required to complete the grant of 150,000*l.* promised by His Majesty's Government. 30,000*l.* was included in the original Estimates for 1903-4 in respect of this service, and a further 50,000*l.* was voted on a Supplementary Estimate last summer.

35. An Estimate for Repayments to the Civil Contingencies Fund will be presented, as usual, later in the Session, if necessary, when the amount to be made good to the Fund has been ascertained.

II. REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

1904-5.	1903-4.
18,806,647 <i>l.</i>	18,517,220 <i>l.</i>
Increase 289,427 <i>l.</i>	

36. In spite of savings upon Staff, &c., amounting to some 17,000*l.* consequent upon the repeal of the Corn Duty, the Estimate for Customs shows a net increase of 6,000*l.* Further provision to the extent of 16,000*l.* has been required to cope with additional work arising from the Sugar Convention, and the establishment of the Statistical Office has been strengthened—at a cost of about 2,500*l.*—in order to provide more complete statistics than heretofore of Imports and Exports.

37. The reduction of 15,400*l.* under Inland Revenue is due chiefly to a saving of 22,700*l.* under Commuted Allowances to Assessors and Collectors of Taxes resulting from the cessation of the special expenditure in connection with the Quinquennial Assessment last year and the decrease in the rate of the Income Tax.

38. Postal Services (Post Office, Packet Services and Telegraphs) together show an increase of 298,827*l.* as against 651,740*l.* a year ago.

39. The increase under Post Office is 126,224*l.*, mainly owing to general expansion in business and the growth of the Superannuation Charges. 16,200*l.* less is required for Manufacture of Stamps, &c., owing to a reduction in the cost of manufacture of Postal Orders.

40. The Packet Services Estimate stands at practically the same total as this year, the increase of 9,063*l.* in gross expenditure being met by a corresponding increase in the Colonial contributions appropriated in aid of the Vote.

41. Under Telegraphs there is an increase of 172,973*l.*, of which 46,559*l.* is for terminable annuities in repayment of sums borrowed on Telephone Capital Account and 43,159*l.* for Telegraphs Establishments due chiefly to augmentation of the Engineering Staff. 35,000*l.* more is asked for under the head of Telegraph Rearrangements mainly in connection with the extension of the underground line to the North; the sum included for this Service is 150,000*l.* 19,000*l.* more is needed for staff, &c., of Telephone Exchanges owing to the extension of the system. The growing cost of common services divisible between Post Office and Telegraphs accounts for 33,742*l.* On the other hand, the Vote is relieved of the special item of 8,000*l.* included this year for the International Telegraph Conference, and 5,000*l.* less is required for payments to Railway Companies and others for transactions of Public Telegraph Business.

42. The non-effective charges on the Postal Votes show a heavy increase of 48,000*l.* as against 19,040*l.* last year, the number of pensioners having increased by 397 or 7 per cent. In view of this rate of growth, the margin for probable further increase has also been raised by 8,500*l.*

APPENDIX III.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CXXXIII.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Army Annual	<i>Earl of Donoughmore</i>	Read 1 ^a 21st April (811) Read 2 ^a 22nd April (948) Committee } 25th Apl. (1017) Report } Read 3 ^a and passed 26th April (1174) Royal Assent 28th April (1405)
*Bills of Exchange Act(1882) Amendment [H.L.]	<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Read 1 ^a 26th April (1167)
Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) [H.L.]	<i>Lord Monkswell</i>	Read 2 ^a 21st April (811) Committee 28th April (1409)
Prevention of Corruption [H.L.]	<i>Lord Alverstone</i>	Read 2 ^a 26th April (1168)
Sale of Intoxicants to Children [H.L.]		Committee 21st April (829) Report 26th April (1174)
*Sea Fisheries [H.L.]	<i>Earl of Onslow</i>	Committee 19th April (502) Report 22nd April (949)
Sunday Closing Shops [H.L.]	<i>Lord Avebury</i>	Bill withdrawn 28th April (1409)
*Supply of Electricity [H.L.]	<i>Lord Wolverton</i>	Read 1 ^a 28th April (1408)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Aliens	<i>Mr. Akers-Douglas</i>	Read 2 ^a 25th April (1063) (1131)
*Army Annual	<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	Second Reading (adjourned) 13th April (135) Read 2 ^a 14th April (289) Committee 18th April (473) Report, } 19th Apl. Read 3 ^a and passed / (665) Royal Assent 28th April (1421)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—continued.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Bishopric of Bristol [H.L.]	<i>Mr. Akers-Douglas</i>	Read 1° 19th April (538)
*Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland)	<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	Read 1° 25th April (1062)
Chartered Societies	<i>Sir John Rolleston</i>	Read 1° 21st April (856)
*Education (Local Authorities Default)	<i>Sir William Anson</i>	Read 1° 26th April (1203)
*Indian Councils Bill	<i>Mr. Brodrick</i>	Read 1° 12th April (27)
*Licensing	<i>Mr. Akers-Douglas</i>	Read 1° 20th April (696)
Liquor Sellers' Liability	<i>Sir Wilfred Lawson</i>	Read 1° 20th April (696)
*Local Authorities (Treasury Powers)	<i>Mr. Victor Cavendish</i>	Read 1° 13th April (85)
Poor Law Medical Officers (Ireland) Superannuation	<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	Read 1° 18th April (397)
*Shop Hours	<i>Mr. Cochrane</i>	Read 1° 26th April (1199)
Sunday Closing (Wales) Act 1881 Amendment	<i>Mr. Herbert Roberts</i>	Second Reading (adjourned) 15th April (347)
Trades Unions and Trades Disputes	<i>Mr. Paullon</i>	Read 2° 22nd April (958)
Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation	<i>Mr. Price</i>	Read 2° 15th April (327)
*Valuation	<i>Mr. Walter Long</i>	Read 1° 26th April (1199)
Weights and Measures	<i>Mr. Bousfield</i>	Read 2° 15th April (302)

APPENDIX IV.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1904.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

[In continuance of List given in preceding Volume.]

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Education (Scotland).—Copy of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 25th April 1904, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant [35 and 36 Vic., c. 62, s. 67.]	25 April	One month
Royal Parks and Gardens, — Copy of Rules for the Royal Parks and Gardens, in connection with the Regulations prescribed by The Parks Regulation Act, 1872 [35 and 36 Vic., c. 15, s. 9.]	29 April	One month
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Cambridge).—Copy of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Trinity College, Cambridge, on 7th December 1903, amending Statutes XXVIII., XXXI., XXXI., XLI., XLII., XLIX., LIV., and LXI. of the College Statutes [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50.]	29 April	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy of Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 9th December 1903, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., X., XII., XIII., XV., XVI., and XVII. of the College Statutes [25 and 26, Vic. c. 26f s. 7.]	29 April	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy of Statute made by the Governing Body of Balliol College, Oxford, on 15th December 1903, amending Statute V., Clause 3 (a), of the Statutes of the College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7.]	29 April	12 weeks

INDEX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1904.

APRIL 12—APRIL 28.

EXPLANATION OF ARRANGEMENT AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills: Read First, Second, or Third Time = 1R., 2R., 3R. [c.] = Commons. [L.] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote. Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

Abinger, Lord

Sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman, *Apr. 19*, 477.

Abraham, Mr. W. [Cork Co., N.E.]

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, Ireland—Effect of work on Emigration, *Apr. 14*, 203.

Board of Works, Lodging Receivable Orders at any Bank, *Apr. 13*, 385.

Constabulary—Public Collections for Testimonials—Case of Sergeant Dalton, *Apr. 20*, 688.

Woollen Industries, &c., Loans to, for purchase of Machinery, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 204.

Acton Improvement Bill

c. 3R.* *Apr. 15*, 293.

*Con.** *Apr. 12*, 1.

l. 1R.* *Apr. 19*, 477.

2R.* *Apr. 28*, 1406.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A.—*Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury* [Somersetshire, Wellington]

Budget—Report stage of Resolutions—Date of taking, *Apr. 25*, 1164.

Business of the House—Course of, *Apr. 12*, 71, 72.

Customs—Boatmen, Age limit of, *Apr. 19*, 531.

Accounts Committee

See Public Accounts Committee.

Adjournment of the House

Ritualistic Practices in the Church, Motion for discussion of.

Os. Mr. A. Taylor, *Apr. 20*, 695; Mr. Galloway, Mr. Speaker, 696.

Admiralty

First Lord—Earl of Selborne.

Financial Secretary—Mr. E. G. Pretymann. Establishments, Rate of wages paid to employes in.

Os. Capt. Norton, *Apr. 12*, 47, 49; Mr. Kearley, 50; Mr. R. Lucas, 51; Mr. Pretymann, 52-54.

Africa

Cotton cultivation in, Possibilities of.

Os. Mr. Rutherford, *Apr. 27*, 1372; Mr. Fielden, 1378; Mr. Emmott, 1384; Mr. S. Smith, 1386; Mr. Lyttelton, 1394; Sir B. Gurdon, 1399.

Railway Facilities for transport of cotton.

Os. Mr. Emmott, *Apr. 27*, 1384; Mr. Lyttelton, 1396, 1397; Sir B. Gurdon, 1399.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Africa, East

Cotton Cultivation — Report Presented,
Apr. 19, 480.

Jewish Colonial Trust, Tabling Papers
relating to.

Q. Mr. C. Wason ; A. Earl Percy,
Apr. 26, 1196.

Uganda Railway—Country Produce Traffic
—Report Presented, *Apr. 19, 480.*

Africa, South

Constabulary, Discharge from, Forwarding
home, etc.

Q. Mr. Moon ; A. Mr. Lyttelton,
Apr. 20, 677.

Garrison in.

Clerks' Salaries—Income Tax Deduc-
tions, Refunding proposed.

Q. Sir J. Rolleston ; A. Mr.
Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14,
191.

Hutting Accommodation, Number of
Stations, etc.

Q. Sir C. Dilke ; A. Mr. Arnold-
Forster, Apr. 15, 301.

Indian Contributions towards Ex-
penditure—Tabling Dissents of
Indian Council.

Q. Mr. E. Wason ; A. Mr.
Brodrick, Apr. 25, 1036.

Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Rhodesia,
Cape Colony, etc., *see those titles.*

Africa, West

Agricultural Implements, Import Duties on.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttelton,
Apr. 21, 843.

Congo, *see that title.*

Gold Coast Colony—Government Railway
—Purchase of Coal through Crown
Agents.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttel-
ton, Apr. 18, 367.

Liberia—Trade Report presented, *Apr. 19,*
480.

Agrarian Offences

Ireland—Return Presented, *Apr. 12, 4 ;*
Apr. 19, 481.

Agriculture, Board of

President—Earl of Onslow.

Banks, Agricultural, in India.

Q. Mr. Weir ; A. Mr. Brodrick, Apr.
28, 1432-1433.

Correspondents of Board of Agriculture
and Fisheries, List of, Presented, *Apr.*
26, 1177 ; Apr. 28, 1407.

Education in Great Britain and Abroad,
Amounts Spent on.

Q. Mr. Lambert ; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, Apr. 25, 1034-1035.

Implements Imported into West Africa,
Duty on.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttel-
ton, Apr. 21, 843.

Agriculture, Board of—cont.

Inspectors, Assistant—Qualifications ex-
cusing a Preliminary Examination.

Q. Dr. Farquharson ; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, Apr. 21, 848.

Number of Persons engaged in.

England and Wales, in.

Q. Mr. Lambert ; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, Apr. 18, 379.

Scotland.

Q. Mr. E. Wason ; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, Apr. 21, 847.

Railway Rates on Produce.

Correspondence between the Board of
Agriculture and Railway Com-
panies presented, *Apr. 22, 943,*
953.

Reduction of, Steps taken to effect
1903-4.

Q. Mr. Lambert ; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, Apr. 25, 1035-
1036.

**Agriculture and Technical Instruction
Department, Ireland.**

President—Mr. G. Wyndham.

Administration and Work—effect on Emi-
gration.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, Apr. 14, 203.

Grant, Annual, paid to North-East Agri-
cultural Association.

Q. Mr. T. W. Russell ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, Apr. 18, 389.

Borrisokane, Tipperary—Allowing use of
Workhouse for Technical Classes.

Q. Mr. P. T. O'Brien ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, Apr. 18, 392-393.

Directory, consulting with Local Com-
mittees as to.

Q. Mr. Joyce ; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 18, 391.

Loans for providing Machinery for
Technical Instruction, Issue of.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell ; A. Mr. Atkin-
son, Apr. 28, 1450.

Monaghan Committee, Display of Party
Flags at Shows prohibited by.

Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 20, 686.

Officials transferred from Veterinary to
Agricultural Department.

Q. Mr. Delany ; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 18, 387-388.

Rural District Councils, Assistance to,
under Public Libraries Act.

Q. Mr. Boland ; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 12, 21.

Veterinary Branch.

Inspectors, Names, Qualifications, and
Experience of recently appointed,
etc.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, Apr. 28, 1434-
1435.

Officers' Petition, Decision as to, *Apr.*
18, 365.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

**Agriculture and Technical Instruction
Department, Ireland—cont.****Veterinary Branch—cont.**

Roman Catholic Clerks, Promotion of.
Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Atkinson,
Apr. 28, 1448.

Woollen Industries etc., Assistance to, by
Loans for purchase of Machinery, pro-
posed.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 14, 204.*

Ainsworth, Mr. J. S. [Argyll]

Harbours of refuge, necessity for provision
of, *Apr. 28, 1528.*

Income Tax, Collection of—Assimilation of
Scotch and English Methods, *Apr. 28,
1443-1444.*

South African War Rewards—Carrying out
recommendations of Lord Kitchener,
Apr. 13, 79.

Tea Duty, increase in—hardship inflicted
on the Poorer Classes in Scotland, *Apr.
27, 1354.*

Volunteers, supplying Ammunition to, at
same rate as to Militia and Yeomanry,
Apr. 14, 224.

Alcohol

Duty on alcohol required for manufactur-
ing purposes, objections to.
O. Sir W. Holland, *Apr. 19, 631.*

Allen, Mr. C. P. [Gloucestershire, Stroud]

Macedonia—Gendarmerie Reorganisation
—Turkish Refusal to comply with
Proposals, etc., *Apr. 19, 528-529.*

Males, number of Adult, in the United
Kingdom in 1901.

Q. Mr. S. Samuel; A. Mr. A. A.
Douglas, *Apr. 14, 200.*

Naturalisation Certificates—Names of
Aliens, Country, and Place of Resi-
dence, etc., Return presented, *Apr. 13,
76.*

Paupers, Number of, Proportion to whole
Alien Population, etc.

Q. Mr. McKenna; A. Mr. W. Long,
Apr. 25, 1052.

Prisons, British, Number in.

Q. Sir T. Dewar; A. Mr. A.
Douglas, *Apr. 25, 1033-1034.*

Aliens

Number prisoners during five years (1898-
1903).

Q. Mr. S. Samuel; A. Mr. A. A.
Douglas, *Apr. 14, 199.*

Aliens Bill

c. 2R. *Apr. 25, 1062.*

*Debate on Second Reading [Commons] Apr.
25, 1062.*

Areas of congestion or over-popula-
tion, power given to Local Govern-
ment Board as to, 1097, 1107, 1117,
1140.

Art workmanship, advances in, due to
Alien Craftsmen, 1074, 1134.

Aliens Bill—cont.**Art workmanship—cont.**

Asylum for victims of persecution,
retention of principle of, 1062,
1063, 1071, 1082, 1083, 1088, 1091,
1093, 1099, 1100, 1108, 1125, 1134,
1136, 1137, 1141, 1145, 1146, 1158,
1160.

Attacks made by the Press on opposers
of the Bill, 1063, 1120.

Board of Trade Return as to Aliens,
1065, 1066.

British labour, displacement of,
alleged, 1070, 1078, 1079, 1089,
1090, 1092, 1112, 1118, 1139, 1153,
1154, 1156.

Cabinet making, effect of Alien Immi-
gration on, 1079, 1096, 1134.

Canada, Emigration to — Statistics,
1066.

Change in the Class of Immigrant dur-
ing the last ten years, 1126.

Charge on the Rates for maintenance
of destitute Aliens, 1104, 1137,
1138.

Class of Persons to be excluded, 1093,
1105, 1108, 1149.

Commission of Inquiry — Terms of
Report, and Evidence before, 1064,
1072, 1094, 1134, 1145.

Condition of Aliens on arrival, 1136,
1152.

Criminal Statistics, rise in, due to
Aliens, 1077, 1092, 1096, 1120,
1137, 1139, 1148, 1156.

Deportation of Criminals, powers to
be given to Magistrates as to, 1093,
1098, 1140, 1148.

Destitution, Exclusion on ground of,
1071, 1072, 1083, 1097, 1104, 1116,
1141, 1155.

Diseases introduced by Aliens, alleged,
1076, 1077, 1111, 1118, 1134, 1138,
1156.

Fines imposed by local Magistrates to
go in relief of the local Rates, pro-
posed, 1124.

Good qualities of Aliens, Evidence as
to, 1073, 1081, 1096, 1142, 1157.

Jews.

America, Condition of Jews in,
1109.

Anti-Jewish feeling alleged, 1075,
1080, 1082, 1110, 1113, 1130,
1137, 1143, 1158.

Children, Abilities shown by, 1073
1096, 1119, 1120.

Repatriation of, Statistics as to,
1086, 1087.

Treatment of, in Russia, 1071
1081, 1083, 1084, 1085.

Medical Examination on entering
the Country, 1140.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Aliens Bill—cont.

Debate on—cont.

Number of aliens in Great Britain, Statistics as to, 1065, 1076, 1089, 1092, 1095, 1114, 1119, 1125, 1135, 1136, 1143, 1144.

Over-crowding due to aliens, 1078, 1098, 1102, 1115, 1117, 1121, 1127, 1139, 1140, 1144, 1145, 1157.

• Tenement Houses, Bringing under the by-laws of the local authorities, proposed, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1121, 1140, 1157.

Panic legislation, alleged, 1076, 1135.

Percentage of aliens in Great Britain compared with Continental countries, 1067, 1092, 1095.

Precedents for legislation, 1146, 1147, 1150.

Refusal of Admission, and Expulsion, Powers given to the Home Secretary as to, 1093, 1097, 1105, 1141, 1147.

Shoemaking trade, Effect of alien immigration on, 1070, 1096, 1134.

Standard of living lowered by aliens, 1122, 1127, 1131, 1133.

Sunday observance, Effect on, 1123, 1158.

Sweating.

Bringing under control of factory inspectors, proposed, 1080, 1099, 1128, 1132, 1144, 1158.

Increase in number of aliens responsible for, 1064, 1068, 1069, 1122, 1127, 1132.

Underpaid labour of English women and girls responsible for, 1069, 1070.

Tailoring trade, effect of alien immigration on, 1070, 1096, 1134.

Unworkable nature of the proposals, Evidence as to, 1097, 1098, 1101, 1103, 1129, 1140, 1142.

Allhusen, Mr. A. H. E. [Hackney, Central]

Motor Cycles, Use of, for despatch-carrying in Imperial Yeomanry training, proposed, Apr. 27, 1292.

America

See United States of America, and Canada

Amersham, Beaconsfield and District Water Bill

c. Rep.* Apr. 13, 74.

Con.* Apr. 19, 516.

3R.* Apr. 22, 949.

1. 1K.* Apr. 25, 1015.

Ancient Monuments, Ireland

Bonamargy Ruins, Custody of.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 21, 850.

Anglo-French Agreement

See France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.

Animals

Diseases of, *see* Diseases of Animals.

Dogs, *see that title.*

Rats, Destruction of—Experiments with Danyaz's Virus.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 20, 678.

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, *see that title.*

Annuities

Government Annuities and Insurance Account Presented, Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 483.

Anson, Sir W. B.—Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Education [Oxford University]

Authorities bringing Education Act into Force—Number in each Month since April, 1903, etc., Apr. 13, 353–354.

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, Intro., Apr. 26, 1203.

Expenditure under, Apr. 23, 1444–1445.

Non-provided Schools, Powers of Local Authorities, Apr. 23, 1445.

Section 16 of Act of 1902, Suggested Substitution for, Apr. 23, 1444.

Elementary School Departments, Number of, in England and Wales, Apr. 13, 380.

London Act

Provided Schools, Grouping of, Postponing Operations of Act as regards, Apr. 27, 1301.

Section 2, Date of coming into Operation, Apr. 27, 1300.

Section 7, Postponing Operations of, Apr. 27, 1300.

Schools.

Barton-on-Humber, Accommodation at, Apr. 15, 298, 299.

Buildings and Alterations—Necessity to submit Plans to Education Department, Apr. 25, 1034.

Glyn-Traian, Draft Final Order for, Holding Local Inquiry, Apr. 27, 1299.

Haywards Heath, New School at, Apr. 15, 298, 299; Apr. 21, 835.

Plaiston, Accommodation at, Apr. 15, 298, 299.

Voluntary Schools' Managers—London County and Borough Council Appointments, Apr. 27, 1299.

Teachers, Pupil.

Appointments of, Dating, previous to publishing Examination Results, etc., Apr. 20, 671–672.

Cost of Training of, Account Debited with, Apr. 20, 683, 684.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Anson, Sir W. R.—cont.Teachers, Pupil—*cont.*Future Service of, Proposals as to,
*Apr. 20, 684-685.*Underfed Children—Provision of Meals by
Local Education Authority, proposed,
*Apr. 20, 793.***Wales.**Authorities in, Bringing Act of 1902
into Force — Number in each
Month since April, 1903, etc.,
*Apr. 18, 354.*Carmarthen County Council's Alleged
Breach of Education Act—Inquiry
—Tabling Report, *Apr. 21, 836.*Defaulting Authorities, Particulars
and Names of, *Apr. 23, 1445-1446.*Grants under the Old and New Sys-
tems, *Apr. 23, 1446.*Roman Catholic Schools in—Numbers,
Attendance.**Anthrax**Animals Slaughtered on Account of—Pay-
ment of Compensation to Owners out
of the Local Rates.*Os. Mr. E. Gray, Apr. 15, 331;*
*Mr. Field, 334.*Increase in Norfolk — Compensation to
Owners of Animals Dying of the
Disease, proposed.*Q. Mr. F. Wilson; A. Mr. A.*
*Fellowes, Apr. 14, 185.***Appleby Corporation Gas Bill***c. Rep.* Apr. 14, 182.**Con.* Apr. 20, 689.**3a.* Apr. 25, 1021.**l. Commons Amends. agreed to, Apr. 26,*
*1166.**Royal Assent, Apr. 28, 1405.***Arabia**Arms, Smuggling of—Seizure of Rifles at
Makalla.*Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Brod-*
*rick, Apr. 27, 1295, 1296.***Arbitration**Anglo-French Agreement — *see* France—
Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.**Argentine**Cattle Trade—Prohibition of Importation
of Live Cattle — Withdrawal pro-
posed.*Qs. Mr. Schwann, Mr. Kilbride;*
A. Mr. A. Fellowes, Apr. 14,
*199.***Armagh**Belfast Bankruptcy Court—Addition of
Armagh—Order, *Apr. 19, 484.*

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

ArmySecretary of State—Mr. H. O. Arnold-
Forster.

Under-Secretary—Earl of Donoughmore.

Financial Secretary—Mr. W. Bromley-
Davenport.**Act,**

Canada, Supply of Copies to.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. Arnold-
*Forster, Apr. 22, 958.*Memorandum explanatory of Amend-
ments presented, *Apr. 15, 295.*Reprints of — Omission of Amend-
ments made by means of Army
[Annual] Bills.*Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 13, 135;*
Mr. C. Hobhouse, 140;
Mr. G. Bowles, 140; Mr.
C. Warner, 141, 142; Col.
Welby, 143; Mr. Arnold-
Forster, 146; Mr. Dalziel,
Apr. 14, 290; Sir R. Finlay,
*291.*Administrative Districts under Esher
Scheme, Cost of Staffs.*Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr.*
*Arnold-Forster, Apr. 21, 842.*Ambulance Wagons, Steps taken to
improve.*Q. Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Apr. 14,*
252, 275; Mr. Arnold-Forster,
*275.***Army Corps Scheme.**

Abandonment of.

Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14,
283; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 284;
*Mr. Whitley, 286.*Expenditure in connection with, Cessation
of.*Os. Mr. Lambert, Apr. 14, 284;*
*Mr. Arnold-Forster, 285.***Artillery.**

Field, Expenditure on.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, Apr. 14, 216,
Mr. Arnold-Forster, 219.

Guns, Obsolete, Expenditure on.

Os. Mr. C. Warner, Apr. 14, 213;
Sir J. Colomb, 216; Mr. Lyell,
*217; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 220.*Royal Garrison Regiment, Transfer of,
from Malta to South Africa—
Completing Short Terms at Home.*Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr.*
Arnold-Forster, Apr. 19,
*524-525.***Auxiliary Forces.**[*See also* titles Militia, Volunteers, and
Yeomanry.]Administration of, deferring Changes
until Receipt of Royal Com-
mission Report, etc.*Q. Sir H. Vincent; A. Mr.*
Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18,
369-370.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Army—cont

Auxiliary Forces—cont.

Arming of, with modern weapons.
Os. Col. Welby, Apr. 14, 221; Mr. Renwick, 240.

Courts-martial, Application of military law under the Army Act to—
Rules of procedure, etc.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 13, 138, 148, 149; Mr. C. Warner, 141; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 148, 149, 150; Mr. Dalziel, 149, 150; Sir R. Finlay, 149.

Barracks.

Construction of—Publication of Committee Report.

Q. Sir C. Rasch; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 19, 523-524.

Salisbury Plain—Construction of barracks at Tedworth.

Os. Mr. Peel, Apr. 14, 283; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 285.

Batteries, New, proportion to be made in Government Arsenals and proportion given out on Contract.

Os. Mr. J. F. Hope, Apr. 14, 222; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 224.

Belfast, Troops in—Alleged Monopoly for Supply of Stores.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 25, 1039.

Canteens—Supplies in Ireland.

Os. Mr. Nannetti, Apr. 14, 249, 250, 251.

Cavalry.

Horses, Weight carried by, reduction in, proposed.

Os. Col. Legge, Mr. Bowles, Apr. 14, 251; Sir C. Rasch, 253; Col. Welby, 275.

Increase in, proposed.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 14, 228, 229.

Saddles, Provision of Improved pattern.

Os. Col. Welby, Apr. 14, 275; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 276.

Contracts.

Irish Firms, Exclusion of, alleged.

Os. Mr. Nannetti, Apr. 14, 234, 243, 253, 256, 276; Mr. Field, 234, 235, 254; Mr. Mooney, 254; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 255.

Rifles, Revision of Contract for.

Q. Col. Bowles; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 19, 523.

Cordite.

Estimate for.

Os. Mr. Weir, Apr. 14, 222, 223; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 223.

Quality of.

Q. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 223.

Army—cont.

Courts-martial.

Auxiliary Forces, Application of Military Law under the Army Act to—
Rules of Procedure, etc.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 13, 138, 148, 149; Mr. C. Warner, 141; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 148, 149, 150; Mr. Dalziel, 149, 150; Sir R. Finlay, 149; Mr. Dalziel, Apr. 14, 290; Sir R. Finlay, 291.

Judge-Advocate-General and power of quashing Convictions.

Q. Mr. Swift MacNeill; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 13, 79.

Courts of Inquiry, Constitution of—
Breaches of Military Law, etc.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 13, 137, 138; Capt. Norton, 144, 145; Col. Sandys, 145; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 147, 148.

Dentists—Candidates' Expenses, Payment of.

Q. Mr. Shackleton; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 19, 523.

Engineers—China, Increase of Staff in, Reasons for.

Os. Mr. Whitley, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 286.

Essex Regiment, 2nd Battalion—Resumption of purple facings and old title "Pompadors," proposed.

Q. Sir Carne Rasch; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 192.

Expenditure, Reduction in, proposed.

Os. Sir J. Gorst, Apr. 21, 864; Mr. Ritchie, 866; Mr. Elliot, 877.

Guns.

Artillery, Obsolete Armament of.

Os. Mr. C. Warner, Apr. 14, 213; Sir J. Colomb, 216; Mr. Lyell, 217; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 220.

Calibres, Number of different, expense entailed by.

Os. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Apr. 14, 215; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 219, 220.

Disproportion between figures given for guns and carriages.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, Apr. 14, 216; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 218.

Expenditure on.

Os. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Apr. 14, 215; Sir J. Colomb, 216; Mr. C. Warner, 222.

High angle firing, development of.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, Apr. 14, 217; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 219.

Quick-firing.

Deficiencies in, and unsatisfactory nature of.

Q. Sir C. Rasch, Apr. 14, 214.

Apr 12—Apr. 28.

Army—cont.**Guns—cont.****Quick-firing—cont.**

New Guns, nature of, and experiments with.

Os. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr.* 14, 215; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 218; Col. Welby, 221.

Rotunda, Woolwich, Protection of.

Q. Sir G. Bartley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 18, 372.

Standardisation of, proposed.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, *Apr.* 14, 216; Mr. Markham, 217; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 219; Col. Welby, 221.

Health of—Report of War Office Reconstitution Committee—Discussion of recommendations.

Q. Sir M. Foster; *Mr.* A. J. Balfour, *Apr.* 12, 23.

Qs. Sir J. Tuke, Dr. Farquharson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr.* 13, 83.

Journal, New, Advertisements in—Allowing Opportunity for Discussion.

Qs. Sir J. Lang, Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 20, 678-679.

Kinloch Case—Lack of knowledge of military law shown during inquiry.

O. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr.* 13, 137.

Lancers and Swords, decision as to retention of.

Os. Col. Welby, *Apr.* 14, 225; Col. Legge, 226; Capt. Norton, 226; Sir E. Lees, 227; Sir C. Dilke, 228; Mr. W. Churchill, 229; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 230, 231; Capt. Jessel, 232; Mr. C. Warner, 233.

Militia, Volunteers, Yeomanry, *see those titles.*

Mowatt Commission, date of issue of report.

O. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr.* 14, 252.

Officers.

Promotions—Selection for Ranks of Colonel and Major-General.

Q. Sir C. Rasch; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 21, 842-843.

Window blinds for quarters, estimate for.

Os. Col. Welby, *Apr.* 14, 284; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 285.

Ordnance Department.

Buying Section, establishment of.

O. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr.* 14, 252.

Ireland, Labourers' Wages in.

Q. Mr. C. Hay; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 19, 526.

Ordnance Factories.

Cost of Production, Calculation of.

Q. Mr. J. Collings; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 20, 676-677.

Army—cont.**Ordnance Factories—cont.**

Machinery, idle, in, placing Orders with Contractors, etc.

Q. Mr. Crooks; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 26, 1190-1191.

Osborne House, *see that title.*

Pay, Forfeiture of—Right of Appeal to Court-Martial.

Os. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr.* 13, 140; Mr. C. Warner, 142; Col. Welby, 143; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 147.

Personnel, Director of, Duties, Emoluments, Staff, etc.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 26, 1192-1193.

Recruits and Recruiting in Ireland—Circular issued by Major Gerard.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 19, 525-526.

Reforms—Proposals of War Office Reconstitution Committee, &c.

Qs. Mr. Black; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr.* 14, 210, 211.

Rifle Ranges—Amounts paid to London and Birmingham Small Arms Companies—Vote charged, etc.

Q. Mr. Whitley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 18, 366.

Rifles.

Contracts for—Revision of Price.

Q. Col. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 19, 523.

Cost of Manufacture in Government Factories.

Q. Mr. J. Collings; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr.* 20, 676-677.

Relative cost of manufacture by the Government and the Trade.

Os. Mr. B. Davenport, *Apr.* 14, 236, 237; Mr. Dalziel, 237, 242; Mr. T. Taylor, 237; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 238, 239, 242, 246; Mr. S. Wortley, 239; Mr. H. J. Wilson, 239; Mr. Bayley, 240; Col. Denny, 241; Mr. Peel, 241; Mr. C. Warner, 243; Mr. Weir, 245; Sir C. Dilke, 246.

Names of firms contracting for supply of—Number ordered from each firm, etc.

Os. Mr. Dalziel, *Apr.* 14, 237, 246; Mr. B. Davenport, 237, 245; Mr. Weir, 245; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 245.

212 [cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Army—cont.**Rifles—cont.****New Pattern.**

Cost of—Payments in Advance, alleged.

Os. Mr. Whitley, *Apr. 14*, 224, 225; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 225; Mr. C. Warner, 225.

Testing of, Individually—Increased Recoil—Testing in India.

Q. Mr. Hunt; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 28*, 1441.

Place of manufacture—Proportion entrusted to Government, and outside, manufactories.

Os. Col. Bowles, *Apr. 14*, 233, 236; Mr. C. Warner, 233; Mr. B. Davenport, 236, 237; Mr. Dalziel, 237; Mr. T. Taylor, 237; Mr. Weir, 245.

Schoolmasters, Military and Civilian, placing on the same footing.

Os. Mr. C. Warner, *Apr. 13*, 142; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 147.

Small-Arm and Machine Gun Ammunition, Estimate of.

O. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 14*, 222.

Soldiers.

Billeting of—Provision of extra beds by inn-keepers.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *Apr. 13*, 141; Col. Welby, 144.

Breakfast, Arrangements as to.

Os. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 14*, 291; Mr. B. Davenport, 292.

Devizes Gaol, Imprisonment in—Character of offences—Transfer of offenders to Military Prison, proposed.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*, 190.

Southampton Riot, Men of 2nd Cheshire Regiment implicated in, &c.

Qs. Capt. Norton; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 25*, 1042; *Apr. 27*, 1293.

Stores, Buying of, decentralisation of.

Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*, 255; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 256.

Submarine Mines, questionable policy of placing under control of the War Office.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, *Apr. 14*, 279; Sir C. Dilke, 280; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 281.

Supplies, Director of, Appointment of.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 28*, 1440-1441.

Transport, Director of, Appointment of.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 28*, 1440-1441.

Army—cont.

War Office, *see that title*.

Wellington College—Report of Governors for 1903 presented, *Apr. 22*, 943, 953.

Army [Annual] Bill

c. 2R. *Apr. 13*, 135; *Apr. 14*, 289.

Debate on Second Reading [Commons] *Apr. 13*, 135; *Apr. 14*, 289.

Act.

Promulgation of, simultaneously in all parts of the Empire, 140, 148.

Reprints of—Omission of amendments made by means of Bills, 135, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 290, 291.

Billeting arrangements—provision of extra beds for soldiers, 141, 144.

Courts-martial—Application of military law to Auxiliary Forces, rules of procedure etc., 138, 141, 148, 149, 150, 290, 291.

Courts of Inquiry, Constitution of—breaches of military law, etc., 137, 138, 144, 145, 147, 148.

Deductions from pay, change in procedure as to, proposed, 140, 142, 143, 145, 147.

Protectorates—proposals as to objections as to language of the Bill, 139.

Schoolmasters, Military and Civilian, placing on the same footing, 142, 147.

Transfers, Compulsory, proposals as to, 140, 147.

Com., *Apr. 13*, 474.

Rep. Apr. 13*, 476.

Con. and 3R.* Apr. 19*, 665.

l. 1R. Apr. 21*, 811.

2R., *Apr. 22*, 948.

Com. and Rep.* Apr. 25*, 1017.

3R. Apr. 26*, 1174.

Royal Assent, *Apr. 28*, 1405.

Memorandum explanatory of Amendments to Act presented, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Army Estimates.

Discussion of matters not contained in and not relative to the Vote.

O. Mr. J. W. Lowther, *Apr. 14*, 225, 235, 250, 251.

Engineer Services, Works, Buildings and Repairs—£1,918,000, *com.* *Apr. 14*, 282.

Increase in, References to, in debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 581, 585, 595, 604, 611, 629, 630, 639; *Apr. 21*, 864, 913; *Apr. 27*, 1319, 1326.

Method of Classifying.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*, 283.

Warlike and other Stores, supply and repair of—£2,839,000, *Com.* *April 14*, 212-274.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O. — Secretary of State for War [Belfast, W.]
Act,Canada, supply of copies to, *Apr. 22*, 958.Reprints of, with Amendments, *Apr. 13*, 146.Administrative Districts under Esher Scheme—Cost of Staffs, *April 21*, 842.

Africa, South, Garrison in.

Clerks' Salaries — refund of Income Tax deductions proposed, *Apr. 14*, 191.Hutting accommodation, number of stations, &c., *Apr. 15*, 301.Ambulance Wagons, steps taken to improve, *Apr. 14*, 275.Army [Annual] Bill, 2r., *Apr. 13*, 146 ; *Com.*, *Apr. 18*, 474, 475.

Army Corps Scheme.

Abandonment of, *Apr. 14*, 283.Expenditure in connection with, *Apr. 14*, 285.

Artillery.

Field, Expenditure on, *Apr. 14*, 219.Royal Garrison Regiment—Transfer from Malta to South Africa—Completing short service at home, *Apr. 19*, 525.Auxiliary Forces, Administration of — Deferring Changes until receipt of Report of Royal Commission, etc., — *Apr. 18*, 369-370.Ballyboy, Evicted Farm at, using, as Artillery Parade Ground, *Apr. 18*, 394.

Barracks.

Construction of—Publication of Committee Report, *Apr. 19*, 524.Salisbury plain, construction on, *Apr. 14*, 285.Batteries, New, proportion to be made in Government Arsenal, and given out on contract, *Apr. 14*, 224.Belfast, Troops in—Alleged Monopoly for Supply Stores, *Apr. 25*, 1039.Cavalry Saddles, provision of improved pattern, *Apr. 14*, 276.

Contracts.

Allocation between Ordnance Factories and the Trade, *Apr. 26*, 1190-1191.Irish Firms, alleged exclusion of, *Apr. 14*, 255.Cordite, Quality of, *Apr. 14*, 223.

Courts-martial.

Auxiliary Forces, Application of Military Law under Act to—rules of procedure, etc., *Apr. 13*, 148, 149, 150.Judge Advocate General and the power of quashing convictions, *Apr. 13*, 79.Courts of Inquiry, Constitution and procedure of, *Apr. 13*, 147, 148.**Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—cont.**Crimean Veterans, increasing Pensions of, *Apr. 28*, 1436.Dentists—Candidates' Expenses, *Apr. 19*, 523.Engineers, China, increase of staff in, *Apr. 14*, 286.Essex Regiment, 2nd Battalion, Resumption of purple facings and old title "Pompadors," proposed, *Apr. 14*, 192.Estimates, Method of Classifying, *Apr. 14*, 283.Gibraltar Defences, permitting German Emperor to view, *Apr. 26*, 1192.

Guns

Calibres, variety of, in use, *Apr. 14*, 219, 220.Disproportion between figures given for guns and carriages, alleged, *Apr. 14*, 218.High Angle firing, development of, *Apr. 14*, 219.Quick-firing—New pattern supplied to India, experiments with, *Apr. 14*, 218.Rotunda Guns at Woolwich, protection of, *Apr. 18*, 372.Standardisation of, *Apr. 14*, 219.Journal, New, Advertisements in—Allowing Opportunity for Discussion, *Apr. 20*, 679.Lances and Swords, Abolition of, *Apr. 14*, 230, 231.

Militia.

Field Artillery, Armament of, and increase in, *Apr. 14*, 212.Garrison Artillery—Training at Mobilisation Stations, use of modern guns etc., *Apr. 14*, 221.Officers—Promotions—Selection for Ranks of Colonel and Major General, *Apr. 21*, 843.Ordnance Department—Ireland, Labourers' Wages in, *Apr. 19*, 526.Ordnance Factories, Idle Machinery in—placing Orders with Contractors, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1190-1191.Pay, Forfeiture of, right of appeal to Court-martial, *Apr. 13*, 147.Personnel, Director of, Duties, Emoluments, Staff, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1192-1193.Rathcoursey Beach, Ireland—Accident to Driscoll, *Apr. 14*, 193.Recruits and Recruiting in Ireland, Circular issued by Major Gerard, *Apr. 19*, 526.Rifle Ranges—Amounts paid to London and Birmingham Small Arms Companies—Vote charged, etc., *Apr. 18*, 366.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—cont.

Rifles.

Manufacture of.

Contract for, Revision of Price,
Apr. 19, 523.

Government Factories, in, Cost of,
Apr. 20, 676-677.

Relative Cost of Manufacture
by the Government and
the Trade, *Apr. 14, 238,*
239, 242.

New Pattern.

Cost of, Payments in Advance,
etc., *Apr. 14, 225.*

Testing Individually—Increased
Recoil, Testing in India, *Apr.*
28, 1441.

Russo-Japanese War—Japanese System of
Land Transport, Reports as to, *Apr.*
28, 1436.

Schoolmasters, Military and Civilian,
Placing on same Footing, *Apr. 13,*
147.

Soldiers, Imprisonment of, in Devizes Gaol
—Character of Offences, *Apr. 14, 190.*

Somaliland Expedition, Progress of—Cost
—Position of Mullah, *April, 18, 371.*

South African War.

Official History of, Utilising Col.
Henderson's Preface, *Apr. 25,*
1041-1042.

Rewards—Carrying out Recommenda-
tions of Lord Kitchener, *Apr. 13,*
79.

Southampton, Riot at, Men of 2nd
Cheshire Regiment implicated in, etc.,
Apr. 25, 1042; Apr. 27, 1293.

Stores—Buying of, Decentralisation of,
Apr. 14, 255.

Submarine Mines, Policy of placing, under
Control of the War Office, *Apr. 14,*
281.

Supplies, Director of—Appointing Expert,
Apr. 28, 1440-1441.

Transfers, Compulsory, Extension of
Powers as to, 147.

Transport, Director of — Appointing
Expert, *Apr. 28, 1440-1441.*

Volunteers.

Ammunition for, Supplying at same
rate as to Militia and Yeomanry,
Apr. 14, 224.

Green, Lieut., Court of Inquiry into
Case of—Charges, etc., *Apr. 21,*
845.

War Office.

Contracts, Allocation of, between
Ordnance Factories, and the Trade,
Apr. 26, 1190-91.

Cottages in Wiltshire—Notices to quit
Apr. 26, 1181.

A nold-Forster, Mr. H. O. —cont.

War Office—cont.

Reconstitution Committee—Financial
System, Changes recommended,
etc., *Apr. 14, 192.*

Window Blinds for Officers' Quarters,
cost of, *Apr. 14, 285.*

Woolwich, Rotunda Guns, Protection of,
Apr. 18, 372.

Yeomanry.

Forster, Sergeant, Arrears of Pay due
to, Cause of Delay in Payment,
Apr. 28, 1440.

Inspector-General of, Number of
Regiments inspected 1902 and
1903—Salary, Allowances, etc.
Apr. 26, 1991-1192.

Training—Use of Motor Cycles for
Despatch Carrying, proposed, *Apr.*
27, 1293.

Artillery

see under Army.

Ashton, Mr T. G. [Bedfordshire, Luton]

Budget of 1903-4, Deficit on, *Apr. 19, 608.*

Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 19, 607.*

Income Tax, additional 1d. in the pound—
Budget proposal, *Apr. 19, 613.*

National Debt, Reduction of, *Apr. 19, 606.*

Public Houses—Increasing Licence Duties
proposed, *Apr. 19, 614.*

Tea Duty—Additional 2d. per pound—
Budget proposal, *Apr. 19, 612.*

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill,
2x., Apr. 15, 341.

Asia

British and Russian spheres of interest in
amicable definition of, proposed.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 13, 118;
Sir H. Fowler, 124, 125; Mr.
A. J. Balfour, 128, 129.

Asquith, Rt. Hn. H. H. [Fife, E.]

Aliens Bill, *2x., Apr. 25, 1094.*

Assizes

Ireland—Co. Down Assizes—Composition
of Grand Jury.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wynd-
Apr. 12, 22.

Atherley-Jones, Mr. L. [Durham, N.W.]

Aliens Bill, *2x., Apr. 25, 1133.*

**Atkinson, Rt. Hon. J.—Attorney-General for
Ireland [Londonderry, N.]**

Agricultural and Technical Instruction
Department.

Loans for Providing Machinery
for Technical Instruction,
Issue of, *Apr. 23, 1450.*

Veterinary Branch—Promotion of
Roman Catholic Clerks, *Apr.*
28, 1448.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. J.—cont.

Butson Estate, Purchase of Abbeylands, Agreement as to, *Apr. 28, 1452.*

Constabulary—Cost of Extra—Authority for Charging County Councils with, etc., *Apr. 27, 1303.*

Cusack Estate, Longford—Acquisition for Settlement of Evicted Tenants, *Apr. 27, 1304.*

Dopping Estate, N. Longford—Considering Application of D. Mulligan. *Apr. 28, 1447.*

Drummeel Bog, Longford, Public Trustees, Applications to Estates Commissioners to Assume Position of, *Apr. 28, 1450–1451.*

Ely Estate, Fermanagh, Decrees for Rent Against Tenants—Expediting Sale, *Apr. 28, 1449–1450.*

Galway Docks, Dredging of Entrance, *Apr. 27, 1304.*

Lunatics, Mullingar Resident Magis and Notification of, *Apr. 26, 1184.*

Maryborough Prison—Treatment of Insane Convict, *Apr. 28, 1449.*

Tredennick Estate, Donegal, Delay in Applotting—Measures to be taken, *Apr. 27, 1305.*

Urlingford Union Board Room, Refusal to Allow Meeting in, *Apr. 28, 1451.*

White Estate, N. Longford, Sale of—Considering Application of Mary Hand, *Apr. 28, 1447.*

Youghal Bay Salmon Fisheries, Restrictions Placed on Fishermen, Taking Steps with Regard to, *Apr. 27, 1306.*

Attorney-General

Sir Robert B. Finlay.

Attorney-General for Ireland

Mr. J. Atkinson.

Australia

Transvaal Labour Ordinance, Tabling Resolutions Opposing, etc.

Q. Major Seely; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1043.

Austria

Accident and Sickness Insurance Laws, Granting Return Relative to.

Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 20, 672.

Avebury, Lord

Sunday Closing [Shops] Bill], 2a. *Apr. 28, 1409, 1419.*

Avonch. [Ross-shire]

Harbour, Construction of, proposed.

O. Mr. Weir, Apr. 28, 1513, 1514.

Bailey, Mr. J. [Newington, Walworth]

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill, *Con. Apr. 14, 269.*

c. Con. Apr. 14, 259.

3R.; Apr. 28, 1506.

Bailey, Mr. J.—cont.

Subways, Construction at Elephant and Castle—Obligation of the Company, &c.

Os. On Consideration and Third Reading, April 14, 259, 263, 265, 266, 268, 269; Apr. 28, 1506, 1507.

Balcarras, Lord [Lancashire, Chorley]

House of Commons.

Divisions, Alteration in method of taking, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1474.*

Doors behind the Speaker's Chair, and in the Lobby, Granting free ingress and egress, *April 28, 1474.*

Fire—Steps taking to safeguard the buildings, *Apr. 28, 1475.*

Furniture, Increase in cost of, *Apr. 28, 1490.*

Heating arrangements, Variation of temperature, etc., *Apr. 28, 1475.*

Indicators, alleged inaccuracy of, *Apr. 28, 1491.*

Ladies' Gallery—Retention of the grille, etc. *Apr. 28, 1475.*

Lighting arrangements, *Apr. 28, 1475.*

Mosaics, Provision of additional, *Apr. 28, 1475.*

Press Gallery—Provision of Annunciators and Tape Machines, *Apr. 28, 1498.*

Telephone Service, *Apr. 28, 1479.*

Ventilation and sanitation of, *Apr. 28, 1476.*

Water Supply, Payments for, *Apr. 28, 1491.*

Hyde Park—Motor cars, Roads prohibited to, Placing conspicuous Notices in, *Apr. 25, 1052–1053.*

Palaces, increase in, Vote for, *Apr. 28, 1535.*

South Kensington Museum Buildings—Dates of Completion, *Apr. 18, 356.*

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—First Lord of the Treasury [Manchester, E.]

Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and France.

Discussion in the House, Opportunity for, *Apr. 14, 207, 208, 210.*

Morocco.

Consultation of Moroccan and Spanish Governments, *Apr. 14, 209.*

Continental Agreements respecting, *Apr. 20, 693.*

Newfoundland Indemnity, Payment of, *Apr. 14, 210.*

Text of, date of publication, *Apr. 13, 26.*

Army Reforms—Proposals of War Office Re-constitution Committee, *Apr. 14, 210, 211.*

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—cont.

- Asia, British and Russian spheres of influence in, amicable definition of, proposed *Apr. 13*, 128, 129.
- Birmingham and Southwark Bishops Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 21*, 844, 855.
- Budget—General policy of, facilities for discussing, *Apr. 19*, 597.
- Business of the House, Course of, *Apr. 12*, 25, 26; *Apr. 13*, 84; *Apr. 20*, 693-695; *Apr. 21*, 855; *Apr. 25*, 1061, 1062; *Apr. 26*, 1198; *Apr. 27*, 1309; *Apr. 28*, 1455-1456.
- Committee of Defence—Vote for Staff, Date of Discussion on—Permanent Secretariat, *Apr. 21*, 854-855.
- Congested Districts (Scotland) Act Amendment Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 13*, 395.
- Cotton Industry—International Conference proposed, *Apr. 25*, 1060.
- Cunard Agreement (Money) Committee. Date of taking, *Apr. 23*, 1456.
- Education—Scotland, Bill relating to—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 14*, 211.
- Fiscal Policy of the Government at the ensuing General Election, *Apr. 14*, 211.
- Foreign Ships trading with the United Kingdom—Application of Regulations—Date of Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, *Apr. 13*, 83.
- "Futures," Gambling in—Inquiry proposed, *Apr. 12*, 8; *Apr. 13*, 395.
- Labourers (Ireland) Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 27*, 1307.
- Land Act Amendment Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 27*, 1307.
- Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill—Adjourned Motion—Facilities for discussion, *Apr. 25*, 1061.
- Licensing Bill.
- Compensation—Protection of Licence holders, *Apr. 23*, 1438.
- Intro., *Apr. 20*, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 748.
- Second Reading, Date of, *Apr. 26*, 1198.
- Marine Insurance Bill—Date of Re-introduction, *Apr. 13*, 83.
- Mosely Commission, Publishing Report of, as Parliamentary Papers, *Apr. 18*, 395.
- Port of London Bill, Date of proceeding with, *Apr. 26*, 1196.
- Private Bill Procedure—Revision of Scale of Fees proposed, *Apr. 12*, 24.
- Public Accounts—Committee Report—Allowing opportunity for Discussion, *Apr. 19*, 538.
- Revenue and Expenditure—Committee Report—Opportunity for Discussion, etc., *Apr. 19*, 537.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—cont.

- Ritualistic Practices—Royal Commission—Composition and terms of reference, *Apr. 14*, 212; *Apr. 20*, 691-692, 768, 771.
- Shops Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 20*, 692.
- Tibet Expedition, Objects of—Policy of H.M. Government, *Apr. 13*, 126-132.
- Trade Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, *Apr. 22*, 974.
- Valuation Bill, Date of Introduction, *Apr. 18*, 395.
- War Office Reconstitution Committee Report.
- Health of the Army, Discussion of portion of Report relating to, *Apr. 12*, 23.
- Recommendations of—Allowing Opportunity for Discussion, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1197.
- War, Preparation for—Select Committee to Enquire into present financial system proposed, *Apr. 13*, 83.
- West Down Parliamentary Election—Recommendation of Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, etc., *Apr. 21*, 1308.
- Workmen's Compensation Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 20*, 692.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W., President of the Board of Trade [Leeds, Central]

- Emigration and Immigration—Report of Board of Trade for 1903—Date of issue, *Apr. 14*, 1016.

Ireland.

- Board of Trade, Suggested Establishment of Branch of, *Apr. 26*, 1179.
- Dublin, North Wall Station—Inadequate Transit facilities, *Apr. 27*, 1298.
- Patent Office—Irish Branch, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1178.
- Lights and Lighthouses.
- Coal and Oil delivered at Depôts—Price paid, *Apr. 25*, 1032.
- Dover Pier Work, Accidents to, 1899-1903, *Apr. 23*, 1425.

Ships.

- "Princess Alexandra," Condemnation of—Price realised, *Apr. 25*, 1032.
- Station Lights and Signals, Instructions issued to Keepers as to showing, *Apr. 25*, 1034.
- "Tearaght," "Moya," "Mermaid," and "Irene"—Names and Qualifications of Officials, *Apr. 25*, 1032; *Apr. 23*, 1424-1425.
- Merchant Shipping—Carriage of Goods—Revision of Clauses limiting liability of Shipping Companies, proposed, *Apr. 22*, 950.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.—cont.

Patents, British—Proportion granted to Foreigners Abroad — Approximate Number in force, etc., *Apr. 18, 377-378.*

Piers and Harbours.

Devon and Cornwall — Provision of Harbours of Refuge, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1518-1523.*

Holyhead, Improvement of, *Apr. 28, 1524.*

Local Authorities, Applications by, Regulations as to, *Apr. 28, 1523, 1528, 1527.*

Railways.

Companies' Liability — Legislation suggested, *Apr. 26, 1181-1182.*

Couplings, Automatic, proposed adoption of, *Apr. 21, 846.*

Dublin, North Wall — Inadequate transit facilities, *Apr. 27, 1298.*

Halbeath, Fifeshire, Level Crossing at — providing suitable Protection, *Apr. 25, 1051.*

Ireland—Transit of Passengers, etc., between Kingstown and Great Southern and Western System—Delays in, *Apr. 28, 1455.*

Tunis and Madagascar, Value of British Trade with—Statistics for 1896, 1903, &c., *April 14, 200.*

Weights and Measures Bill, 2^a, *Apr. 15, 321, 326.*

Working Classes, Income of—Average Annual Earnings, *Apr. 21, 839.*

Balfour of Burleigh, Lord

Colonial Legislatures, circulating debates of—Precedent, &c., *Apr. 21, 832.*

Hutchesons' Hospital and Hutchesons' Educational Trust Bill, 2^a, *Apr. 21, 806, 808, 809.*

Ballina

Boot Manufacturing Co., Winding up of—Loan from Agricultural Department. *Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 28, 1450.*

Ballinacross

Robinson, Mr., Farm of—Sale through Estates Commissioners in favour of evicted tenants, offer of, alleged. *Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 14, 189.*

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum

Charge against Attendant Kenny, etc. *Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, April 21, 850-851.*

Medical Superintendent, Junior Assistant appointed to post of, Reason, etc. *Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 21, 851-852.*

Ballinrana Creamery

Income Tax Appeal from, fixing Date for hearing.

Q. Mr. Landon; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 20, 688-689.

Ballot Act

Amendment suggested.

Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; A. Mr. W. Long, Apr. 20, 674.

Ballyboy

Evicted Farm at, using, as Artillery Parade Ground.

Q. Mr. Cullinan; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18, 394.

Banbury, Sir F. G. [Camberwell, Peckham]
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.
Con. Apr. 14, 265.

Dogs, Exemption of, from Vivisection experiments proposed, *Apr. 13, 180.*

Bankruptcy

Belfast Court—Adding Armagh to—Order, *Apr. 19, 484.*

Proceedings under Act — Account presented, *Apr. 25, 1016, 1023.*

Banks

Agricultural in India.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. Brodrick, Apr. 28, 1432-1433.

Joint Stock — Estimate of Unclaimed Dividends and Balances.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 27, 1288.

Bantry

Harbour, Dredging of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 533-534.

Barnard Castle Gas Bill

l. 3^a. Apr. 21, 798.*

c. 1^a. Apr. 22, 951.*

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 22, 950.*

Barracks

see under Army.

Barran, Mr. R. H. [Leeds, N.]

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27, 1335.*

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill

l. 3^a. Apr. 19, 477.*

c. 1^a. Apr. 21, 834.*

Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) Bill.

c. 2^a. Apr. 12, 1.*

Rep. Apr. 22, 950.*

Con. Apr. 27, 1285.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Bartley, Sir G. C. T. [Islington, N.]Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 19*, 628, 629.Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill, 2R., *April 26*, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1262.Local Authorities, indebtedness of, *Apr. 19*, 630.Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., *Apr. 15*, 318.Woolwich Rotunda Guns, Protection of, *Apr. 18*, 372.**Barton-on-Humber**

School Accommodation, provisions of, Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 298.**Bath, Marquess of**Manuscripts—Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission presented, *Apr. 25*, 1017, 1023.**Battleships***see under Navy.***Bayley, Mr. T.** [Derbyshire, Chesterfield]Army Rifles — Relative cost of manufacture by the Government and by the Trade, *Apr. 14*, 240.Licensing Bill—"Persons interested in" Licensed Premises—Scope of Term *Apr. 27*, 1301.Pamba—Civil Rights of Slaves, *Apr. 12*, 8.**Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H.** [Bristol, W.]Budget—Deficit on Budget for 1903-4, *Apr. 19*, 583.Corn Duty, repeal of—Effect of, on the Revenue, *Apr. 19*, 585.Customs and Excise, Revenue from — Shortage in, for 1903-4, *Apr. 19*, 584.Expenditure of the Country, Increase in, *Apr. 19*, 591.Income Tax, additional 1d. in the pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 590, 591.Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 587, 588.Tobacco, Duties on—Budget proposals, *Apr. 19*, 587.Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 586.Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., *Apr. 15*, 323.**Beauchamp, Earl**New Zealand—Trade—Preferential Tariff for British Goods, Sanction of Legislature, etc., *Apr. 21*, 830.**Beer**

Duty on, Revenue derived from, Decrease in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 547, 548; Mr. Ritchie, 870.**Belfast**Bankruptcy Court—Addition of, Armagh Order, *Apr. 19*, 484.

Queen's College—Deputy-President, Name, Salary, etc.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 532-533.

Troops in—Alleged Monopoly for Supply of Stores.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 25*, 1038-1039.**Belgium**Canals and Navigable Waterways—Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 480.**Bell, Mr. R.** [Derby]Railways—Automatic Couplings, proposed Adoption of, *Apr. 21*, 845-846.Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R., *Apr. 22*, 990, 1004.**Belleek**

Loan Fund Society, Financial Position of etc.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 23.**Belper, Lord**Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill, 2R., *Apr. 23*, 1413.**Berehaven Harbour**

Dredging of,

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Fund, Admiralty, Contributions to.

Q. Major Jameson; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 20*, 673-674.**Bewley, Mr. Justice**

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Criticism of Procedure.

O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13*, 158.**Bexhill Water and Gas Bill**1. 2R.* *Apr. 798.***Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.** [Bethnal Green, N.E.]Cooper's Hill Engineering College—Closing, *Apr. 27*, 1296.East London, South Africa, Order to British Indian Tradesmen to Vacate, *Apr. 20*, 680; *Apr. 27*, 1293; *Apr. 23*, 1437.Tea, Additional Duty on—Effect on Industry in India and Ceylon, etc., *Apr. 19*, 616-619.**Bills of Exchange Act 1882 Amendment Bill**1. 1R.* *Apr. 26*, 1167.**Birds**

Protection of—Green plovers, sale during close season.

Q. Mr. Scott Montagu; A. Mr. A. A. Douglas, *Apr. 15*, 299.

Apr. 12 — Apr. 28.

Birkdale Improvement Bill

c. 3R.* *Apr. 12, 1.*
l. 1R. Apr. 19, 477.*
 2R.* *Apr. 28, 1406.*

Birmingham

Small Arms Company, Amount paid by Government to, for use of Rifle Range.
Q. Mr. Whitley; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18, 366.

Birmingham and Southwark Bishoprics Bill

Second Reading, Date of.
Qs. Sir J. Fergusson, Mr. C. McArthur; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 21, 844, 855.

Births

Scotland—Annual Report presented, *Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 481.*

Bishopric of Bristol Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 19, 538.*

Bishop's Stortford and District Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 28, 1406.*

Black, Mr. A. W. [Banffshire]

Army Reform—Proposals of War Office Reconstitution Committee, &c., *Apr. 14, 210, 211.*

Fiscal Policy of the Government at ensuing General Election, *Apr. 14, 211.*

National Borrowings, April, 1899–1904, statistics as to, *Apr. 20, 682.*

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, Absence of M.P.s. from Commission of Inquiry, *Apr. 18, 380–381.*

Scotland, Equivalent Grants for, *Apr. 25, 1030.*

Taxation—Proportion as between direct and indirect, *Apr. 27, 1326–7.*

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27, 1326.*

Blaris

Hurling Match at
 Cost of Extra Police on Duty for, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. T. W. Russell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 20, 687–688.

Prohibition of, on Sunday—Payment of extra Police.

Q. Mr. C. Craig; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 21, 852–854.

Blessington,

Steam Tramway to Dublin—Compensation for Accidents—Names of Claimants, etc.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 361–362.

Board of Agriculture,

see Agriculture, Board of.

Board of Education,

see Education, Board of.

Board of Trade,

see Trade, Board of.

Boilers,

see under Navy.

Boland, Mr. J. [Kerry, S.]

Academy of Music, Royal Irish—Lack of Accommodation, *Apr. 18, 388.*

Cahirciveen River Estuary Buoys, Authority having Power to Erect, *Apr. 20, 686*

Dublin College of Science—Name and qualifications of Architect, *Apr. 14, 202.*

Education, Ireland—Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18, 464.*

Mahomy Estate,

Negotiations for Sale of, etc., *Apr. 28, 1433.*

Reinstatement of Florence Doherty, *Apr. 12, 21.*

Public Libraries Act,

Agricultural Instruction—Assistance to Rural District Councils under the Act, *Apr. 12, 21.*

Rural District Councils [Adopting, number of, *Apr. 12, 22.*

Training Colleges, Irish—Approval of Commissioners to Settlement of 1890, etc., *Apr. 18, 382.*

Bonamargy Ruins,

Custody of
Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 21, 850.

Bond, Mr. E. [Nottingham, E.]

Education—Underfed Children—Provision of Meals by Local Education Authority, proposed, *Apr. 20, 791, 796.*

Local Authorities, Loans to—Advances by Public Works Loans Commissioners, *Apr. 21, 935.*

Borrisokane, Tipperary.

Workhouse, allowing use of, for Technical Classes.

Q. Mr. P. J. O'Brien; A. Mr. Apr. 18, 392–393.

Boscawen, Capt. [A. S. T. G. [Kent, Tunbridge.]

Tierney, Dr., Case of, Adjudicating at Clones Petty Sessions, *Apr. 13, 78.*

Bousfield, Mr. W. R. [Hackney, N.]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., *Apr. 15, 302, 320, 325.*

Bowles, Col H. E. [Middlesex, Enfield]

Army—Rifle Manufacture.

Place of, *Apr. 14, 233.*

Revision of Contract for, *Apr. 19, 523.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Bowles, Mr. T. G. [Lynn Regis]

Army.

Act—Reprinting in full every year, proposed, *Apr. 13*, 141.

Cavalry Horses, weight carried by, Reduction in, *Apr. 14*, 251.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2*r.*, *Apr. 13*, 140.

Asia, British and Russian spheres of influence in, amicable definition of, proposed, *Apr. 18*, 118.

Budget—Deficit on Budget of 1903-4, Causes of, and method of meeting, *Apr. 21*, 880-882.

Cape Colony, British Indian Traders in—Expulsion from East London, *Apr. 27*, 1294.

Consular Reports, Scope of—Report on Florence Art Works, *Apr. 19*, 521.

Cunard Agreement (Money) Committee, Date of taking, *Apr. 28*, 1456.

Debates, Questions relating to—Rule as to placing on the paper, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Financial position of the country, *Apr. 21*, 885, 886.

France—Arbitration treaty with Great Britain—Discussion in the House, opportunity for, *Apr. 14*, 208.

Morocco, Continental Agreements respecting, &c., *Apr. 14*, 209; *Apr. 20*, 692-693.

Newfoundland Indemnity, payment of, *Apr. 14*, 210.

Text of, Date of Publication of, *Apr. 12*, 26.

Variations in French and English Texts—Binding Version, *Apr. 18*, 376.

Grants-in-aid, system of, *Apr. 28*, 1504, 1505.

House of Commons.

Divisions, Alteration in method of taking, proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1484.

Smoking-room accommodation, Inadequacy of, *Apr. 28*, 1485.

Ventilation and sanitation of, *Apr. 28*, 1485.

Income tax.

Additional 1*d.* in the pound on, Budget proposal, *Apr. 21*, 883.

Graduation of, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1255.

Japanese System of Land Transport, acquiring Information as to, *Apr. 28*, 1436.

National Debt.

Customs and Inland Revenue, amendment of law relating to, *Apr. 26*, 1239, 1241.

Permanent Debt Charge, Allocation of, *Apr. 21*, 838.

Bowles, Mr. T. G.—*cont.*

Navy.

Armoured Cruisers, Under-gunning of, *Apr. 12*, 27.

“Centurion”—Defective Gun Sights—repairing at Hong Kong, proposed, *Apr. 18*, 41.

Gun Sights—Complicated nature of Gearing, *Apr. 12*, 41.

Guns—Provision of 7.5 and 9.2 guns, *Apr. 12*, 40.

Submarines.

A1, Salvage Operations—reasons for employing Swedish Company, *Apr. 15*, 297.

Construction of, expenditure on, and lack of information as to, *Apr. 12*, 60.

Osborne House Convalescent Home—Accommodation provided, &c., *Apr. 13*, 77.

Public Accounts Committee Report—Facilities for consideration of, and for Discussion, *Apr. 19*, 538; *Apr. 21*, 887.

Revenue and Expenditure, Estimates Committee to Examine and Report on—Appointment of, *Apr. 21*, 887.

Suez Canal Convention—Suspension of Paragraphs under Terms of Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty, *Apr. 14*, 196, 197.

Sugar—Brussels Convention, Adherence of Crown Colonies to, *Apr. 18*, 375-376.

Tea Additional 2*d.* per pound on—Budget proposals, *Apr. 27*, 1350.

Tibet Expedition, Causes and Objects of, *Apr. 13*, 117-122.

Tobacco, Duties on.

Drawback, Rates of, *Apr. 26*, 1215.

Increase in—Budget proposals, *Apr. 21*, 884.

War Office Reconstitution Committee—Financial System, Changes Recommended—Opportunity for Discussing in the House, *Apr. 14*, 192.

Bradford

Nidd Valley Light Railway, Order Presented, *Apr. 19*, 519.

Brand, Mr. A. G. [Cambridge, Wisbech]

Petty Sessions Clerks—Regulations as to Taking Part in Political Contests, etc., *Apr. 20*, 673.

Brandy

Adulteration of, in Government Warehouses.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 25*, 1048-1049.

Bristol Channel

Harbour of Refuge in, Necessity for.

Os. Mr. Duke, *Apr. 28*, 1509, 1510; Mr. Spear, 1515.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

British Guiana

Indian Coolie Immigration Ordinance,
Date of Publication.

Q. Sir H. Fowler ; A. Mr.
Lyttelton, *Apr. 18*, 374.

Ordinance Presented, *Apr. 19*, 479.

British Museum

Number of Persons Admitted in each
Year, from 1898 to 1904—Return Pre-
sented, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Brixham Gas Bill

c. 3R.* *Apr. 12*, 1.

l. 1R.* *Apr. 19*, 477.

2R.* *Apr. 23*, 1406.

Broadhurst, Mr. H. [Leicester]

Licensing Bill, Introduced, *Apr. 20*, 722.

Local Authorities, Loans to—Aid from
Public Works Loan Commissioners,
Apr. 21, 878, 879.

Taxation, Remission of—Proportion be-
tween the direct and indirect taxpayer,
Apr. 21, 877.

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget
proposal, *Apr. 21*, 880.

Tobacco, new taxation on—Budget pro-
posals, *Apr. 21*, 879.

Values, Taxation on, instead of on
weight, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1229.

**Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John F.—Secretary of
State for India [Surrey, Guildford]**

Agricultural Banks, Number of, *Apr. 23*,
1433.

Arabia—Seizure of smuggled arms at
Makalla, *Apr. 27*, 1296.

Bombay—Scinde Railway Connection, Ob-
jections of the Rao of Cutch to, *Apr. 25*,
1036.

Burma Police Force, Grievances of, Taking
steps to remedy, *Apr. 25*, 1037.

Coinage—Rupees coined each year 1893-
1904—Government Profits, etc., *Apr.*
21, 840-841.

Coolie Labour, Importation into British
Colonies—Civil Rights, etc., insisted
on by Indian Government, *Apr. 25*, 1046.

Coopers Hill Engineering College—Closing,
Apr. 27, 1296.

Cotton, Consumption, Growth and export
of, *Apr. 19*, 522.

Curzon, Lord, Administrative policy of,
Apr. 13, 95, 96, 97.

Excise Legislation—Instructions to pro-
vincial Administrations—Bengal Ex-
cise Bill, *Apr. 20*, 680.

Liquors and Drugs—Amount of Revenue
from, 1901-1903, *Apr. 15*, 299.

Persian Gulf—Smuggling of Ammunition in
the, Making Inquiries as to, *Apr. 19*,
530.

Plague—Number of deaths in Bombay and
Bengal from 27th Feb. to 19th Mar.
Apr. 13, 78.

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John F.—cont.

Police Commission Report.

Date of Tabling, *Apr. 20*, 681.

Delay in Publishing, *Apr. 21*, 841-842.

Orders, Date of issue, *Apr. 14*, 188.

South African Garrison—Indian Contribu-
tions towards expenditure, tabling
Dissents from, *Apr. 25*, 1038.

Telegraphic Rates to India, Reduction of,
Apr. 18, 375.

Tibet Expedition.

Expenses of, defraying, out of Revenues
of India sanction for, and object
of the expedition, *Apr. 13*, 85-98.

Government Policy, *Apr. 18*, 374.

Motion for discussion of, Terms of,
Apr. 12, 26, 72.

Progress of, Casualties sustained, etc.,
Apr. 25, 1045.

Tilak, Mr., Prosecution of—Expenditure,
Authority responsible, etc., *Apr. 14*,
188 ; *Apr. 26*, 1194.

Wheat and Flour exported in 1902-3, etc.,
Apr. 14, 187.

Brunner, Sir J. T. [Cheshire, Northwich]

Harbours of Refuge, Necessity for provision
of, *Apr. 28*, 1525.

Bryce, Rt. Hon. J. [Aberdeen, S.]

Aliens Bill, 2R. *Apr. 25*, 1137.

Macedonia, Gendarmerie Reorganisation—
European Commissioned Officers, Num-
bers, Distribution, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1047.

Buchanan, Mr. T. R. [Perthshire, E.]

Manufactures, Scottish Board of, carrying
out Recommendations of, *Apr. 26*,
1183.

National Debt.

Customs and Inland Revenue, Amend-
ment of law relating to, *Apr. 26*,
1242.

Funded and Unfunded Debts, Amount
of, 1904, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1032.

Permanent Debt Charge, Resolution
as to, *Apr. 26*, 1198.

Taxation—Reasons for continuing War
taxes, *Apr. 26*, 1225.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget
proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1330-34.

Tobacco—Rates of Drawback, Proposed
changes in, *Apr. 23*, 1432.

Transvaal.

Rand Mines, Output for March—
Amount of Native Labour Feb-
ruary and March, *Apr. 26*, 1193.

Revenue and Expenditure, Statistics
concerning, *Apr. 25*, 1039.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Budget

Debates on Resolutions [*for details, see titles Tea, Income Tax, Tobacco National Debt, etc.*] *Apr. 19, 568; Apr. 21, 856; Apr. 26, 1213.*

Deficit in Estimates for 1903-4, Causes of, and method of meeting.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 545, 546, 549, 559, 633, 634; Mr. Ritchie, 573-578; Sir M. H. Beach, 583; Sir W. Holland, 630; Mr. S. Buxton, Apr. 21, 857; Sir J. Gorst, 863; Mr. Ritchie, 870; Mr. G. Bowles, 880; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 898; Mr. J. Walton, 911; Mr. B. Roberts, 922; Mr. Whitley, 936.

Q. Mr. McCrae; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 21, 836-838.

Economy, Absence of mention of.

Os. Mr. S. Buxton, Apr. 21, 862, 863; Sir J. Gorst, 863; Mr. Ritchie, 865, 866; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 895; Mr. S. Samuel, 919; Mr. H. Hobhouse, 920.

Estimates for 1899-1900, and 1903-4, Comparison between.

Os. Mr. Ritchie, Apr. 21, 869.

Final Balance Sheet, *Apr. 19, 567.*

General Policy of, Affording opportunity for discussion of.

Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Apr. 19, 569; Mr. Ritchie, 577; Sir H. Fowler, 597; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 597; Mr. S. Buxton, Apr. 21, 856.

Income Tax, Additional 1d. in the pound on, *Apr. 19, 560; Apr. 21, 856; Apr. 26, 1244, 1262 [for details of debate see Income Tax.]*

Report stage of Resolutions—Date of taking.

O. Sir A. Acland-Hood, Apr. 25, 1164.

Statement [Mr. A. Chamberlain] *Apr. 19, 543-567.*

Copy Presented, *Apr. 16, 518.*

Tea Duty, additional 2d. in the pound, *Apr. 19, 566, 568; Apr. 26, 1263, Apr. 27, 1309 [for details of debate, see Tea.]*

Tobacco.

Cigars and Cigarettes, foreign—Duty on, *Apr. 19, 564, 655; Apr. 26, 1263 [for details, see Tobacco.]*

Stripped tobacco, duty on, *Apr. 19, 563-4, 655; Apr. 26, 1263 [for details, see Tobacco.]*

Unclaimed Dividend Account, realisation of.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 552-3, 634; Sir M. H. Beach, 586; Mr. McCrae, 623; Mr. McKenna, 628; Mr. Bowles, Apr. 21, 881; Mr. J. Walton, 911.

Budget—cont.

Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of—*cont.*

Amount remaining after deduction. Methods adopted to trace stockholders, &c.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 27, 1288.

Bull, Mr. W. J. [Hammersmith]

Motor Cars in Hyde Park, Roads prohibited to, Placing conspicuous Notices in, *Apr. 25, 1052.*

Burdett-Countts, Mr. W. L. A. B. [Westminster]

Army—Ambulance Wagons, steps taken to improve, *Apr. 14, 252, 275.*

Burke, Mr. E. H. [King's Co., Tullamore]

King's County, Landlords' Proceedings for Recovery of Rent in, *Apr. 25, 1038.*

Burma

Police Force, Grievances of, taking Steps to remedy.

Q. Sir S. King; A. Mr. Brodrick, Apr. 25, 1036-1037.

Burns, Mr. J. [Battersea]

Aliens Bill, *2R. Apr. 25, 1149.*

House of Commons—Divisions—Regulations as to withdrawal of Strangers, *Apr. 28, 1489, 1490.*

Business of the House

Budget Resolutions, Report stage—Date of taking.

O. Sir A. Acland-Hood, Apr. 25, 1164.

Course of.

Balfour, Mr. A. J., replies by, to Questions and criticisms, *Apr. 12, 25; Apr. 13, 84; Apr. 21, 855; Apr. 25, 1061, 1062; Apr. 26, 1198; Apr. 27, 1309; Apr. 28, 1455, 1456.*

Os. Sir A. Acland-Hood, Apr. 12, 71, 72; Mr. E. Robertson, Sir. C. Dilke, 72.

Qs. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lloyd-George, Sir W. Harcourt; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 26, 693-695.

Proceedings in Committee of Ways and Means—Suspension of Twelve o'clock rule.

Action [Mr. A. J. Balfour] Apr. 19, 540; Apr. 21, 856.

Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir W. Harcourt, Apr. 20, 694.

Standing Order No. xxi, Suspension of, *Apr. 19, 485.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Butson Estate, Galway

Abbeylands, Purchase of, Agreement as to,
Q. Mr. Roche; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr.*
28, 1451-1452.

Buxton, Mr. S. C. [Tower Hamlets, Poplar]

Aliens Bill, 2*a.* *Apr. 25, 1124.*

Budget.

Deficit on Budget of 1903-4, Methods
of meeting, *Apr. 21, 857, 858.*

General policy of—Opportunity for
discussion *Apr. 21, 856.*

Income Tax, Additional 1*d.* in the
pound on, proposed, *Apr. 21, 859,*
860.

Tea, Additional 2*d.* per pound on, *Apr.*
21, 859, 860.

Business of the House, Course of, *Apr. 28,*
1455.

National Debt, Reduction of, *Apr. 21, 861.*

Orange River Colony, Native Labour in,
Statistics as to unemployed, *Apr. 19,*
527.

Taxation, Remission of—Proportion be-
tween direct and indirect taxpayer,
Apr. 21, 860.

Tea, Additional 2*d.* per pound on—Budget
proposal, *Apr. 26, 1280.*

Transvaal.

Chinese Labour, Importation of—
Health of Labourers, Repatriation
after Breakdown of, *Apr. 19, 527.*

Native Labour in—Statistics as to
unemployed, *Apr. 19, 527.*

Cahiriveen River

Estuary Buoys, Authority having Power
to erect,

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 20, 686.

Calais

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 28, 1407.*

Caldwell, Mr. J. [Lanarkshire, Mid]

Army [Annual] Bill, *Com. Apr. 18, 474,*
475, 476.

Taxation, Local (Scotland)—Amount
available for distribution to 31*st*
March, 1903, *Apr. 14, 185.*

Vaccinators, Public, Members of Boards of
Guardians appointed as, *Apr. 20, 674.*

Cambrian Railways Bill

*c. 2*R.** Apr. 19, 516.*

Campbell, Mr. John [Armagh, S.]

House of Commons—Ladies' Gallery, In-
adequate accommodation in, etc., *Apr.*
28, 1467.

Roman Catholics, Publications reflecting
on, display of, in Post Office windows
—Interpolation of "Roman" in Ques-
tion, &c., *Apr. 27, 1297.*

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
[Stirling Burghs]

Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain
and France—Opportunity for Discus-
sion in the House, *Apr. 14, 208, 209.*

Budget, General Policy of, affording
opportunity for Discussion of, *Apr. 19,*
589.

Business of the House, Course of, *Apr. 12,*
25, 26; Apr. 20, 693-694; Apr. 21,
855; Apr. 25, 1061; Apr. 26, 1198;
Apr. 27, 1309.

Expenditure of the Country, Increase in,
Apr. 19, 570-571.

Licensing Bill, Intro, *Apr. 20, 727, 733.*

Tea, additional 2*d.* per pound on—Budget
proposal, *Apr. 27, 1330.*

Tibet Expedition, objects and progress of
—Policy of His Majesty's Government,
Apr. 13, 99-105.

Transvaal—Chinese Labour Ordinance.
Boer Opposition to, *Apr. 14, 194.*

War Office—Re-constitution Committee—
Recommendations of—Allowing Op-
portunity for Discussion, *Apr. 26,*
1197.

Camperdown, Earl of

Hutchesons' Hospital and Hutchesons'
Educational Trust Bill, 2*R. Apr. 21,*
803, 808, 810.

Canada

Army Act, Copies of—Additional Copies,
&c.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. Arnold-
Forster, *Apr. 22, 958.*

Cattle from, Reason for Non-importation
of.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, *Apr. 18, 380.*

Emigration to, Increase to

Q. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 25, 1066.*

Steel and Iron Bounties, amount of, etc.

Q. Mr. S. Ormsby-Gore; A. Mr.
Lyttelton, *Apr. 14, 195.*

Canterbury, Lord Archbishop of

Sunday Closing [Shops] Bill, 2*R. Apr. 28,*
1416.

Cape Colony, Cape Town—Danzs's Virus
for Rat Destruction, Experiments
with,

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton
Apr. 20, 678.

East London, Order to British Indian
Tradesmen to vacate,

Q*s.* Sir M. Bhownaggee; A*s.* Mr.
Lyttelton, *Apr. 20, 680. Apr.*
27, 1293; Apr. 28, 1437;

Q*s.* Mr. G. Bowles, Capt. Norton;
A*s.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 27,*
1294.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Cardigan Bay,

Harbours of Refuge, Provision of, proposed.

O. Mr. Humphreys-Owen, *Apr. 28*, 1529.

Carmarthen

County Council, Refusal by, to administer Education Act of 1902.

Expenses incurred by Managers to be repaid by the Board and deducted from the grant.

Os. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 26*, 1205; Mr. Lloyd-George, 1207.

Inquiry into—Report

Presented *Apr. 21*, 810, 835.

Tabling

Q. Col. Lockwood; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 21*, 836.

Castletown Harbour, Dredging of,

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Postal Service, Improvement of,

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 19*, 537.

Cattle

Argentine, Prohibition of Importation of Live Cattle from,

Qs. Mr. Schwann, Mr. Kilbride; As. Mr. A. Fellowes, *Apr. 14*, 199.

Canadian, Reason for non-importation of,

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. A. Fellowes, *Apr. 18*, 380.

Causton, Mr. R. K. [Southwark, W.]

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill, con. *Apr. 14*, 259; 3R. *Apr. 28*, 1506

Cavendish Mr. V. C. W.—Financial Secretary to the Treasury [Derbyshire, W.]

Civil Service Clerks

Assistant — Abstractor Class — Age limit for Appointments, *Apr. 18*, 355.

Clerks

Promotion of—Medical Examinations, Alteration of Rules, *Apr. 14*, 184

Commission, Qualifications of Examiners to, etc., *Apr. 28*, 1426.

Exchequer and Audit Officials, Number, Rank and Stations of, *Apr. 28*, 1426.

Watchers, saving to revenue by institution of, *Apr. 22*, 954.

Inland Revenue—Illegal demand for payment of Claims, Retention of money so paid, &c., alleged, *Apr. 14*, 197.

Ireland

Bank of, Preference given to, in Collection of Land Tax Annuities, *Apr. 21*, 847.

Board of Works—Lodging Receivable Orders at any Bank, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Clerks—cont.

Ireland—cont.

Crown and Quit Rents, total Amount of—Provision of Forestry Department from, *Apr. 18*, 387.

Deeds, Registration of, System, Duties payable etc., *Apr. 18*, 382.

Dublin

Inland Revenue and Customs Receipts, Amounts 1902-3—Forwarding Money to London, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1057.

Science College

Architect, name and qualification of, *Apr. 14*, 202.

New Building, Employing Irish Materials and Workmen, etc., *Apr. 23*, 1452-1453.

Government Buildings in, exclusion of Irish Firms from tenders, alleged, *Apr. 26*, 1188.

Public Offices, stationery supplied to—Amount Paid, names of contractors, etc., *Apr. 27*, 1287.

Osborne House Convalescent Home—Home—Accommodation provided, &c. *Apr. 13*, 77.

Savings Banks Deficiencies, making good out of Consolidated Fund, *Apr. 14*, 198.

South African War, History of—Arrangements for compilation and time to be occupied, *Apr. 13*, 77.

Spirits, Adulteration of,

Excise regulations as to spirits issued from bond for home consumption, *Apr. 14*, 198, 199.

Government Warehouses, in, *Apr. 25*, 1049.

Sweeney, Daniel, Pension for, *Apr. 27*, 1307.

Tobacco, Contraband—Distribution of Balance, *Apr. 19*, 520.

Cawley, Mr. F. [Lancs., Prestwich]

Cotton Industry, condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1401.

Cecil, Lord H. R. H. [Greenwich]

Business of the House, Course of, *Apr. 13*, 84.

House of Commons—Reading-rooms, Provision of, *Apr. 28*, 1482.

Census

India—Report Presented, *Apr. 25*, 1017, 1023.

"Centurion," H.M.S.

Gun Sights, Defective Condition of.

Q. Mr. Harmsworth; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 18*, 358-359.

Repairing at Hong Kong, proposed.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Mr. Pretymann *Apr. 12*, 41.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Ceylon**Education in.****Estate Schools—Attitude of Estate Owners.**Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 28, 1436–1437.***Mohammedan, School Children in, Numbers, etc.**Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 26, 1193–1194.***Tea Industry—Effect of Additional Tax on.**Os. Sir M. Bhownaggee, *Apr. 19, 616*; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 636, 637; Mr. Lough, 641; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 643–646; Mr. Lough, *Apr. 26, 1265–1266*; Mr. Weir, *Apr. 27, 1312*; Mr. Coghill, 1318; Sir J. Gorst, 1337, 1338; Mr. T. Taylor, 1344, 1345.**Chairman of Committees****Rulings by.****Amendment of Law relating to National Debt, etc.—Subjects allowable for Discussion on, Resolution,** *Apr. 26, 1240, 1242.***Army Estimates, Discussion of matters not contained in,** *Apr. 14, 225, 235, 250, 251.***Budget Resolutions.****Discussion of Matters foreign to the Subject in hand,** *Apr. 21, 876.***Divisions.****Chairman's Decision challenged,** *Apr. 21, 938.***New Question put—House to be cleared and bells rung,** *Apr. 21, 938.***General Discussion on the Budget Policy to be permitted,** *Apr. 21, 857.***Debates, Questions relating to—Rule as to placing on the Paper,** *Apr. 26, 1244.***Irrelevant Observations,** *Apr. 26, 1221.***Motions for Reduction dropped on Report of Progress,** *Apr. 28, 1530.***Strangers, Withdrawal of—Amendment of Standing Order 90,** *Apr. 20, 1490.***Victualling Yards, Rate of Wages in—Motion for Reduction of Vote 8,** *Apr. 12, 49.***Rulings by, as Deputy Speaker.****India, Viceroy of—Criticisms of Policy except as Special Motion,** *Apr. 13, 97.***Chamberlain Rt. Hon. J. A.—Chancellor of the Exchequer [Worcestershire, E.]****Borrowings, Apr. 1899–1904, Statistics as to,** *Apr. 20, 682.***Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A.—cont.****Budget.****Income Tax, Additional 1d. in the Pound on,** *Apr. 19, 560.***Statement on Introduction of,** *Apr. 19, 543–567.***Tea, Additional 2d. per Pound on,** *Apr. 19, 566, 636; Apr. 21, 892; Apr. 26, 1276–1280.***Tobacco.****Cigars and Cigarettes, Foreign Duty on,** *Apr. 19, 564, 662.***Stripped Leaf, Duty on,** *Apr. 19, 563–564.***Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of,** *Apr. 552–3, 634.***Amount remaining after deduction, Methods adopted to trace Stockholders, etc.,** *Apr. 27, 1288.***Chilian Battleships, Purchase of, Increase in Expenditure due to,** *Apr. 19, 550.***Coal, Tax on, Revenue derived from,** *Apr. Apr. 12, 9.***Customs and Excise Duties—Local Taxation Account—Amount Received Annually since 1890, Allocation in England, Scotland and Ireland,** *Apr. 27, 1289.***Death Duty paid on Licensed Houses—Recovery of Duty in Cases of Refusal to Renew License,** *Apr. 28, 1444.***Exchequer Balances.****South African Loans and Payments, etc.,** *Apr. 20, 681, 682.***State of, and Drafts on, during 1903–4,** *Apr. 19, 551.***Expenditure.****Estimated for 1904–5,** *Apr. 19, 556–7.*
Increase in, *Apr. 19, 637, 638; Apr. 21, 895–8.***Return relative to, Granting,** *Apr. 25, 1058.***Supplementary Grants, for 1903–4, Amount of,** *Apr. 19, 549, 550.***Total for 1903–4,** *Apr. 19, 549, 550.***Financial position of the country,** *Apr. 21, 930.***“Futures,” Gambling in—Stamp Duty proposed,** *Apr. 26, 1179.***Income Tax.****Additional 1d. in the pound, proposed,** *Apr. 19, 560.***Ballinvara Creamery, Appeal from, fixing Date for hearing,** *Apr. 20, 639.***Collection of.****Difficulty of, etc.—Referring question to Departmental Committee,** *Apr. 19, 561; Apr. 26, 1253.*

3 K

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A.—cont.**Income Tax—cont.****Collection of—cont.**

Scotch and English Methods, Assimilation of, etc., *Apr. 28*, 1443-1444.

United Kingdom, in—Granting Return for January, February and March, *Apr. 18*, 355.

Financial Reserve in time of war, *Apr. 19*, 560.

Graduation of—Referring Question to Committee, etc. *Apr. 21*, 931; *Apr. 25*, 1048; *Apr. 26*, 1253.

Railway Season Tickets, Allowing Cost of, to be deducted in Assessments, *Apr. 26*, 1189.

Ireland.**Bank of.**

Government Money passing through, Arrangements as to, *Apr. 25*, 1059.

Preference given to, in Collection of Land Tax Annuities, *Apr. 20*, 689.

Provincial Bank of, Government Money passing through, Arrangements as to, *Apr. 25*, 1059.

Quit and Crown Rents, Average Redemption Prices in 1901, 1902, and 1903, *Apr. 25*, 1057.

Joint Stock Banks—Unclaimed Dividends and Balances, Estimate of, *Apr. 27*, 1288.

Liverpool Customs, Appointment of Irish ex-Constable to position in, *Apr. 25*, 1058.

Local Authorities, Indebtedness of, growth of, *Apr. 19*, 554.

National Debt.

Comparison of indebtedness during last five years, *Apr. 19*, 554.

Funded and Unfunded Debts, Amounts of, 1904, etc. *Apr. 25*, 1032.

Permanent Debt Charge.

Allocation of, *Apr. 21*, 838.

Amount devoted to paying off, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Resolution as to, *Apr. 26*, 1198.

Reduction in, *Apr. 19*, 553-4; *Apr. 21*, 899; *Apr. 25*, 1048.

Sinking Fund.

Amount of Contribution to, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Suspension of, Objections to, *Apr. 19*, 559.

National Debt, Customs and Inland Revenue, Amendment of law relating to, *Apr. 26*, 1239, 1241.

Population, Granting Return relative to, *Apr. 25*, 1058.

Prosperity of the Country, decline in, *Apr. 19*, 544, 545.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A.—cont.**Revenue.**

Estimated, for 1904-5, *Apr. 19*, 557-8.

Exchequer Receipts 1903-4, Shortage in, *Apr. 19*, 545-549, 559, 633, 634; *Apr. 21*, 837-8.

Growth of, *Apr. 21*, 895-6.

Return relative to, Granting, *Apr. 25*, 1058.

Savings Banks, Annuities, terminable, Payment of—Resolution, *Apr. 27*, 1365.

South African War—White Paper No. 155, of 1902, Return in continuation of, *Apr. 27*, 1290.

Stamp Duty.

Contracts, future Option and Warrant, Suggested Imposition on, *Apr. 26*, 1179-1180.

Evasions of, by Railway and Shipping Companies, *Apr. 26*, 1190.

Taxation.

Dox Tax, Proposed Reduction of, in Scotland, *Apr. 28*, 1432.

Incidence of, Inquiry into, proposed, *Apr. 19*, 638, 639.

Remission of—Proportion as between the direct and indirect taxpayer, *Apr. 21*, 892, 893; *Apr. 26*, 1224.

Sources of supply, *Apr. 21*, 894.

Yield of taxes in 1893-4, 1898-9, 1903-4, *Apr. 22*, 957; *Apr. 27*, 1290.

Tea.**Duty.**

Additional duty of 2d. per pound, *Apr. 19*, 566, 636; *Apr. 21*, 892; *Apr. 26*, 1276-1280.

Total amount paid by Ireland up to March 31, 1904, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1189.

Imports, Quantity and Value 1902-3, etc., *Apr. 21*, 836.

Tobacco.

Anomalies of Duties, *Apr. 19*, 562.

Cigars and Cigarettes.

Consumption of, in 1903-4, *Apr. 22*, 956.

Foreign duty on, *Apr. 19*, 554.

Drawback, rates of, proposed changes in, *Apr. 19*, 565; *Apr. 26*, 1223; *Apr. 28*, 1432.

Moisture limit, Raising to 32 per cent. *Apr. 19*, 565.

Stripped, New duty on, *Apr. 19*.

Values, Taxation on, instead of on weight, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1229.

Transvaal Loan.

Date of Issuing, *Apr. 21*, 927.

Repayment of—Application of to meet Exchequer deficit, *Apr. 19*, 551, 554, 634.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. [Birmingham W.]

Tea, Additional 2d. duty on—Effect of, on Ceylon and Indian industries, *Apr. 19*, 643, 646.

Chancellor of the Exchequer

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. Walrond.

Channing, Mr. F. A. [Northants., E.]

Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 21*, 900, 901.

Taxation, Incidence of, *Apr. 21*, 904.

Transvaal—High Commissioner—Regulations regarding assenting to Ordinances, *Apr. 18*, 373.

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, *2R. Apr. 15*, 346, 347.

Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway Bill

c. Con. Apr. 12*, 1.

3R. Apr. 15*, 293.

l. 1R. Apr. 19*, 477.

2R. Apr. 28, 1406.

Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill

c. 1R. Apr. 25*, 1062.

Charities

Commissioners' Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 481; *Apr. 20*, 670.

Chartered Societies Bill

c. 1R. Apr. 21*, 136.

Chemnitz

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 26*, 1168.

Chengtu

Declaration as Unhealthy Place, Presented, *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1024.

Cheeshire Electricity and Power Gas Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 21, 833.

Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements) Bill

l. 3R. Apr. 21*, 798.

c. 1R. Apr. 22*, 951.

Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 26*, 1165.

Chief Secretary for Ireland

Mr. G. Wyndham.

Children

Deaf and Dumb Irish, Introducing Legislation as to.

Q. Mr. Clancy; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 385.

Defective and Epileptic Scotch, Providing for Education of.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 25, 1029.

Children—cont.

Employment of—By-Laws under the Act, Councils submitting.

Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 20, 672–673.

Poor Law, Boarded-out—Numbers in England and Wales.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. W. Long, Apr. 21, 836.

Underfed, *see* Education — Underfed children.

China

Chengtu—Declaration as unhealthy place, Presented *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1024.

Hong Kong, *see that title*.

Transvaal, Chinese in—*see under* Transvaal

Chippenhams Gas Bill

l. 2 R. Apr. 25*, 1015.

Church of England

Ecclesiastical Disorders, *see* Ritualistic practices.

Churchill, Mr. W. L. S. [Oldham]

Army—Lances and Swords, abolition of, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 229.

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, *2R. Apr. 22*, 998.

Cigars and Cigarettes

Duty on, *see* Tobacco.

Civil Service**Clerks.**

Assistant — Abstractor Class — Age Limit, for Appointments.

Q. Mr. Yoxall; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 18, 355.

Promotion Assistant Clerks—Medical Examinations, alteration of rules

Q. Mr. C. Hay; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 14, 184.

Commission, Qualifications of Examiners to, etc.

Q. Mr. Field; A. V. Cavendish, Apr. 28, 1426.

Exchequer and Audit Officials, Number, Rank and Stations of.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 28, 1426.

Party Politics, keeping Civil Servants free from—West Down Election.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. E. Robertson; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 27, 1307–1309.

Superannuation.

Certificate granted through inadvertence—Treasury minute presented *Apr. 18*, 352; *Apr. 19*, 484.

List of allowances payable on 30th Nov., 1903, Presented *Apr. 20*, 670.

Retired allowances—Treasury minute Presented, *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1024.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Civil Service Estimates

Class 6, Vote 1—Appendix presented *Apr. 20*, 670.

Committee to report progress and sit again, *Motion* [Mr. Dalziel] *Apr. 18*, 473.

Harbours, maintenance and grants-in-aid £18,930, *Com. Apr. 28*, 1499, 1508.

Houses of Parliament Buildings—£32,300 *Com. Apr. 28*, 1457.

Royal Palaces—£35,500, *Com. Apr. 18*, 473; *Apr. 28*, 1531.

Clacton and Osyth Light Railway

Order presented *Apr. 19*, 518.

Clancy, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., N.]

Deaf and Dumb Children, introducing Legislation as to, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Deeds, Registration of, in Ireland, System, Duties payable etc., *Apr. 18*, 381-382.

Dublin College of Science, Contract for Supply of Newry Granite for Foundations of, *Apr. 25*, 1038.

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 449.

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, *2R. Apr. 22*, 997.

Cleggan Harbeur, Connemara

Improvement of—Date of commencing work. Q. Mr. O'Malley; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 386.

Clergy

Ecclesiastical Disorders, *see* Ritualistic Practices.

Explosion at factory of Messrs Curtis and Harvey—Report Presented *Apr. 19*, 481, 518.

Clyde

Trawling in—Foreign Vessels and sale of immature fish—Legislation to remove anomalies, proposed.

O. Marquess of Huntly, *Apr. 19*, 513.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 28*, 1406.

Coal

Fall in price of, effect of, on revenue.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 546.

Navy, Estimates for, reason for placing on the Shipbuilding Vote.

Os. Earl of Dalkeith, *Apr. 12*, 61; Mr. Pretyman, 62.

Tax on.

Indirect taxation, instance of, alleged.

Os. Mr. Ritchie, Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 868; Mr. McCrae, Mr. A. Chamberlain, 893.

Revenue, derived from—Statistics.

Q. Mr. Plummer; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 12*, 9-18.

Coal Mines

Child Labour—Hours, Power of Inspectors to vary.

Q. Mr. Fenwick; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 13*, 80.

Swanwick, Accident at—Steps to be Taken to Prevent Negligence.

Q. Mr. Jacoby; A. Mr. Cochrane, *Apr. 26*, 1182-1183.

Coates, Maj. E. F. [Lewisham]

Bank of Ireland, Preference given to, in Collection of Land Tax Annuities, *Apr. 20*, 689.

Customs and Excise Duties—Local Taxation Account—Amount Received Annually since 1890, etc., *Apr. 27*, 1289.

Cochrane, Mr. T. H.—*Under Secretary, Home Office* [Ayrshire, N.]

Swanwick Colliery Accident—Taking Steps to Prevent Negligence, *Apr. 26*, 1182-1183.

Coghill, Mr.

Small-Pox Outbreak of 1903, Cost of, *Apr. 25*, 1051.

South Kensington Museum Buildings—Dates of Completion, *Apr. 18*, 356.

Taxation—Necessity for Continuing War Taxes, *Apr. 21*, 1317.

Tea Duty, Increase in—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1318.

Vagrants in Hyde Park, Introducing Legislation as to, *Apr. 25*, 1050.

Cohen, Mr. B. L. [Islington, E.]

Aliens Bill, *2R. Apr. 25*, 1113, 1115.

Coinage and Currency

India—Rupees Coined each Year, 1893-1904, Government Profits, etc.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 21*, 839-841.

Colclough Estate

Compulsory Sale—Reasons for Delay.

O. Mr. Ffrench, *Apr. 13*, 169.

Collings, Rt. Hon. J. [Birmingham, Bordesley]

Army Rifles—Cost of Manufacture in Government Factories, *Apr. 20*, 576.

Weights and Measures Bill, *2R. Apr. 15*, 315, 325.

Colney Hatch Gas Bill

c. Con. Apr. 12*, 1.

3R. Apr. 15*, 293.

l. 1R. Apr. 19*, 477.

2R. Apr. 23*, 1406.

Colomb, Sir J.

Army—Guns, Standardisation of, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 216.

Committee of Defence—Formation of Permanent Secretariat, *Apr. 21*, 854.

[*cont.*]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Colomb, Sir J.—cont.**Navy.**

Ordinance, Reserve of, steps taken to make adequate, *Apr. 12, 31.*

Shipbuilding—Tonnage, additions to, compared with those of France, Germany, and America, *Apr. 12, 46.*

Submarine Mines, policy of placing under control of soldiers, *Apr. 14, 279.*

Russo-Japanese War—Naval operations, appointment of British Naval Attaché to watch, *Apr. 12, 30.*

Colonies

See also names of Colonies.

Crown Colonies *see that title.*

Debates on Colonial Legislatures, Precedent for circulating.

Os. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Marquess of Ripon, *Apr. 21, 832.*

Fiscal Proposals *see* Fiscal Policy.

Preferential Tariffs, Resolutions since 1890 relating to.

Q. Sir G. Parker; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 18, 372-373.*

Commons

Oxshott Heath, Regulation of—Report from Select Committee, *Apr. 22, 951.*

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill

c. 1R. Apr. 26, 1175.*

Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill

c. 1R. Apr. 26, 1175.*

Companies' Act.

Franchise limited by, Amendment proposed.

Q. Mr. E. Gray; *A.* Mr. G. Lawson, *Apr. 20, 685.*

Companies (Winding up) Act, 1890

Proceedings under—Account Presented, *Apr. 25, 1C16, 1023.*

Congested Districts Board**Scotland.**

Lewis, Isle of *see that title.*

Congested Districts Board, Ireland

Rae Estate, Kerry, suggested Purchase of. *Q.* Mr. T. O'Donnell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 386-387.*

Tredennick Estate, Donegal, Delay in applotting—Measures to be taken.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27, 1305.*

Congested Districts, Scotland

Settlement of people on the land, delay in. *O.* Mr. Weir, *Apr. 18, 471.*

Report presented, *Apr. 14, 184; Apr. 15, 481.*

Congested Districts (Scotland) Act Amendment Bill

Date of Second Reading.

Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 18, 395.*

Congo**Free State.**

British Subjects, Injuries to, tabling Memoranda on, etc.

Q. Mr. Emmott; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 19, 527-528.*

Foreign Traders in, Confiscation of Merchandise, etc.,—Steps to be taken.

Q. Mr. C. Wason; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 26, 1194-1195.*

Natives, ill-treatment of, Facts as to, Reply to Congo Government Request for.

Q. Mr. Emmott; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 19, 528.*

Trade Regulations—Case of Mr. A. Visram.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 21, 849-850.*

French, British Traders in, Concessionaire régime—Pressing for Action by French Government.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 26, 1195-1196.*

Constabulary, R.I.

Charges of Violence against,

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 20, 687.*

District Inspectors over Sixty Years of Age, taking steps to retire.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 363.*

Dublin Castle Orderlies etc., Number of.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 384.*

Extra, Cost of, Authority for charging County Councils with, etc.

Q. Mr. Delany, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Kilbride; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27, 1302-1303.*

Counties remitting charges for, in the last Five Years—Names of Counties—Amounts remitted.

Q. Mr. Lonsdale; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 364-365.*

Fund Solvency, Percentage; paid to subscribers.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28, 1433-1434.*

Galway, Alleged Assault by a Constable in,

Q. Mr. Hayden; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 391-392.*

Lisburn Disturbances—Police protection.

Os. Mr. J. Devlin, *Apr. 19, 666, 667; Mr. Wyndham, 667, 668; Mr. T. W. Russell, 668; Mr. Flavin, 668; Mr. Sheehy, 668.*

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Constabulary, R.I.—cont.

Testimonials, Public Collections for—Case of Sergeant Dalton.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 20*, 688.

United Irish League Meetings, Corofin, Reason for Police Attendance at,

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Constantinople

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943.

Contagious Diseases of Animals

see Diseases of Animals.

Contracts

Army, *see that title*.

Government Buildings in Ireland—excluding Irish Firms from tendering.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 26*, 1187–1188.

Navy—Bread, Acceptance of highest tender for, at Berehaven.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25*, 1026.

Stamp Duty on future Option and Warrant Contracts, suggested Imposition of.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1179–1180.

War Office, for Arms and War Material, Allocation between Ordnance Factories and the Trade.

Q. Mr. Crooks; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26*, 1190–1191.

Coolie Labour

Importation of, into British Colonies, Ordinances now in force as to—Return Presented, *Apr. 12*, 5.

Trinidad and British Guiana Ordinances Presented, *Apr. 19*, 479.

Cooper's Hill Engineering College

Closing.

Qs. Sir M. Bhownaggee; As. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 27*, 1296.

Corbridge Gas Bill

l. Rep.* *Apr. 26*, 1165.

Cordite

see under Army.

Cork

Post Office.

Holiday, choice of months, &c.

Q. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 206.

Promotions in.

Senior sorting clerks.

Qs. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, Capt. Donelan; As. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 206.

Tweedmouth Committee, effecting Recommendations of.

Q. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28*, 1427–1428.

Cork—cont.

Queen's College.

Deputy President, Name, Salary, &c. Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 532–533.

President of, Length of Residence of, during last three years, &c.

Qs. Mr. Hayden, Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1184–1185.

Corn

Duty on.

Re-imposition of, proposed.

O. Mr. McKenna, *Apr. 27*, 1352.

Repeal of, effect of, on Revenue.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 546; Mr. Ritchie, 575; Sir M. H. Beach, 585; Mr. Elliot, *Apr. 21*, 874; Maj. Jameson, 925.

Cornwall

Harbours of refuge, provision of.

Os. Mr. Soares, *Apr. 28*, 1499; Mr. G. Bowles, 1504; Mr. Lambert, 1506, 1508; Mr. Spear, 1514; Mr. Moulton, 1515; Sir J. Kennaway, 1516; Mr. W. McArthur, 1517; Mr. G. Balfour, 1518–1523; Sir W. Foster, 1524; Sir R. Ropner, 1527; Mr. Runciman, 1528.

Corofin

United Irish League Meeting at, Reason for Police Attendance.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Coroners

Judicial Statistics Presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

Corporation of London (Southwark and other Bridges) Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 14*, 182.

Cotton Industry

Africa, East—Cultivation Prospects—Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 480.

“Corners” in—International Conference to prohibit gambling in “futures,” proposed.

Qs. Mr. Field; As. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 12*, 7; *Apr. 18*, 394, 395.

Cultivation in British Empire and Egypt—Report Presented, *Apr. 13*, 76; *Apr. 19*, 482.

Debate on Motion [Mr. Rutherford], *Apr. 27*, 1367.

Africa, Cotton Cultivation in.

Development of—Possibilities of 1372, 1378, 1386, 1394, 1395 1399.

Dunstan, Prof., Evidence of, 1371, 1378.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Cotton Industry—cont.*Debate on Motion—cont.***Africa—cont.**

Railway Facilities for Transport of Cotton, 1384, 1396, 1397, 1399.

America.

Cultivation and Manufacture, Increase in, 1369, 1370, 1376, 1392.

Dependence of British Industry on for Raw Material, 1369, 1370, 1390, 1381, 1385, 1386, 1392, 1401.

Shortness of Crop, effect on the market, 1368, 1385.

Speculation and gambling in "futures"—effect on the market, 1368, 1369, 1385, 1403.

British Cotton Association, Work of, 1371, 1377, 1380, 1394, 1395, 1399.

Capital invested in, *Apr. 27*, 1368.

Consumption of, Normal Annual Increase in—Statistics, 1370, 1374.

Developing resources of British Empire, 1390, 1391, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1401, 1402.

Egypt and the Soudan, Cotton Cultivation in, Possibilities of, 1371, 1377, 1381, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1393.

Experimental Farms in suitable districts, Establishment of, proposed, 1388, 1399.

Gambling in "Futures," Effect on the Market, 1368, 1369, 1403.

India, Cultivation of better-class Cotton in, 1373, 1377, 1382, 1386.

Labour—Question of utilising natives in each district, 1383, 1384, 1399.

Lancashire trade, position of, 1374-6, 1385.

Number of persons employed—Statistics, *Apr. 27*, 1367, 1374, 1398.

Quantity imported from America, India, Egypt, etc.—Statistics, 1369, 1385.

Raw Material

Deficiency in supply of, 1367, 1374, 1385, 1402, 1403, 1404.

Dependence of British industry on United States for, 1369, 1370, 1380, 1381, 1385, 1386, 1392, 1401.

Scientific knowledge as to cotton cultivation, lack of, 1387, 1400.

West Indies, development of cotton growing in, proposed, 1388, 1393.

Indian, Consumption, Growth and Export of.

Q. Mr. Emmott ; A. Mr. Brodrick, Apr. 19, 522.

Cotton Industry—cont.**International Conference proposed.**

Qs. Mr. Field ; As. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 12, 7 ; Apr. 18, 394, 395.

Q. Mr. Harcourt ; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 25, 1060.

County Courts

Yorkshire (West Riding)—Order as to Registrar practising as Solicitor, presented, *Apr. 26*, 1177.

Craig, Mr. C. C. [Antrim, S.]

Bank of Ireland, Preference given to, in Collection of Land Tax Annuities, *Apr. 21*, 846-847.

Blaris Hurling Match, Cost of Extra Police on Duty for, etc., *Apr. 20*, 687 ; *Apr. 21*, 852-853.

Newcastle, Down, Voting Register, Constitution of, *Apr. 21*, 852.

Craig, Mr. R. H. [Lanarkshire, Govan]

Indian wheat and flour exported in 1902-3, *Apr. 14*, 186.

Green, Lieutenant

Court of Inquiry into Case of, Charges, etc.

Q. Mr. Rea ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 21, 844-845.

Crime

Alien Criminals, Number of from 1898-1903.

Q. Mr. S. Samuel ; A. Mr. A. A. Douglas, Apr. 14, 199.

Crimean Veterans

Pensions, increasing,

Q. Col. Lockwood ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster. Apr. 28, 1435-1436.

Cripps, Mr. C. A. [Lancashire, Stretford]**Cripps, Mr.**

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R., *Apr. 22*, 984.

Crombie, Mr. J. W. [Kincardineshire]

Education—Districts under the Scotch Bill, Valuation and Population of, *Apr. 28*, 1431.

Crooks, Mr. W. [Woolwich]

Ordnance Factories, Idle Machinery in, placing Orders with Contractors etc., *Apr. 26*, 1190-1191.

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 26*, 1281.

Vaccination Prosecution at Thames Police Court, Steps to be taken with regard to, *Apr. 25*, 1049-1050.

War Office—Contracts for Arms and War Material, Allocation between Ordnance Factories and the Trade, *Apr. 26*, 1190-1191.

Cross, Mr. A. [Glasgow, Camlachie]

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1313.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Cross, Vis.

Sunday Closing [Shops] Bill, 2a., Apr. 28, 1418.

Crown Colonies

Brussels Sugar Convention, Adherence to.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 18, 375-376.

Crown Agents for the Colonies

Commissions, Information as to.
Qs. Mr. A. Taylor; Aa. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 12, 17; Apr. 27, 1295.

Transvaal — purchasing Departmental Supplies through Crown Agents, etc.
Qs. Mr. H. Samuel, Sir H. Fowler; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1044-1045.

Croydon Gas Bill

l. 2R.* Apr. 25, 1015.

Cruisers

See Navy.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill

c. 2R.* Apr. 12, 2.

Culross

Technical Education Grant for.
Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 20, 685.

Cullinan, Mr. J. [Tipperary, S.]

Ballyboy, Evicted Farm at, using as Artillery Parade Ground, Apr. 18, 394.

Tipperary, Urban Council Surcharges—Auditor's Costs, Apr. 18, 388.

Cunard Agreement

Committee—Date of Discussion.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 28, 1456.

Cusack Estate, Longford

Sale, Progress of—Granting Return showing Names of Intending Purchasers, etc.,

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1056.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 27, 1304.

Cust, Mr. H. J. C. [Southwark, Bermondsey.]
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.
Con. Apr. 14, 263.

Customs and Excise

Boatmen, Age Limit of.
Q. Mr. J. H. Lewis; A. Sir A. Acland-Hood, Apr. 19, 531-532.

Dublin Collection, Amount of, 1902-3, etc.
Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 25, 1057.

Duties—Local Taxation Account—Amount Received Annually since 1890, Allocation in England, Scotland and Ireland, etc.

Q. Major Coates; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 27, 1289.

Customs and Excise—cont.

Fraudulent Practices, Alleged, in Bonded Warehouses—Cognisance of Government Officials.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 25, 1048-1049.

Law Relating to, Amendment of—Resolution.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 26, 1239, 1241; Mr. McKenna, 1239, 1240, 1243; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1239, 1241; Mr. J. H. Lewis, 1241; Mr. Lough. 1242; Mr. Buchanan, 1242.

Liverpool, Appointment of Irish Ex-Constable to Position in.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 25, 1067-1068.

Revenue from, Shortage in, for 1903-4.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 546, 547, 548; Sir. M. H. Beech, 584; Mr. Ritchie, Apr. 21, 870.

Watchers, Saving to Revenue by Institution of Watchers.

Q. Capt. Norton; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 22, 954.

Cycles

Motor, Use of, in Imperial Yeomanry, Annual Training, for Despatch carrying, etc. proposed.

Q. Mr. Allhusen; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 27, 1292, 1293.

Dalkeith, Earl of [Roxburgh]

Navy—Coal, Estimate for, reason for placing on the Shipbuilding Vote, Apr. 12, 61.

Dalziel, Mr. T. H. [Kirkcaldy Burghs]

Army.

Courts-martial held by Auxiliary Forces, Powers and method of procedure, Apr. 13, 149, 150; Apr. 14, 290.

Rifles—Relative cost of Manufacture by the Government and the trade, Apr. 14, 237, 242.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2a. Apr. 13, 149, 150; Apr. 14, 289; Com. Apr. 18, 475.

Expenditure, Growth of, Apr. 26, 1232.

House of Commons — Smoking-room accommodation, inadequacy of, Apr. 28, 1491.

Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, Apr. 26, 1244.

Palaces, Increase in expenditure on, Apr. 28, 1534.

Savings Banks—Annuities, terminable, Payment of, Apr. 27, 1365.

Danysz, Mr.

Virus of, for Rat Destruction, Experiments at Cape Town.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 20, 678.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Davenport, Mr. W. B.—*Financial Secretary to the War Office*, [Cheshire, Macclesfield]

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R. Apr. 14, 291.

Rifles—Places of manufacture, Apr. 14, 236, 237.

Soldiers' Breakfast, nature of fare provided, Apr. 14, 292.

Davies, Mr. A. [Carmarthen Boroughs]

Education, Wales.

Defaulting Authorities, Particulars and Names of, Apr. 28, 1445–1446.

Grants under the Old and New Systems, Apr. 28, 1446.

Roman Catholic Schools, Numbers, Attendance, Apr. 28, 1446.

Davies v. The Crown

Delay in settlement of Case, Cause of.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 28, 1436.

Death Duties

Increase in, proposed.

Os. Mr. J. F. Hope, Apr. 21, 909; Mr. S. O. Gore, 916; Mr. Whitley, 936; Mr. G. Whitely, Apr. 26, 1249; Sir R. Reid, Apr. 27, 1320.

Licensed House, on—Recovery of Duty in Cases of Refusal to renew Licence.

Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 28, 1444.

Revenue derived from, falling off in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 548; Mr. Ritchie, Apr. 21, 871.

Deaths

Scotland—Annual Report Presented, Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 481.

Deeds

Registration of, in Ireland, System of, Duties payable etc.

Q. Mr. Clancy; A. Mr. V. Cavenish, Apr. 18, 381–382.

Defence of the Empire

Committee of Defence.

Secretariat, Permanent, formation of.
Q. Sir J. Colomb; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 21, 854–855.

Vote for Staff, Discussion on, Date of.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 21, 854.

Delany, Mr. W. [Queen's County, Ossory]

Agriculture, Department of.

Transfer of Officials from Veterinary Department to, Apr. 18, 387.

Veterinary Branch — Promotion of Roman Catholic Clerks, Apr. 28, 1448.

Constabulary, Extra, Authority for Charging County Councils with Cost of, etc., Apr. 27, 1302–1303.

Delany, Mr. W.—*cont.*

Education—Evening School Teachers in Queen's County, Payment of Grants to, Apr. 26, 1179–1190.

Land Commission.

Queen's County, evicted tenants—Number of Applications received from Ossory Division, Apr. 13, 82.

Return, Information given in, Apr. 13, 82.

Liverpool Customs, Appointment of Irish ex-Constable to position in, Apr. 25, 1057–1058.

Tithe, Quit and Crown Rents, Redemption of, Apr. 25, 1037.

Denmark

Trade Report, Presented, Apr. 21, 810.

Denny Col. J. M. [Kilmarnock Burghs]

Army Rifles—Relative cost of manufacture by the Government and the Trade, Apr. 14, 241.

Dentists

Army—Candidates' Expenses, Payment of.

Q. Mr. Shackleton; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 19, 523.

Deptford

Victualling Yard—Unskilled Labourers, Character of Work performed by and rate of wage.

O. Capt. Norton, Apr. 12, 49, 51.

Devizes Gaol

Soldiers, Imprisonment of, in—Nature of Offence, Transference of Offenders to Military Prison, etc.

Q. Mr. C. Hobbouse; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 190.

Devlin, Mr. C. B. [Galway]

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and Inadequate System, Apr. 18, 451.

Galway Docks—Dredging of Entrance, Apr. 27, 1304.

Sweeney, Daniel, Pension for, Apr. 27, 1306–1307.

Telephonic Communication between Dublin and Galway, Establishing, Apr. 27, 1302.

Devlin, Mr. J. [Kilkenny, N.]

Lisburn Disturbances—Police Protection, etc., Apr. 19, 666, 667.

Urlingford Union Board Room, Refusal to allow Meeting in, Apr. 28, 1451.

Devon

Harbours of Refuge, Provision of.

Os. Mr. Soares, Apr. 28, 1499–1503; Mr. G. Bowles, 1504; Mr. Lambert, 1506, 1503; Mr. Spear, 1514; Mr. Moulton, 1515; Sir J. Kennaway, 1516; Mr. W. McArthur, 1517; Mr. G. Balfour, 1518–1523; Sir W. Forster, 1524; Sir R. Ropner, 1527; Mr. Runciman, 1527–1528.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Dewar, Sir T. R. [Tower Hamlets, St. George's]
Aliens in British Prisons, Number of, *Apr.*
25, 1033.

Dickson, Rt. Hon. C. S., Lord Advocate
[Glasgow, Bridgton]

Education.

Secondary and Technical — Cookery
Instruction, *Apr. 25, 1053.*

Teachers in Crofting Counties, Number
of—School Board Pensions granted
since 1898, *Apr. 25, 1054.*

Sheriff Courts—Fees to Medical Witnesses,
Apr. 25, 1030.

Lewis, Isle of — Cemeteries, Insanitary
Condition of, *Apr. 25, 1053.*

Trawling—English Trawlers under Nor-
wegian Flag, *Apr. 27, 1302.*

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. [Gloucester, Forest
of Dean]

Africa, South, Garrison in—Hutting
Accommodation, Number of Stations,
etc., *Apr. 15, 301.*

Aliens Bill, 2R, *Apr. 25, 1062, 1119.*

Army,

Act,

Canada, Supply of Copies to, *Apr.*
22, 958.

Reprints of—Omission of Amend-
ments made by Annual Bills,
Apr. 13, 135.

Cavalry and Mounted Infantry,
increase in, proposed, *Apr.*
14, 228, 229.

Courts of Inquiry, Constitution of,
breaches of Military Law, etc.,
Apr. 13, 137, 138.

Courts-Martial — Auxiliary Forces,
Application of Military Law
under the Army Act to, *Apr. 13,*
138, 148, 149.

Estimates, Method of Classifying,
Apr. 14, 283.

Militia,

Field Artillery, Armament and
Increase in, *Apr. 14, 212.*

Garrison Artillery, training at
Mobilisation Stations, Use of
Modern Guns, etc., *Apr. 14,*
221.

Rifles—Relative Cost of Manufacture
by the Government and the
Trade, *Apr. 14, 246.*

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R, *Apr. 13, 135.*

Business of the House—Course of, *Apr. 12,*
72.

Committee of Defence, Vote for Staff, Date
of Discussion on, *Apr. 21, 854.*

Congo, French, British Traders in, Con-
cessionaire régime — Pressing for
Action by French Government, *Apr.*
26, 1195.

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W.—cont.

Emigration and Immigration—Report of
Board of Trade for 1903, date of issue
of, *Apr. 14, 186.*

Navy,

Boilers,

Accidents and Repairs since first
Report of Committee, fur-
nishing list of, *Apr. 12, 46.*

Working of various classes, in-
formation as to, *Apr. 12, 46.*

Gunning of Battle Ships and Cruisers,
Provisions as to, *Apr. 12, 29.*

Guns—Provision of 7·5 guns, *Apr. 12, 36.*

High explosive used by the Japanese,
Information as to value of, *Apr.*
12, 30.

Shipbuilding — Germany, Increase in
construction by, *Apr. 12, 45.*

Submarine Mines, Policy of placing
under control of soldiers, *Apr. 14,*
280.

Submarines, Construction of, expendi-
ture on, and lack of information
as to, *Apr. 12, 59.*

Russo-Japanese War — Naval Operations,
appointment of British Naval attaché
to watch; *Apr. 12, 30.*

Shops Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 20,*
692.

Siam, French and British Agreements with.
Publication of terms of, *Apr. 19, 529.*

Workmen's Compensation Bill — Date of
Introduction, *Apr. 20, 692.*

Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C. [London.]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R, *Apr. 15,*
317.

Dingle

Board of Guardians, Refund of Surcharge
against.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wynd-
ham, *Apr. 18, 386.*

Diplomatic and Consular Service

Reports, Scope of.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, *Apr.*
19, 521–522.

Diseases of Animals

Anthrax.

Compensation for animals dying of the
disease, proposed.

Q. Mr. F. Wilson; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, *Apr. 14, 185.*

Slaughter of, Animals, on account
of, Payment of compensation to
owners out of local rates.

Q. Mr. E. Gray, *Apr. 15, 331;*
Mr. Field, 334.

Argentina, Prohibition of importation of
live cattle from—withdrawal of pro-
hibition proposed.

Qs. Mr. Schwann, Mr. Kilbride;
As. Mr. A. Fellowes, *Apr. 14,*
199.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Diseases of Animals—cont.

Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing place, Order Presented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19, 483.*

Rabies, *see that title.*

Statistics as to.

Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Mr. A. Fellowes, Apr. 18, 361, 362.

Divisions

Alteration in method of taking, proposed.

Os. Mr. Mildmay, Apr. 28, 1470; Lord Balcarras, 1474, 1490; Mr. Ritchie, 1483; Mr. G. Bowles, 1484; Capt. Norton, 1488; Mr. J. P. Farrell, 1489.

Income Tax—Budget Resolution Division—Chairman's Decision Challenged, *Apr. 21, 937.*

New Question put—House to be cleared and bells rung.

Os. Mr. Dalziel, Apr. 21, 937, 938; Mr. J. W. Lowther, 938.

Strangers, Withdrawal of, Regulations as to.

Os. Mr. J. Burns, Apr. 28, 1489, 1490; Mr. J. Ellis, 1490; Mr. J. W. Lowther, 1490.

Dockyards

Haulbowline, Repairing H.M.S. Melampus at.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 20, 675.

Dockyards, Naval

Joiners.

Inspection of work done by, Grievances as to.

O. Capt. Norton, Apr. 12, 48.

Shipwrights Employed to do Joiners' work, Grievances as to.

O. Capt. Norton, Apr. 12, 48.

Labourers' Wages at Barrow-in-Furness.

Q. Capt. Norton; A. Mr. A. Lee, Apr. 25, 1041.

Ordnance Inspectors, Appointing Naval Officers, as.

Q. Master of Elibank; A. Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 18, 368.

Police on Duty at, Number and Pay of.

Os. Mr. Whitley, Apr. 12, 57, 58; Mr. Pretymann, 57; Mr. Kearley, 58; Capt. Norton, Mr. A. Douglas, 59.

Wages of Employés in—Rate of Government Wage.

Os. Capt. Norton, Apr. 12, 47, 49, 54; Mr. Kearley, 50, 55; Mr. R. Lucas, 51; Mr. Pretymann, 52-54.

Dogs

Badge and Harness to be worn by Quarantined Dogs.

O. Earl of Onslow, Apr. 22, 948.

Dogs—cont.

Experiments on.

Exemption from Vivisection, proposed

—Motion, Sir F. Banbury.

O. Mr. Flavin, Apr. 13, 180.

Schäfer, Prof., Disallowing Experiments of.

Q. Mr. Logan; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 21, 848-849.

Importation of—Order whereby Dogs are separated from Owners for six months, Withdrawal of, proposed.

Os. Earl of Lytton, Apr. 22, 944; Earl of Onslow, 945.

Rabies, Success of Board of Agriculture in Stamping out the Disease.

Os. Earl of Lytton, Apr. 22, 944; Earl of Onslow, 945.

Tax on, Proposed Reduction of, in Scotland.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 28, 1432.

Dohern

National School, Reason for Closing.

Q. Mr. P. A. M'Hugh; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 534.

Donard, Wicklow

Postal Arrangements in.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 19, 521.

Doncaster Corporation Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 26, 1176.*

Donegal Railway Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 22, 950.*

Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. [Cork, E.]

Cork Post Office, Promotion of Senior Sorting Clerks in, *Apr. 14, 206.*

Labourers (Ireland) Acts—Appointment of Mr. C. Atkinson, *Apr. 18, 383.*

Melampus, H.M.S., repairing, at Haulbowline, *Apr. 20, 675.*

Rathcoursey Beach—Accident to Driscoll through Explosion of Shrapnel Shell, *Apr. 14, 193.*

Transit of Passengers and Mails between Kingstown and Great Southern and Western Systems, Delays in, *Apr. 28, 1455.*

Youghal Bay Salmon Fisheries—Restrictions placed on Fishermen, taking steps with regard to, *Apr. 27, 1306.*

Donoughmore, Earl of—Under-Secretary for War.

Army (Annual) Bill, 2R., *Apr. 22, 948.*

Mariners, exemption of, from Income Tax—Inconsistencies as to, *Apr. 25, 1019, 1020.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Dopping Estate, N. Longford

Mulligan, D., evicted Tenant, Restoration of.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28, 1447.***Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. A. [Kent, St. Augustine's]**

Alien Immigration.

Criminals—Number of prisoners from 1898–1903, *Apr. 14, 199.*Males — Number of adults, in the United Kingdom in 1901, *Apr. 14, 200.*Aliens Bill, 2R., *Apr. 25, 1143.*Birds, Protection of—Sale of Green Plovers in London during close season, *Apr. 15, 299.*Children, Employment of—By-laws under the Act, Councils submitting, *Apr. 20, 673.*Dogs, Experiments on, disallowing Prof. Schafer's, *Apr. 21, 849.*Factories and Workshops—Inspection of Tenement Houses used as Workshops, *Apr. 19, 520.*Insurance, Accident and Sickness—granting Return relative to Continental Laws, *Apr. 20, 672.*Licensing Bill, introduced, *Apr. 20, 696–703.*
Licensed Premises, "Persons interested in," scope of Term, *Apr. 27, 1301–1302.*

Liquor Licenses.

Ale and Beerhouses, granting Return—Funds available for Compensation, *Apr. 25, 1033.*Refusals to renew, Statistics as to, *Apr. 20, 633; Apr. 28, 1429–1430.*Liquor Licensing Laws — Liverpool, Licences and Drunkenness in, *Apr. 19, 521.*Mines, Child Labour in—Hours, Powers of Inspector to vary, *Apr. 13, 80.*Petty Sessions Clerks—Regulations as to Taking Part in Political Contests, etc., *Apr. 20, 673.*

Police.

Metropolitan, Pensions to.

Good Service, for, Authority for Granting, *Apr. 25, 1033.*Special Service, for—Regulations as to Constables, *Apr. 27, 1292.*Naval Dockyards, at, Pay of, *Apr. 12, 59.*Poor Prisoners Defence Act—Delay in Making Rules, *Apr. 22, 954.*Prisons, Number of Aliens in, *Apr. 25, 1034.*Shops Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 21, 848.*Vaccination, Prosecution at Thames Police Court, *Apr. 25, 1049–1050.***Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. A.—cont.**Vagrancy Laws—Suggested Amendment, *Apr. 18, 378.*Vagrants in Hyde Park, Introducing Legislation as to, *Apr. 25, 1050.*Working Classes—Compensation for Accidents Act—Inquiry, Progress of—Government Bill, *Apr. 19, 531.***Dover**

Pier Works Lightships, Accidents to, 1899–1903.

Q. Mr. Plummer; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 28, 1425.***Down (Co.)**

Assizes—Composition of Grand Jury.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12, 22.***Drake, H.M.S.**

Speed of—Improved Propellers.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Pretyman, *Apr. 18, 35–358.***Drumtacher**

National School, Salary of Principal Teacher at—Inspection of School, etc.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 364.***Drummeel Bog, Longford**

Public Trustees for, Obligation of Estates Commissioners to Assume Position of.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1056–1057;*
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28, 1450–1451.***Dublin**

Castle, Number of Constabulary Orderlies, etc.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 384.*

College of Science.

Architect—Name and Qualifications.

Qs. Mr. Boland; As. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 14, 202.*

Contractor, Name of — Employing Irish Materials and Workmen.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 28, 1452–1453.*

Newry Granite for Foundation, Contract for supply of.

Q. Mr. Clancy; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1038.*

Inland Revenue and Customs Receipts, Amounts 1902–3—Forwarding money to London, etc.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 25, 1057.*

North Wall Station, inadequacy of transit facilities at.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 27, 1298.*

Post Office, Dual Working in.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28, 1453–1454.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Dublin—cont.**Railway Delays in.**

Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 28, 1455.*

St. Stephen's Green—Parliamentary Bye-Election—New Member Sworn, *Apr. 12, 27.*

Steam Tramway to Blessington—Compensation for Accidents—Names of Claimants, etc.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 361-362.*

Telegraph School, overcrowding of.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28, 1453.*

Telegraphic Service, Dismissal of Messengers.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 25, 1059-1060.*

Telephone communication with Galway, establishing.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 27, 1302.*

Trade, Board of, Branch proposed in Dublin.

Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 26, 1178-1179.*

Tram Car Licences, inclusion of, in amount for stage carriage licences.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 22, 957.*

Trinity College—Grant under Land Act, high prices demanded for land, &c.

Q. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13, 162*

Duggan Estate

Compulsory Sale—Delay in negotiations,

Q. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 155.*

Duke, Mr. H. E. [Plymouth]

Bristol Channel, necessity for provision of harbour of refuge in, *Apr. 28, 1509-1510.*

Devon and Cornwall, provision of harbours of refuge in, *Apr. 28, 1528.*

Dunboyne, Lord

Sale of Intoxicants to Children Bill, *Com. Apr. 21, 829.*

Dundee

Mail Service—Earlier delivery of letters proposed.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14, 201.*

Postmen's Grievances—Reply to Petition.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 18, 378-379*

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 15, 294.*

East London, South Africa

British Indian Tradesmen in, Order to vacate Town.

Qs. Sir M. Bhownaggee; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 20, 680; Apr. 27, 1293; Apr. 28, 1437.*

Qs. Mr. G. Bowles, Capt. Norton; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 27, 1294.*

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 26, 1163.*

Ecclesiastical Commissioners

Legal Expenses of.

Q. Mr. Humphreys-Owen; *A.* Sir L. Knowles, *Apr. 26, 1180.*

Ecclesiastical Disorders

see Ritualistic Practices

Edinburgh

Observatory—Annual Report Presented, *Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 480.*

Education, Board of

President—Marquess of Londonderry.

Parliamentary Secretary—Sir W. R. Anson.

Education Department, Scotland

Vice-President of Council—Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Secretary—Sir Henry Craik.

Education

Authorities bringing the Act into force—Number in each Month since April, 1903, etc.

Q. Mr. G. White; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 18, 353-354.*

Elementary School Departments, Number in England and Wales.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 18, 380.*

Ireland.

Debate in Committee of Supply, Apr 18, 397.

Board composed entirely of Educationists, proposed, 447.

Christian Brothers, Admirable Schools conducted by, 415, 417, 439, 442, 443, 447.

Condition of Schools, 397, 398, 399, 400, 421, 440, 445, 451, 459, 460, 461.

Co-ordination of Technical Instruction and Intermediate Education, proposed, 438, 468.

County Scholarships giving Free University Education, Establishment of, proposed, 412.

Creation of New Department responsible to Parliament, proposed, 418, 420, 421, 422, 426, 427, 429, 441, 456.

Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Defective and Epileptic Children, Grant for Education of, 450, 451.

Denominational Education, Necessity for, 423, 456, 457, 458, 459.

Equipment and Materials, inadequate Provision of, 399, 401, 440, 445, 460.

Equivalent Grant diverted from its legitimate purpose, alleged, 403, 404, 449, 406.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Education—cont.**Ireland—cont.***Debate in Committee of Supply—cont.*

Financial aspect of the matter, 433, 434, 437, 439.

Gaelic League, services rendered to the cause of education by, 407.

Heating and sanitation of Schools, inadequate provision for, 400, 401, 457, 458.

Inspectors, deficiencies of, 448.

Intermediate Education, system of, 436, 448.

Irish Language, teaching of, 464.

Local Interest, encouragement and establishment of, 415, 416, 428, 452, 462.

Model Schools system, 445, 454, 458.

Money spent on the Police, devoting to education, proposed, 439.

Musical Capacities of Children—introduction of folk songs, proposed, 465.

National Board of Education, Constitution of, 398, 420, 422, 431, 441.

Policy and work of, 405, 406, 422, 430, 444, 465.

Nationalisation, and administration by Irish Authorities, proposed, 404, 407, 408, 412, 418, 420, 432, 440, 464.

Number of Boards all acting independently of each other, 408, 409, 415.

Primary.

Antiquated and inadequate system, 397, 398, 405, 408, 420, 424, 426, 443, 461, 465.

Dale, Mr., Report of, 398, 400, 409, 417, 419, 427, 451, 452.

Mansion House Conference Resolution, 397.

Principles on which Irish Education should be conducted, 414, 418, 424, 425.

Rate aid, absence of, in Ireland, 432, 433, 434.

Reforms suggested, 413, 418, 447, 448.

Religious difficulty, giving control to County Councils, proposed, 423, 456.

Roman Catholic schools, superiority of, 417, 418, 439, 453.

Staffing of Schools, 401, 402, 429, 463.

Sub-divisions of classes—extravagant and senseless system, 427, 428, 435.

Education—cont.**Ireland—cont.***Debate in Committee of Supply—cont.***Teachers.**

Appointments and dismissals exclusively in hands of managers, 436, 461.

Payment by results, abolition of, hardships entailed by, 446.

Profession of, placing on an equality with other professions, 410, 413, 425.

Status and Remuneration grievances, 402, 403, 425, 444, 463.

Training—remodelling present system proposed, 410, 411.

Technical Education, Administration of, 437, 457.

University education and training, facilities for, 410, 411, 426.

Dohern School, Closing of, Reason for. Q. Mr. P. A. McHugh; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 534.

Droumteacher National School, Salary of Principal teacher at—Inspection of School, etc.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 364.

Epidemics in Schools, Regulations as to Closing, teacher's Salary, etc.

Q. Mr. S. Young; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1056-1056.

Irish Language, *see that title*.

Lislea National School—Appointment of Local Manager.

Q. Mr. Lonsdale; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 363-364.

National School Teachers, *see that title*.

London Act.

Provided Schools, Grouping of, postponing operation of Act as regards,

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 27, 1300-1301.

Section 2, Date of coming into operation.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 27, 1299-1300.

Section 7, postponing operation of.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 27, 1300.

Physical Exercises — Report presented, Apr. 18, 325; Apr. 19, 483.

Pupil Teachers, *see subheading* Teachers. Schools.

Barton - on - Humber, Provision of school accommodation—Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 15, 298.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Education—cont.**Schools—cont.**

Dohern National School, Reasons for closing.

Q. Mr. P. A. M'Hugh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Droumtacher National School, Salary of Principal Teacher at—Inspection of School, etc.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 364.

Epidemics in, Regulations as to closing, Teacher's Salary, etc.

Q. Mr. S. Young; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1055–1056.

Glyn-Traian, Draft Final Order for holding Local Inquiry into.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 27*, 1298–1299.

Haywards Heath, New Voluntary School at, Offer of, refused.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 298.

Q. Mr. J. Hope; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 21*, 835–836.

Lislea, Appointment of Local Manager.

Q. Mr. Lonsdale; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 363–364.

Lists presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

New and Altered, Necessity to submit Plans to Education Department.

Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 25*, 1034.

Plaistow, Provision of accommodation—Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 298.

Voluntary Schools' Managers, London County and Borough Council Appointments.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 27*, 1299.

Weymouth, Provision of accommodation—Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 299.

Scotland.

Cookery Instruction.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. S. Dickson, *Apr. 20*, 1053.

Defective and Epileptic Children, Making provision for.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 25*, 1029.

Districts.

Valuation and Population of.

Q. Mr. Crombie; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 23*, 1431.

Return showing.

Q. Mr. Maxwell; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 18*, 360.

Return Presented, *Apr. 23*, 1407.

Education—cont.**Scotland—cont.****Districts—cont.**

New School Board—Return presented, *Apr. 27*, 1296; *Apr. 28*, 1407.

Grants in Aid—Minute presented, *Apr. 25*, 1017, 1023.

Highland Crofting Counties, Number of Teachers in—School Board Pensions granted since 1898.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. S. Dickson, *Apr. 25*, 1053–1054.

Local Taxation Account—Amount available for distribution to 31 Mar. 1903.

Q. Mr. Caldwell; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 14*, 185.

Teachers, Superannuation of—Amended Rule presented, *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1023.

Secondary and Technical.**Scotland.**

Cookery Instruction.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. S. Dickson, *Apr. 20*, 1053.

Talliallau and Culross, Grants for.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 20*, 685.

Teachers.

Highland Crofting Counties, Numbers in—School Board Pensions granted since 1898.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. S. Dickson, *Apr. 25*, 1053–1054.

National School Teachers Ireland, *see that title*.

Pupil.

Appointments of, dating, previous to publishing Examination Results, etc.

Q. Mr. B. Robinson; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 20*, 671–672.

Cost of training, Account debited with, *Apr. 20*, 683, 684.

Future Service of, Proposals as to.

Q. Mr. E. Gray; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 20*, 684–685.

Superannuation—Amended Rule presented, *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1023.

(Scotland)—Amended Rule presented, *Apr. 25*, 1016, 1023.

Training Colleges.

Ireland—Settlement of 1890, Approval of Commissioners etc.—Claim of Provincial Colleges with respect to Free Homes.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 382–383.

Lists presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Education—cont.

Underfed Children.—Provision of Meals by Local Education Authority, proposed Motion [Mr. C. Hay] Apr. 20, 781.

Wales.

Authorities bringing the Act into Force—Number in each Month since April 1903 etc.

Q. Sir G. White; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 18, 353-354.

Carmarthen County Council—Refusal to administer Act of 1902.

Expenses incurred by Managers, repayment of by the Board and deducted from Grant.

Os. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 26, 1205; Mr. Lloyd-George, 1207.

Inquiry into—Report.

Presented, Apr. 21, 810, 835.

Tabling.

Q. Col. Lockwood; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 21, 836.

Defaulting Authorities, Particulars and Names of.

Q. Mr. A. Davies; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 28, 1445-1446.

Glyn-Traian National School, Draft Final Order for, holding Local Inquiry into.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 27, 1298-1299.

Grants under the Old and New Systems.

Q. Mr. A. Davies; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 28, 1446.

Intermediate Education Act, 1889—Report on Administration presented, Apr. 12, 5; Apr. 19, 483.

Roman Catholic Schools—Numbers, Attendance.

Q. Mr. A. Davies; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 28, 1446.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill

l. 1R.* Apr. 19, 478.

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill

c. Introduced Apr. 26, 1203.

1R.* Apr. 26, 1212.

Debate on Introduction [Commons] Apr. 26, 1203.

Expenses incurred by Managers, repayment of by the Board and deduction from Grant, proposed, 1205.

Inquiry into Educational condition of Carmarthen, 1204, 1207.

Refusal of certain authorities to carry out Provisions of Act of 1902, 1204, 1206.

Expenditure under,

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 28, 1444-1445.

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill—cont.

• Non-provided Schools, Powers of Local Authorities

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, April 28, 1445.

Section 16 of the Act of 1902, suggested substitution for.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Sir W. Anson, Apr. 28, 1444.

Education (Scotland) Bill

Date of Second Reading.

Q. Dr. Farquarson; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 211.

Egypt

Cotton Cultivation.

Report presented, Apr. 13, 76; Apr. 19, 482.

Os. Mr. Rutherford, Apr. 27, 1371; Mr. Fielden, 1377; Mr. Emmott, 1381, 1383; Mr. Lyttelton, 1393.

Finances. Administration and Condition—Report presented, Apr. 12, 41; Apr. 19, 480.

Guaranteed Loan of 1885—Account presented, Apr. 13, 5; Apr. 19, 484.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill

c. 2R.* Apr. 26, 1175.

[No. 2] Bill

l. 1R.* Apr. 22, 942.

[No. 3] Bill

l. 1R.* Apr. 22, 942.

Elibank, Master of, [Edinburgh, Midlothian]

Dockyards, Naval—Appointing Naval Officers as Ordnance Inspectors, Apr. 18, 368.

Ellice, Capt. E. C. [St. Andrews Burghs]

Trawlers, English, Under Norwegian Flag, Apr. 27, 1302.

Elliot Mr. A. B. D. [Durham]

Army Expenditure, Reduction in, proposed, Apr. 21, 877.

Corn Duty, Repeal of—Re-imposition of, proposed, Apr. 21, 874, 875.

South African War, History of—Arrangements for Compilation and Time to be Occupied, Apr. 13, 77.

Ellis, Mr. J. E.—Temporary Chairman of Committees, [Nottingham, Rushcliffe]

House of Commons.

Divisions, Regulations as to Withdrawal of Strangers, Apr. 23, 1490.

Ventilation and Sanitation of, Apr. 23, 1479.

Population, Revenue and Expenditure Return, Granting, Apr. 25, 1058.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Ellis, Mr. J. E.—cont.**Transvaal.**

Chinese Labour, Importation of—Suspended Operations during Prevalence of Plague at Hong-Kong and Johannesburg, *Apr. 18, 374.*

Land Settlement Scheme, Progress of Return—*Apr. 12, 20.*

Magistrates—Date of Granting Return giving Names, Ages, etc., *Apr. 12, 20.*

Mines, Mortality in, *Apr. 12, 19; Apr. 28, 1442.*

Ely Estate, Fermanagh

Decreases for Rent against Tenants—Expediting Sale to Tenants.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 28, 1419-1450.

Elysee Palace Hotel Company Bill

*c. 2R. * Apr. 19, 516.*

Emigration and Immigration

Canada, Increase in Number of Emigrants to.

O. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 25, 1066.

Ireland, Emigration from.

Averages from 1885 to 1903—Effect of Work of Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department, etc.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 14, 203.

Statistics for 1903 presented, *Apr. 18, 352; Apr. 19, 482.*

Report of Board of Trade for 1903, Date of issue of,

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 14, 186.

Statistical Tables for 1903 — Return ordered *Apr. 27, 1287* — Presented, *Apr. 28, 1423.*

Emmott, Mr. A. [Oldham.]

Congo Free State.

British Subjects, Injuries to, Memoranda on, tabling, etc., *Apr. 19, 527-528.*

Natives, Ill-treatment of, Reply to Congo Government, Request for Facts as to, *Apr. 19, 528.*

Cotton in India, Consumption, Growth and Export of, *Apr. 19, 522.*

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27, 1379.*

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27, 1314-17.*

Erne, River.

Laying down young Trout in,

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 26, 1186.

Esmonde, Sir T. G. [Wexford, N.]

Davies v. The Crown, Cause of Delay in settling Case, *Apr. 28, 1436.*

Esmonde, Sir T. G.—cont.

Lanl Purchase—Repayment of Annuities—Tabling Receivable Order from, *Apr. 18, 362.*

Wexford, Fishery Piers in, Construction and Repair of, *Apr. 18, 385.*

Essex Regiment, 2nd Battalion.

Resumption of purple facings and old title "Pompadors" proposed.

Q. Sir Carne Rasch; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 192.

Evictions, Ireland.

Dopping Estate, N., Longford—Case of D. Mulligan.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 28, 1447.

Lloyd's Estate, King's County, Application for Re-instatement by evicted Tenant, etc.

Q. Mr. Reddy; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1054.

Luggacurren Estate, Considering Claims for Re-instatement.

Q. Mr. J. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 393-394.

White Estate, Tenants evicted from, steps to be taken with regard to,

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 533.

Excise.

see Customs and Excise.

Expenditure.

see Revenue and Expenditure.

Explosions.

Curtis and Harvey, Messrs., Factory at Cliffe.

Report presented *Apr. 18, 351; Apr. 19, 481, 518.*

Exports and Imports.

Germany—Imports to, and exports from the United Kingdom during ten years—Return presented, *Apr. 18, 352.*

Factories and Workshops

Hoists and Teagles, Construction, Arrangement and Fencing of—Report presented, *Apr. 28, 1408, 1423.*

Tenement Houses used as Workshops, Inspection of.

Q. Mr. F. Ridley; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 19, 520.

Farquharson, Dr. R. [Aberdeenshire, W.]

Agriculture—Assistant Inspectors—Qualifications excusing a Preliminary Examination, *Apr. 21, 848.*

Education, Scotland, Bill relating to—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 14, 211.*

House of Commons.

Artistic Decorations of, *Apr. 28, 1469.*

Ladies' Gallery, Inadequate Accommodation in, etc., *Apr. 28, 1469.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Farquharson, Dr. R.—cont.House of Commons—*cont.*Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 28*, 1468, 1469.Nigeria, Northern, Military Operations, July, 1903, Tabling Despatches relating to, *Apr. 26*, 1193.Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, *2R. Apr. 15*, 339.War Office Reconstitution Committee Report—Health of the Army—Opportunity for Discussion, *Apr. 13*, 84.**Farrell, J. P.**Ballinacross, Mr. Robinson's Farm at—Sale through Estates Commissioners, Offer alleged, *Apr. 14*, 189.House of Commons—Method of taking Divisions, *Apr. 28*, 1489.

King-Harman Estate.

Compulsory Sale—Circular issued to Tenants by Solicitors, *Apr. 14*, 189.Plant, W. H., Quality and Price of Land offered to—Inspection by Estates Commission Officer, proposed, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Longford.

Cusack Estate, Progress of Sale—Granting Return showing Names of intending Purchasers, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1056; *Apr. 27*, 1304.Dopping Estate—Considering Application of D. Mulligan for Re-instatement, *Apr. 28*, 1447.Drummeel Bog, Obligation of Estates Commissioners to assume Position of Public Trustees of, *Apr. 25*, 1056-1057.White Estate, Sale of, Application of Mary Hand, *Apr. 28*, 1447.Murray, late J., of Rhodesia, Missing Property of, *Apr. 23*, 1442.North Wall Station, Dublin, inadequacy of transit facilities at, *Apr. 27*, 1298.

Post Office.

Postmen's Duties, *Apr. 26*, 1454.Sub-Postmasters, Complaints as to inadequacy of, Remuneration to, *Apr. 26*, 1196.Tea Duty in Ireland—total amount paid up to 31st Mar. 1904. *Apr. 26*, 1189; *Apr. 28*, 1450.**Felixstowe Gas Bill**1. 2R.* *Apr. 28*, 1406.**Fellowes, Mr. A.**

Agriculture.

Education in Great Britain and Abroad, Amounts spent on, *Apr. 25*, 1035.**Fellowes, Mr. A.—cont.**Agriculture—*cont.*Inspectors, Assistant—Qualification—excusing a Preliminary Examination, *Apr. 21*, 848.Number of Persons engaged in England and Wales, *Apr. 18*, 379.Railway Rates, Reduction of, Step taken to effect, 1903-4, *Apr. 25*, 1035-1036.Scotland—Number of Persons engaged in, *Apr. 21*, 847.Animals—Contagious Diseases, Statistics concerning, *Apr. 18*, 362.Anthrax in Norfolk—Compensation for animals dying of the disease, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 185.

Cattle.

Argentine—Prohibition of importation of live cattle from, *Apr. 14*, 199.Canadian, Reason for non-importation of, *Apr. 18*, 390.Fisheries, damage to, by Naval Sweep Trials off Cornwall, *Apr. 28*, 1432.**Fenwick, Mr. C.** [Northumberland, Wansbeck]Mines, Child Labour in—Power of Inspectors to vary hours, *Apr. 13*, 90.**Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J.** [Manchester, N.E.]Birmingham and Southwark Bishoprics Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 21*, 844, 855.**Fermanagh**

Arms Act, Proclamation under.

O. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham. *Apr. 26*, 1185-1186.Land Purchase in—Cases of Delay in Settlements, Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1185.**Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs**Amended regulations to Act presented. *Apr. 19*, 484.**Ffrench, Mr. P.** [Wexford, S.]Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Procedure, Delays, &c., *Apr. 13*, 164.**Field, Mr. W.** [Dublin, St. Patrick]Civil Service Commission, Qualifications of Examiners to, etc., *Apr. 28*, 1426.Contracts for the Army, exclusion of Irish Firms, *Apr. 14*, 234, 235, 254.Crown and Quit Rents, Total Amount of—Provision of Forestry Department from, *Apr. 18*, 387.Dublin—Board of Trade Branch, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1178-1179.Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 466.[*cont.*]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Field, Mr. W.—cont.

Exchequer and Audit Officials, Number Rank and Stations of, *Apr. 28, 1428.*

Gambling in futures in Cotton, &c.
Inquiry proposed, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 18 394, 395.*

Stamp duty suggested, *Apr. 26, 1179.*

Ireland, Bank of, Savings Banks Stock transfer to, proposed, *Apr. 27, 1290.*

Navy, Bread Contract for—Acceptance of highest tender at Berehaven, *Apr. 25, 1026.*

Patent Office, Irish Branch proposed, *Apr. 26, 1178.*

Stationery supplied to Irish Public Offices—Amount paid, names of contractors, &c., *Apr. 27, 1287.*

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, 2 R., *Apr. 15, 332.*

Fielder, Mr. E. B. [Lancashire, Middleton]

Cotton Industry, condition of, *Apr. 27, 1373.*

Financial Secretary to the Admiralty

Mr. E. G. Pretyman.

Financial Secretary to the War Office

Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport.

Finlay, Sir R. B.—Attorney-General [Inverness Burghs]**Army.**

Act—Reprinting with Amendments, proposed, *Apr. 14, 291.*

Courts of Inquiry, powers of, and method of procedure, *Apr. 13, 149; Apr. 14, 291.*

Army (Annual) Bill, *Apr. 18, Com. 476.*

Solicitors.

Defaulting — Creation of a Public Trustee, *Apr. 18, 356.*

Malpractices by—Number struck off the roll since 1899, *Apr. 14, 186.*

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R. *Apr. 22, 1002.*

Fintona

Loan Fund Society, Financial position of, etc.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 12, 23.

First Commissioner of Works

Lord Windsor.

First Lord of the Admiralty

Earl of Selborne

First Lord of the Treasury

Mr. Arthur J. Balfour.

Fiscal Policy**Preferential Tariffs.**

Colonial Resolutions as to.

Q. Sir G. Parker; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 372-373,

Qs. Sir G. Parker, Major Seely; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 20, 679.

New Zealand proposal.

Os. Earl Beauchamp, Apr. 21, 830; Duke of Marlborough, 830, 832; Marquess of Ripon 831, 832; Lord Tweedmouth, 831; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 832.

Government Policy at ensuing general election.

Q. Mr. Black; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 211.

Fisher, Mr. W. H. [Fulham]

Aliens Bill, 2R. *Apr. 25, 1091.*

Fisheries

Battleships speed trials on measured mile at Polperro, Damage done to fishing industry by—Question of compensation, etc.

Os. Lord Tweedmouth, Apr. 26, 1170; Lord Selborne 1173.

Q. Sir L. Molesworth; A. Mr. A. Fellowes, Apr. 28, 1431-1432.

Ireland.

American Duty on Irish Mackerel, Increase of—Addressing Representation to U. S. A. Government.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 18, 377.

Erne, River, laying down young Trout in.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 26, 1185.

Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund—Transfer of powers from Works Department to Agriculture Department, *Apr. 19, 484.*

Wexford Piers, Construction and Repair of.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 385.

Youghal Bay Salmon Fisheries—Restrictions placed on Fishermere, taking steps as to.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 27, 1306.

Scotland.

Clyde—Foreign trawlers and sale of immature fish—Legislation to remove anomalies proposed.

O. Marquess of Huntly, Apr. 19, 513.

Moray Firth—Landing regulations for foreign vessels—Legislation to remove anomalies proposed.

Os. Marquess of Huntly, Apr. 19, 512; Earl of Onslow, 514.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Fisheries—cont.

Scotland—cont.

Protection of, Names of Vessels engaged in.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 19, 532.

Sea.

North Sea—Convention of powers for protection of immature fish proposed.

Os. Lord Tweedmouth, Apr. 19, 504, 509; Lord Heneage, 506.

Sea Fisheries Bill *see that title*.

Trawling *see that title*.

Fitzmaurice, Lord E. G. [Wiltshire, Cricklade]

War Office Cottages in Wiltshire, Notices to quit, Apr. 26, 1181.

Flavin, Mr. M. J. [Kerry, N.]

Dogs, Exemption of from vivisection experiments proposed, Apr. 13, 130.

Land Purchase Annuities, Calculation of, under different Acts, etc., Apr. 18, 365–366.

Lisburn Disturbances—Police Protection, etc., Apr. 19, 668.

Tibet expedition, Shells for, Apr. 14, 193.

Foreign Office

Secretary of State—Marquess of Lansdowne.

Under Secretary—Earl Percy.

Forster, Sergeant, I. Y.

Arrears of Pay due to, Cause of Delay in Payment.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 28, 1439–1440.

Foster, Sir M. [London University]

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, Apr. 28, 1464.

War Office Reconstitution Committee Report—Health of the Army—Discussion, Apr. 12, 23.

Foster, Sir B. W. [Derbyshire, Ilkeston]

Cigarettes, Consumption of, in 1903–4, Apr. 22, 956.

Danyasz's Virus for Rat Destruction, Experiments with, at Cape Town, Apr. 20, 678.

Devon and Cornwall, Provision of harbours of refuge in, proposed, Apr. 23, 1524.

House of Commons—Ventilation, sanitation, heating and lighting arrangements, Apr. 28, 1472–4.

Plague.

Hong Kong—Number of cases from Jan. to Mar. 1904, Apr. 14, 195.

India—Deaths in Bombay and Bengal from 27 Feb. to 26 Mar., Apr. 13, 78.

Foster, Sir B. W.—cont.

Poor Law Children, Number of, boarded out in England and Wales, Apr. 21, 836.

Poor Law Institutions, Corporal punishment in, Apr. 27, 1291.

Weights and Measures Bill, 2k. Apr. 15, 325.

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. [Wolverhampton, E.]

Asia, British and Russian spheres of interest in, amicable definition of, proposed, Apr. 13, 124, 125.

Budget, General policy of, affording opportunity for discussion of, Apr. 19, 537.

Expenditure, Growth of, Apr. 19, 603; Apr. 27, 1347.

Responsibility of the Prime Minister, Apr. 19, 592, 597.

Financial position of the country, Gravity of, Apr. 19, 602, 603, 605, 606.

Indian Coolie Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana—Transvaal Labour Ordinance—Dates of publishing Ordinances, Apr. 18, 374.

Sinking Fund, Suspension of, Objections to, Apr. 19, 596.

Tea Duty, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget Proposal, Apr. 19, 593; Apr. 27, 1346, 1348.

Tibet Expedition, Objects of Policy of H.M. Government, etc., Apr. 13, 122–125.

Transvaal—Departmental Supplies, Commission of Crown Agents for Purchase of, Apr. 25, 1044.

Valuation Bill, Intro., Apr. 26, 1203.

France

Accident and Sickness Insurance Law, Granting Return relative to.

Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 20, 672.

Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.

Bill, Introduction of, and Presentation of further Papers.

Os. Earl Spencer, Apr. 19, 485; Marquess of Lansdowne, 486.

Despatch Forwarding Agreements Presented, Apr. 12, 5; Apr. 19, 480.

Discussion in the House, Opportunity for.

Qs. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Mr. E. Robertson, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. G. Bowles; As. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 207, 208, 209, 210.

Os. Earl Spencer, Apr. 19, 485; Marquess of Lansdowne, 486.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

France—cont.**Arbitration—cont.**

Newfoundland French Shore.

Establishments to be relinquished.

Q. Mr. Moon; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 20*, 677.

Indemnity, Payment of.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 14*, 210.

Suez Canal Convention—Suspension of Paragraphs prescribing Annual Meeting of Agents.

Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; As. Earl Percy, *Apr. 14*, 196, 197.**Text.**

Date of Publication of.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 12*, 26.

Variations in French and English Texts—Binding Version.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 18*, 376.

Education—Underfed children in Paris, Meals for—success of system.

O. Mr. C. Hay, *Apr. 20*, 787.

Navy—Total Warship tonnage 1895 and 1904.

Q. Mr. Yerburch; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25*, 1028.Paris, *see that title*.

Siam, Agreements with—Publication of Terms.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 19*, 529-530.Trade Reports presented, *Apr. 28*, 1407.**Franchise**

Companies' Act, limited by—Proposed Amendment of Act.

Q. Mr. E. Gray; A. Mr. G. Lawson, *Apr. 20*, 685.**Funded and Unfunded Debts***See National Debt.***Galloway, Mr. W. J. [Manchester, S.W.]**Ritualistic Practices in the Church, Adjournment to Discuss, proposed, *Apr. 19*, 596.**Galway**

Constabulary Constable, Alleged Assault by.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 391-392.

Docks, Dredging, Entrance to.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1304.

Telephone Communication with Dublin, establishing.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 27*, 1302.**Gambling**

Futures, Dealing in.

Inquiry, proposed.

Qs. Mr. Field; As. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 12*, 7; *Apr. 18*, 394, 395.**Gambling—cont.**

Futures, Dealing in—cont.

Stamp Duty, proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1179.**Gault Estate**

Compulsory Sale, Reason for Delay of—Defect in Title, alleged.

O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13*, 161.**Germany**

Accident and Sickness Insurance Laws, Granting Return, relative to.

Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 21*, 672.

Emperor of, Admitting, to View Defence Works at Gibraltar.

Q. Sir C. Rasch; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26*, 1192.**Navy.**

Increase in Construction.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 45.

Total Warship Tonnage, 1895 and 1904.

Q. Mr. Yerburch; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25*, 1028.Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 481; *Apr. 26*, 1168.Trade with—Exports to United Kingdom and Imports from, Value of—Return presented, *Apr. 18*, 352.**Gibbs, Hon. Alban G. H. [London]**Letter Delivery in City of London—Earlier Delivery in Morning, proposed. *Apr. 15*, 297.**Gibraltar**

Defences of.

German Emperor, permitting, to view, etc.

Q. Sir C. Rasch; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26*, 1192.

Regulations as to Admission of Foreigners to View.

Q. Mr. Yerburch; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25*, 1026-1027.**Gilbert Islands**

Maladministration and Injustice, alleged—Inquiry—tabling Report, proposed.

Q. Mr. C. Wason; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 27*, 1294, 1295.**Gilhooly, Mr. J. [Cork Co., E.]**Castletown, Berehaven and Bantry Harbours, Dredging of, *Apr. 19*, 533.Castletown Postal Service, Improvement of, *Apr. 19*, 537.White Estate, Tenants evicted from, *Apr. 19*, 533.**Glyn-Traian**

National School at, Draft Final Order for, holding Local Inquiry into.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 27*, 1298-1299.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Goddard, Mr. D. F. [Ipewich]

House of Commons—Fire, steps taken to safeguard the buildings from, etc., *Apr. 28, 1471.*

Gold Coast Colony

Railway, Government—Purchase of Coal through Crown Agents—Average Price, etc.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 367.

Gomersal Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 21, 798.*

Gordon, Major W. Evans [Tower Hamlets, Stepney]

Aliens Bill, *2R. Apr. 25, 1083, 1115.*

House of Commons, Telephone Accommodation, Inadequacy of, *Apr. 28, 1461.*

Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. [Cambridge University]

Army Expenditure, Reduction in, proposed, *Apr. 21, 864.*

Budget—Deficit on Budget of 1903-4, Methods of meeting, *Apr. 21, 863.*

Education.

Ireland—Primary, Antiquated and Inadequate System of, *Apr. 18, 414.*

Underfed Children—Provision of Meals by Local Education Authority, proposed, *Apr. 20, 789.*

Navy—Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 21, 864.*

Taxation—War Taxes, Necessity for continuing, *Apr. 27, 1336, 1337.*

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 27, 1337, 1338.*

Transvaal, Central African Labourers in, Mortality among, Tabling Papers, *Apr. 28, 1442.*

Goschen, Visc.

Outdoor (Relief Friendly Societies) Bill, *2R. Apr. 21, 825.*

Gosport Water Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 19, 516.*

Government Insurances and Annuities

Account presented, *Apr. 12, 6.*

Government Stock

Unclaimed Dividend Account, realisation of—Budget proposal.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 552-3 ; Sir M. H. Beach, 586 ; Mr. McCrae, 623 ; Mr. McKenna, 628 ; Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 21, 881 ; Mr. J. Walton, 911.

Amount remaining after deduction, methods adopted to trace Stockholders, etc.

Q. Sir J. Leng ; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 27, 1288.

Grant, Mr. C. [Warwickshire, Rugby]

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill, *Con. Apr. 14, 265.*

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20, 751.*

Grants-in-aid

System of, objections to.

O. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 28, 1504, 1505.

Gray, Mr. E. [West Ham, N.]

Anthrax, animals slaughtered on account of, payment of, Compensation out of local rates, *Apr. 15, 331*

Companies Act, Franchise limited by—Proposed Amendment of Act, *Apr. 20, 685.*

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, *2R. Apr. 15, 328.*

Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. [Northumberland, Berwick]

Pupil Teachers.

Future Service of, Proposals as to, *Apr. 20, 684.*

Training, Cost of, Account debited with, *Apr. 20, 683, 684.*

Great Central Railway Bill

c Rep. Apr. 20, 669.*

Con. Apr. 26, 1174.*

Great Eastern Railway Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 21, 798.*

Great Eastern Railway (Steamboats) Bill

Rep. Apr. 26, 1135.*

Great Northern and City Railway, (Extension of Time) Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 26, 1165.*

Great Northern Railway Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Greece

Loan of 1898—Account presented, *Apr. 12, 5 ; Apr. 19, 484.*

Gretton, Mr. T. [Derbyshire, S]

Licensing Bill, Intro. *Apr. 20, 707*

Weights and Measures Bill, *2R. Apr. 15, 314, 324.*

Griffith, Mr. E. T. [Anglesey]

School Accommodation at Barton-on-Humber, Hayward's Heath, Weymouth and Plaistow—Decision of the Board, *Apr. 15, 298, 299.*

Groves, Mr. T. G. [Salford, S.]

Licensing Bill, Intro. *Apr. 20, 749.*

Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill, *2R. Apr. 16, 348*

Guiana, British

see British Guiana.

Guns

see under Army and Navy.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Gardon, Sir W. B. [Norfolk, N.]Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1399.Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1256.Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 21*, 872.Tobacco, Tax on Cigars and Cigarettes, *Apr. 19*, 692 ; *Apr. 21*, 871.Transvaal Loan, delay in issue of, *Apr. 21*, 873.**Kalbeath, Fifehire**

Railway Level Crossing at, Providing Suitable Protection.

Q. Mr. Weir ; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1050-1051.**Haldane, Rt. Hon. R. B.** [Haddington]Expenditure of the Country, Increase in *Apr. 19*, 580, 581.Income Tax, Additional 1d. in the Pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 579.Prosperity of the Country, Decline in, *Apr. 19*, 578.Sinking Fund, Suspension of—Objections to, *Apr. 19*, 578.Taxation, Incidence of, Inquiry into, proposed, *Apr. 19*, 582.Tea Duty, Additional 2d. per Pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 579.**Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Bill**c. Rep.* *Apr. 20*, 695.**Halsbury, Earl of, Lord Chancellor**Hartismere, Lord—Writ issued to—Vacation of Entry in Journals, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1013.Prevention of Corruption Bill—Power of Veto by Attorney-General, *Apr. 26*, 1168, 1170.**Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G.** [Middlesex, Ealing]Tibet Expedition, Objects of—Policy of H.M. Government, *Apr. 13*, 105-110.**Hampton-in-Arden Gas Bill**l. Rep.* *Apr. 26*, 1165.**Harbours**

See Piers and Harbours.

Harcourt, Mr. L. V. [Lancs., Rossendale]Cotton Industry—International Conference proposed, *Apr. 25*, 1060.**Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. V.** [Monmouthshire, W.]Business of the House, Suspending Twelve o'clock Rule, *Apr. 20*, 694-696.**Hardwicke, Earl of** — *Under-Secretary for India.*Tibet Expedition, Expenses of, defraying, out of the revenues of India, *Apr. 19*, 484.**Harlow and Sawbridgeworth Gas Bill**c. 2R.* *Apr. 18*, 349.**Harmsworth, Mr. R. L.** [Caithness]Centurion, H.M.S.—Gun Sights, defective condition of, *Apr. 18*, 358-359.**Harris, Dr. F. R.** [Camberwell, Dulwich]Poor Law Guardians — Nominating ex-officials in receipt of Pensions, *Apr. 18*, 361.**Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill**c. Con.* *Apr. 26*, 1174.**Harte Estate.**

Compulsory sale — Delays and irregularities alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 156.**Hartismere, Lord** [Lord Henniker]Sat first in Parliament after the death of his father, *Apr. 21*, 797.

Entry in journals, and signature on Test Roll, vacation of,

Motion [Earl of Halsbury] *Apr. 25*, 1013.**Harwood, Mr. G.** [Bolton]Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1389.Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1355.**Haslar Hospital**

Free Use of Haslar Bridge, making Arrangements for,

Q. Dr. Macnamara ; A. Mr. A. Lee, *Apr. 18*, 369.**Haslett, Sir J. H.** [Belfast, N.]

Education, Ireland.

Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 443.Teachers — *Status* and remuneration grievances, *Apr. 18*, 444.**Haulbowline Dockyard**Melampus, H.M.S., repairing, at, Q. Capt. Donelan ; A. Mr. Pretymen, *Apr. 20*, 675.**Hay, Mr. C. G. D.** [Shoreditch, Hoxton]Army—Ordnance Department—Labourers' Wages in Ireland, *Apr. 19*, 526.Civil Service Clerks, Promotion of—Medical examinations, Alteration of rules, *Apr. 14*, 184.Education — Underfed Children — Provision of meals by Local Education Authority proposed, *Apr. 20*, 781.Police, Metropolitan, Pensions to Good Service for, Authority for Granting, *Apr. 25*, 1033.Special service for—Regulations as to Constables, *Apr. 27*, 1292.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Hayden, Mr. J. P. [Roscommon, S.]

Constabulary, Galway, Alleged assault by Constable in, *Apr. 18*, 391-392.

Mullingar Resident Magistrate and Lunacy Cases, *Apr. 26*, 1183.

Queen's College, Ireland.

Cork, at, President of—Length of Residence during last three years, *Apr. 26*, 1184-1185.

Deputy Presidents, Names, Salaries, etc., *Apr. 19*, 532-533.

Hayward's Heath

School Accommodation, Provision of.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 298.

Q. Mr. J. Hope; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 21*, 835-836.

Heaton, Mr. J. H. [Canterbury]

Solicitors.

Defaulting—Creation of a Public Trustee, *Apr. 18*, 355-356.

Number struck off the roll since 1891, *Apr. 14*, 186.

Helme, Mr. N. W. [Lancashire, Lancaster]

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1402.

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H. [Tyrone, N.]

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Hardship inflicted on poorer classes in Ireland by, *Apr. 26*, 1271.

Henderson, Mr. A. [Durham, Barnard Castle]

Liquor Licences, Refusals to renew, Statistics as to, *Apr. 28*, 1429.

Heneage, Lord

Sea Fisheries Bill, *Com Apr. 19*, 506, 513.

Henniker, Lord [Lord Hartismere]

Sat first in Parliament after the death of his father, *Apr. 21*, 797.

Entry in journals, and signature on Test Roll, Vacation of.

Motion [Earl of Halsbury] *Apr. 25*, 1013.

Herbert Estate

Compulsory sale—Concealment of facts by Land Judges' Court, alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 154.

Hertford, County of

Light Railways—Order presented, *Apr. 19*, 519.

Polling Districts—County Council Order altering certain polling districts presented, *Apr. 13*, 76.

Hickman, Sir A. [Wolverhampton]

Public Health Acts Amendment Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 25*, 1031.

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R. *Apr. 22*, 97.

Highbury

Telegraph Clerks, Hours of Duty,

Q. Mr. Lough; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 25*, 1178.

Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission)

Bath, Marquess of—Report on Manuscripts presented, *Apr. 25*, 1017, 1023.

Hobhouse, Mr. C. E. H. [Bristol, E.]

Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and France, *Apr. 14*, 207, 208.

Army.

Administrative Districts under Esher Scheme, Cost of Staffs, *Apr. 21*, 842.

Army Corps Scheme, abandonment of, *Apr. 14*, 284.

Director of Supplies and Transports, appointing experts, *Apr. 28*, 1440.

Guns, Calibre of, expense entailed by number of different calibres in use, *Apr. 14*, 215.

Imprisonment of soldiers in Devises Gaol—character of offences, etc., *Apr. 14*, 190.

Mowatt Commission, date of issue of Report, *Apr. 14*, 252.

Ordnance Department, establishment of buying section, *Apr. 14*, 252.

Personnel, Director of, Duties, Emoluments, Staff, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1192.

Stores, buying of, decentralisation of, *Apr. 14*, 256.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R. *Apr. 13*, 140.

Somaliland Campaign

Illig, Fort, in Italian Territory, Capture of, by British, *Apr. 28*, 1439.

Italian Territory, Mullah in—Political and Military Advantage gained by War, *Apr. 25*, 1046-1047.

Cost of—Position of Mullah, *Apr. 18*, 371.

South African War—Official History, utilising Col. Henderson's Preface for, *Apr. 25*, 1041-1042.

Tunis and Madagascar, Trade with, Value of—Statistics for, 1896, 1903, &c., *Apr. 14*, 200.

War Office Reconstitution Committee—Recommendations of Adoption of—Allowing Opportunity for Discussion, *Apr. 26*, 1197.

Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. [Somersetshire, E.]

Ale and Beerhouses—granting Return showing Estimated Funds for Compensation, *Apr. 25*, 1033.

Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 21*, 920, 921.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Holland, Sir W. H. [Yorkshire W.R., Rotherham]

Alcohol required for manufacturing purposes, duty on, objections to, *Apr. 19, 631.*

Expenditure, increase in—magnitude of deficits, etc., *Apr. 19, 630.*

Tea, Additional 2d per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19, 631.*

Holyhead

Harbour, provision of facilities for landing passengers and goods,

O. Mr. E. Griffith, Apr. 28, 1511, 1512; Mr. W. Jones, 1517; Mr. G. Balfour, 1524.

Home Office

Secretary of State—Mr. A. Akers-Douglas.

Under Secretary—Mr. T. H. Cochrane.

Hong Kong

Plague—Number of Cases from Jan. to Mar. 1904.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 14, 195.

Hope, Mr. J. F.

 [Sheffield, Brightside]

Army—Batteries, proportion to be made in Government Arsenals, and by contract, *Apr. 14, 222.*

Death Duties, increase in, proposed, *Apr. 21, 909.*

Financial position of the country, *Apr. 21, 905, 906.*

Hayward's Heath, New School at, *Apr. 21, 835.*

Navy.

Battleships, Armament for, date of placing orders, *Apr. 12, 51.*

Cruisers, Designs for, date of issuing, *Apr. 12, 51.*

Tea, Additional duty of 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 21, 908.*

War Preparation for—Appointment of Select Committee to inquire into present financial system proposed, *Apr. 15, 82.*

Weights and Measures Bill, 2a. *Apr. 15, 320.*

House of Commons

see Parliament.

Huddersfield Corporation Act 1902 (Amendment) Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 19, 516.*

Rep. Apr. 27, 1285.*

Hull

Animals landing place—Order presented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19, 483.*

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 20, 669.*

Con. Apr. 26, 1175.*

Humphreys-Owen, Mr. A. C.

 [Montgomery]

Cardigan Bay, Provision of Harbours of Refuge, Proposed, *Apr. 28, 1529.*

Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Legal Expenses of, *Apr. 26, 1180.*

South African War—White Paper No. 155 of 1902, Return in Continuation of, *Apr. 27, 1290.*

Hunt, Mr. R.

 [Shropshire, Ludlow]

Army Rifles, New Pattern, testing of—testing in India, *Apr. 28, 1441.*

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27, 1403.*

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 26, 1283.*

Huntly, Marquess of

Sea Fisheries Bill, com. Apr. 19, 512.

Hutchesons Hospital and Hutchesons Educational Trust Bill

l. 2R., Apr. 21, 798.

Debate on Second Reading (Lords) Apr. 21, 798.

Appeal to Court of Session suggested, 804, 807, 808.

Education, Amount of Trust apportioned to—Revision etc., 799, 801, 804, 808.

Expenses of Governors in promoting Bill, Payment of, out of Fund, 805.

Management by patrons and governors—constitution of managing bodies, etc., 799.

Origin and objects of the Fund, 798.

Pensions, Amount allotted to, 799, 801, 804, 808.

Schools, Sale of, to Glasgow School Board, 801, 804, 808.

Hutchinson, Dr.

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, 2a., *Apr. 15, 341.*

Hyde Park

Motor Cars, Roads prohibited to—exhibition of notices.

Q. Mr. Bull; A. Lord Balcarres, Apr. 25, 1052–1053.

Vagrants in, introducing Legislation as to. *Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 25, 1050.*

Iceland

Trade Report, presented, *Apr. 21, 810.*

Immature Fish, Protection of

Sea Fisheries Bill, see that title.

Immigration

see Emigration and Immigration.

Imports

see Exports and Imports.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Income Tax

Additional ld. in the Pound—Budget proposal.

Class of Persons on whom the burden will fall.

O. Sir M. H. Beech, *Apr. 19*, 590.

References to in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 560, 577, 579, 589, 590, 591, 613, 623; *Apr. 21*, 859, 860, 872, 883, 909, 917; *Apr. 27*, 1315.

Africa, South, Garrison in—Clerks' Salaries—Refunding Deductions, proposed.

Q. Sir J. Rolleston; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*, 191.

Ballinvara Creamery, Appeal from, Fixing Date for hearing.

Q. Mr. Landon; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 20*, 688-689.

Collection of.

Difficulties of, etc.—Referring questions to Departmental Committee.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 561; Mr. Ritchie, 577; Mr. Haldane, 579; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 860; Mr. Broadhurst, 878; Mr. J. Walton, 915, 916.

Scotch and English Methods, Assimilation of.

Q. Mr. Ainsworth; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 23*, 1443-1444.

United Kingdom, in—Granting Return for January, February and March.

Q. Sir J. Stirling Maxwell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 18*, 355.

Financial Reserve in time of War.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 560; Sir M. H. Beach, 589; Mr. Ashton, 613; Mr. Ritchie, *Apr. 21*, 869.

General Prosperity of Great Britain as compared with other Countries.

Os. Mr. McKenna, *Apr. 26*, 1245.

Graduation of, proposed.

References to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 21*, 883, 909, 923, 931-933; *Apr. 26*, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1250, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256.

Referring Question to Committee of Inquiry.

Q. Mr. Trevelyan; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1048.

References to, in Debate on the Budget, 931, 1245, 1247, 1253, 1254, 1257.

Limit of exemption.

O. Mr. Lough, *Apr. 26*, 1257.

Mariners, Exemption of—Inconsistencies on the part of the Board of Inland Revenue with regard to.

Os. Lord Muskerry, *Apr. 25*, 1017; Earl of Donoughmore, 1019.

Income Tax—cont.

Number of Persons paying—Inaccuracies of Returns, etc.

Os. Mr. McKenna, *Apr. 26*, 1245, 1246; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1253.

Railway Season Tickets, allowing Deduction of Cost of, in Income Tax Assessments.

Q. Mr. Slack; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1188-1189.

Remissions of—Shortening and Simplifying procedure as to, proposed.

O. Mr. G. Whiteley, *Apr. 26*, 1249.

India

Secretary of State—Mr. St. John Brodrick.

Under-Secretary—Earl of Hardwicke.

Agricultural Banks in.

Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 28*, 1432-1433.

Army—Guns, New Pattern of Quick-firing, experiments with.

Os. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr. 14*, 215; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 218.

Burma Police Force, Grievances of, taking steps to remedy,

Q. Sir S. King; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 25*, 1036-1037.

Census—Report presented *Apr. 25*, 1017, 1023.

Coinage—Rupees coined each year 1893-1944, Government Profits, etc.

Q. Mr. Schwann; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 21*, 839-841.

Coolie Labour imported into British Colonies.

Civil Rights, etc., insisted on by Indian Government.

Q. Major Seely; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 25*, 1046.

Trinidad and British Guiana, to—Date of publishing Ordinances,

Q. Sir H. Fowler; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 18*, 374.

Ordinance presented *Apr. 19*, 479.

Cooper's Hill Engineering College—Closing.

Os. Sir M. Bhownaggee; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 27*, 1296.

Cotton.

Consumption, Growth and Export of.

Q. Mr. Emmott; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 19*, 522.

Cultivation of better class Cotton.

Os. Mr. Rutherford, *Apr. 27*, 1373; Mr. Fielden, 1377; Mr. Emmott, 1382; Mr. S. Smith, 1386.

Customs and Excise—Liquors and Drugs. Amount of Revenue derived from, 1901-1903.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 15*, 299.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

India—cont.

Excise Legislation, Instructions to Provincial Administrations — Bengal Excise Bill.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 20*, 680-681.

Irrigation—Return presented, *Apr. 25*, 1023

Irrigation Works—Construction, Position of, and Expenditure on Return ordered, *Apr. 20*, 671.

Land Revenue—Defaulters, Statement of number of Processes against presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 481.

Loans raised in England—Return presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 483.

Official Secrets (Amendment) Act 1904—Copy presented *Apr. 18*, 352; *Apr. 19*, 481.

Plague—Deaths in Bombay and Bengal, from 27 Feb. to 26 Mar.

Q. Sir. W. Foster; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 13*, 78.

Police Commission's Report.

Date of Tabling.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 20*, 681.

Delay in Publishing.

Q. Sir S. King; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 21*, 841-842.

Orders, Date of Issue.

Q. Sir S. King; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 14*, 188.

Railways.

Bombay-Scinde Connection, Objections of the Rao of Cutch.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 25*, 1036.

Construction, Position of, and Expenditure on—Return Ordered, *Apr. 20*, 671; Return presented, *Apr. 25*, 1023.

South African Garrison, Contributions towards Expenditure—Tabling Indian Dissents.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 25*, 1036.

Tea Industry—Effect of Additional Tax on.

Os. Sir M. Bhownaggee, *Apr. 19*, 616, 617; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 636, 637; Mr. Lough, 641, 642; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 643-646; Mr. Lough, *Apr. 26*, 1265-6; Mr. Weir, *Apr. 27*, 1312; Mr. Coghill, 1318; Sir J. Gorat, 1337, 1338; Mr. T. Taylor, 1344, 1345.

Telegraph Rates to, Securing Reduction of,

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 18*, 375.

Tibet, *see that title*.

Tilak, Mr., Prosecution of, for Forgery and Perjury—Expenditure, Authority responsible for Prosecution, etc.

Os. Mr. Weir, Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 14*, 187.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 26*, 1194.

India—cont.

Viceroy of.

Administration, Criticisms on.

Os. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 13*, 95, 96, 97; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 99; Sir H. Fowler, 123; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 132.

Policy, Criticisms on, Possibility of Discussing except on Special Motion.

Os. Mr. S. MacNeill, *Apr. 13*, 96; Mr. J. W. Lowther, 97.

Wheat and Flour—Amount Exported in 1902-3, etc.

Q. Mr. H. Craig; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 14*, 186.

Indian Councils Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 12*, 27.

Inland Revenue

Dublin Collection — Amount 1902-3 — Amount for Local Taxation Licences — Forwarding Money to London, etc.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 25*, 1057.

Excise Branch—Spirits—Regulations as to Spirits Issued from Bond for Home Consumption.

Os. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 14*, 198, 199.

Illegal Demand for Payment of Claims, Retention of Money so Paid, etc., Alleged.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 14*, 197.

Law Relating to, Amendment of—Resolution.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *Apr. 26*, 1239, 1241; Mr. McKenna, 1239, 1241, 1243; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1239, 1241; Mr. J. H. Lewis, 1241; Mr. Lough, 1242; Mr. Buchanan, 1242.

Insurance

Accident and Sickness—Continental Laws, granting Return relative to.

Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 20*, 672.

Government Insurances and Annuities—Account presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 483.

Marine Insurance Bill—Date of Re-Introduction.

Q. Mr. C. McArthur; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 13*, 83.

Intestates' Estates

Crown's Nominee Account presented, *Apr. 12*, 5.

Ipswich Dock Commission Bill

c. 2R.* *Apr. 12*, 1.

Rep.* *Apr. 22*, 950.

Ireland

Lord Lieutenant—Earl of Dudley.

Chief Secretary—Mr. George Wyndham.

Lord Chancellor—Lord Ashbourne.

Attorney-General—Mr. J. Atkinson.

Apr. 12—Apr. 22.

Ireland—cont.

Academy of Music, Royal—Lack of Accommodation—Granting College of Science Building to.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 388-389.

Agrarian Offences—Return presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 481.

Agriculture, *see that title*.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, *see that title*.

Ancient Monuments, *see that title*.

Army Contracts, *see under Army*.

Ballyboy, Evicted Farm at, using, as Artillery Parade Ground.

Q. Mr. Cullinan; A. Mr. Arnold-Foster, *Apr. 18*, 394.

Ballinacross, Mr. Robinson's Farm at—Sale through Estates Commissioners, alleged offer.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Ballinaaloe, *see that title*.

Ballinvaan Creamery—Income Tax Appeal—fixing Date for hearing.

Q. Mr. London; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 20*, 688-689.

Bank of Ireland.

Government Money passing through, Arrangements as to.

Q. Mr. J. Redmond; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1058-1059.

Preference given to, in Collection of Land Tax Annuities.

Q. Major Coates; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 20*, 689.

Q. Mr. C. Craig; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 21*, 846-847.

Savings Bank Stock, Transfer of, to Bank of Ireland, proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 27*, 1290.

Bankruptcy Courts—Addition of Armagh to Belfast—Order, *Apr. 19*, 484.

Bantry Harbour, dredging of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Berehaven, *see that title*.

Blaris, Hurling Matches at.

Cost of Extra Police on Duty for, etc.

Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. T. W. Russell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 20*, 687-688.

Prohibition of; on Sunday—Payment of Extra Police.

Q. Mr. C. Craig; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 21*, 852-854.

Blessington and Dublin Steam Tramway—Compensation for Accidents—Names of Claimants, etc.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 361-362.

Ireland—cont.

Board of Works—Lodging Receivable Orders at any Bank.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 18*, 385-386.

Bonamargy Ruins, Custody of.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 21*, 850.

Borrisokane, Tipperary—Allowing use of Workhouse for Technical Classes.

Q. Mr. P. J. O'Brien; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 392-393.

Butson Estate, Galway—Purchase of Abbeylands, Agreement as to.

Q. Mr. Roche; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1451-1452.

Cahirciveen River Estuary Buoya, Authority having power to erect.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 20*, 686.

Castletown, *see that title*.

Children, deaf and dumb, introducing Legislation as to.

Q. Mr. Clancy; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Cleggan Harbour, Conuemara, Date of commencing Improvements to.

Q. Mr. O'Malley; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 386.

Clones Petty Sessions—Case of Dr. Tierney—Official action by Lord Chancellor proposed.

Q. G. Boscawen; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 13*, 78.

Colelogh Estate, Compulsory Sale of—Reasons for delay.

O. Mr. Ffrench, *Apr. 13*, 169.

Cork, *see that title*.

Corofin, United Irish League Meeting at, Reason for Police Attendance.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Cusack Estate, Longford, Progress of Sale—Granting Return showing Names of intending Purchasers, etc.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1056.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1304.

Deeds, Registration of, System of, Duties payable, etc.

Q. Mr. Clancy; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 18*, 381-382.

Dingle Guardians, Refund of Surcharge against.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 386.

Dohern National School, Reason for Closing.

Q. Mr. P. A. M'Hugh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Dunard, Wicklow, Postal Arrangements in.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 19*, 521.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Ireland—cont.

Dopping Estate, N. Longford—Considering Application of D. Mulligan for Reinstalment.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 18, 1447.*

Down (Co.) Assizes—Composition of Grand Jury.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 22.*

Droumtacher National School, Salary of Principal Teacher at—Inspection of School, etc.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 364.*

Drammeel Bog, Longford, Obligation of Estates Commissioners to Assume Position of Public Trustees of.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1056-1057*; Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28, 1450-1451.*

Dublin, *see that title.*

Duggan Estate, Compulsory Sale, Delay, etc.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 155.*

Education, *see that title.*

Ely Estate, Fermanagh, Decrees for Rent against Tenants—Expediting Sale.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28, 1449-1450.*

Emigration from.

Average from 1885 to 1903—Effect of Work of Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department, etc.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham. A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14, 203.*

Statistics for 1903 presented, *Apr. 18, 352*; *Apr. 19, 482.*

Epidemics in Schools, Regulations as to Closing, Teacher's Salary, etc.

Q. Mr. S. Young; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1055-1056.*

Erne River, Laying down young Trout, in.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26, 1186.*

Fermanagh, *see that title.*

Fisheries, *see that title.*

Galway, *see that title.*

Gault Estate, Compulsory Sale of—Reasons for Delay—Defective Title, alleged.

O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13, 161.*

Government Buildings in — Excluding Firms from Tendering.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 26, 1187-1188.*

Harte Estate, Compulsory Sale of—Delay and irregularities alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 156.*

Haulbowline Dockyard, repairing of H.M.S. Melampus, at.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 20, 875.*

Herbert Estate, Compulsory sale of — Alleged concealment of facts by Land Judge's Court.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 154.*

Ireland—cont.

Housing of Working Classes—Date of introducing Legislation, etc.

Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1035.*

Killarney, establishing Telephone Communication with,

Q. Mr. Murphy; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 25, 1060.*

King Estate, Compulsory sale of—reason for delay, etc.

O. Mr. Ffrench, *Apr. 13, 167.*

King-Harman Estate, Compulsory sale of —Circular issued to tenants by solicitors.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14, 189.*

King's County, Landlords' Proceedings for recovery of Rent in,

Q. Mr. H. Burke; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1038.*

Labourers Act—appointment of Mr. C. Atkinson, Reason, etc.

Qs. Mr. Murphy, Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 13, 383.*

Labourers' Cottages, *see that title.*

Land Commission, *see that title.*

Land Purchase *see that title.*

Limerick *see that title.*

Lisburn, Disturbances—Police protection etc.

Qs. Mr. J. Devlin, *Apr. 19, 666, 667*; Mr. Wyndham, *667, 668*; Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Flavin and Mr. Sheehy, *668.*

Lislea National School—Appointment of Local Manager.

Q. Mr. Lonsdale; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 363-364.*

Lloyd's Estate, King's County, Application for Re-instatement by evicted Tenant, etc.

Q. Mr. Reddy; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1054.*

Loan Fund Board, *see that title.*

Local Government Board — Annual Report presented, *Apr. 12, 4*; *Apr. 19, 479.*

Londonderry *see that title.*

Luggacurren Estate, evicted Tenants from — considering claims for Re-instatement.

Q. Mr. J. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18, 393-394.*

Lunatics *see Lunatics—Ireland.*

McCartie Estate, Compulsory Sale of, Delay alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 155.*

Macfarlane Estate, Compulsory Sale of—reasons for delay.

Qs. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13, 163*; Mr. Wyndham, *174.*

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Ireland—cont.

Macgillicuddy Estate, Compulsory Sale of,
—Delays and irregularities alleged.
Os. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 155; Mr. Wyndham, 175.

Mahony Estate, Negotiations for Sale of,
Applications from evicted Tenants.
Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28*, 1423.

Re-instatement of Florence Doherty.
Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 21.

Mansfield Case (Co. Tyrone)—Compulsory sale—reasons for delay, &c.
O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13*, 162.

Maryborough Prison, see that title.

Massereene and Deane Estate, Compulsory sale of—reasons for delay.
O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13*, 163.

Monaghan Agricultural and Technical Committee, Display of Party Flags at Shows prohibited by.
Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 20*, 686.

Moy Post Office—Extra fees, reasons for, &c.
Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 206.

Mullingar, Lunatics in—Notification to Resident Magistrate.
Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 26*, 1183-1184.

National School Teachers, see that title.

Newcastle (Co. Down)—Constitution of Voting Register.
Os. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. T. W. Russell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 21*, 852.

Ordnance Department of the Army—Labourers' Wages.
Q. Mr. C. Hay; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 19*, 526.

Patent Office, Irish Branch proposed.
Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 26*, 1178.

Post Office see that title.

Provincial Bank, Government Money passing through, Arrangements as to.
Q. Mr. J. Redmond; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1058-1059.

Public Libraries Act.

Agricultural Instruction—Assistance to Rural District Councils.
Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 21.

Number of rural districts adopting, &c.
Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 22.

Public Offices, Stationery supplied to—Amount paid, Names of Contractors.
Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 27*, 1287.

Ireland—cont.

Queen's Colleges.

Cork, at, President of—Length of Residence during last three years, etc.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1184-1185.

Deputy-Presidents—Names, Salaries, etc.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 532-533.

Queen's County.

Evicted Tenants—Number of applications received by Land Commission.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 13*, 82.

Quit and Crown Rents, see that title.

Rae Estate, Kerry.

Congested Districts Board, Suggested Purchase by.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 386-387.

Tenants defrauded of purchase, alleged.
O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 154.

Rathcoursey Beach—Accident to Driscoll through explosion of shrapnel shell—Compensation to widow and warning to public not to handle shells, proposed.
Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*, 193.

Rathdangan Postal arrangements—Revision proposed.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 22*, 955.

Rathmines—Division into Wards—Delay in holding Inquiry on Petition for.

Q. Mr. Mooney; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 535.

Recruiting in—Circular issued by Major Gerard.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 19*, 525-526.

Revenue and Expenditure—Amount contributed, etc.

O. Mr. S. O. Gore, *Apr. 21*, 918.

Return ordered, Apr. 12, 7.

Richards Estate, reasons for delay in sale of.

O. Mr. Ffrench, *Apr. 13*, 168.

Ro.crea Post Office—New Premises.

Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 689-690.

Royal Visit to, Supplementing Telegraph Staff from England on account of.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 690-691.

Sweeney, Daniel, Pension for.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 27*, 1306-1307.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Ireland—cont.

Taxation of—Additional burden imposed by Budget.

Os. Mr. J. Redmond, *Apr. 19*, 599-602; Mr. Murnaghan, *Apr. 27*, 1328; Mr. J. P. Farrell, 1339.

Tea duty.

Extra Duty, hardships inflicted on the poor by.

Os. Mr. J. Redmond, *Apr. 19*, 599-602; Mr. S. MacNeill, 632; Major Jameson, *Apr. 21*, 928; Mr. Lough, *Apr. 26*, 1268; Mr. S. MacNeill, 1288-70; Mr. T. W. Russell, 1270; Mr. Hemphill, 1271; Mr. H. Law, 1276; Mr. O'Malley, 1282; Mr. Emmott, *Apr. 27*, 1316, 1317; Mr. Murnaghan, 1328, 1329; Mr. J. P. Farrell, 1339, 1340.

Total Amount paid up to 31st March, 1904—Treasury Estimate of Duty.

Qs. Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr. Lough; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1189.

Tipperary *see that title.*

Tithe Rents *see that title.*

Training Colleges—Settlement of 1990, Approval of Commissioners, etc.—Claim of Provincial Colleges with respect to Free Homes.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 382-383.

Tredennick Estate, Donegal, Delay in applotting.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1305.

Urlingford Union Board Room, Refusal to allow Meeting in.

Q. Mr. J. Devlin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1451.

Valuation Acts—Select Committee of Inquiry — Report presented, *Apr. 18*, 397.

Warden Estate, Compulsory Sale of—Purchase by land speculator alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 18*, 156.

Water Bailiffs—Limerick Board of Conservators, employment by, of persons fined for illegal fishing, alleged.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 189.

West Down Parliamentary Election—Recommendation of Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, etc.

Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. E. Robertson; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 27*, 1307-1309.

Wexford—Fishery Piers in, Construction and Repair of.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Ireland—cont.

White Estate.

Evicted Tenants, Steps to be taken as to.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533.

Hand, Mary, Considering Application of, *Apr. 28*, 1447.

Woollen Industries—Loans for purchase of machinery proposed.

Q. Mr. W. Abraham; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 204.

Workhouses — Commission — publishing Evidence, etc.

Q. Dr. Thompson; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28*, 1435.

Youghal Bay Salmon Fisheries—Restrictions placed on Fishermen.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1306.

Irish Language

Teaching of, in Schools.

Circular dealing with, withdrawal of.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 389-390.

Counting Attendances, Regulations as to.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 390.

Decision as to.

O. Mr. Boland, *Apr. 18*, 464.

Qualified pensioned Teachers, employing, outside School Hours.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1054-1055.

Iron and Steel Industry

Canada—Bounties, Amount of, etc.

Q. Mr. S. Ormsby-Gore; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 14*, 195.

Isle of Wight

Parliamentary Bye-Election—New Member sworn, *Apr. 13*, 84.

Italy

Florence, Art Works distribution of—Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 480.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 19*, 521-522.

Jacoby, Mr. J. A. [Derbyshire, Mid]

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 28*, 1494,

Swanwick Colliery Accident, *Apr. 26*, 1182,

James of Hereford, Lord

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill 2a. *Apr. 21*, 823, 826.

Prevention of Corruption Bill—Power of Veto by Attorney-General, *Apr. 26*, 1162.

Jameson, Major J. E. [Clare, W.]

Berehaven Harbour Fund, Admiralty Contributions to, *Apr. 20*, 673.

Corn, Duty on, Re-imposition of, proposed, *Apr. 21*, 925.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Jameson, Major J. E.—cont.

Lightship Keepers—Instructions issued to, as to showing Station Lights and Signals, *Apr. 25*, 1024.

Lightships, Selling Price of Condemned Tender—Names and Qualifications of certain Officials, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1032.

Tea, Additional Duty of 2d, per pound on—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 21*, 925.

Japan

Army Land Transport System, Reports as to.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Foster, *Apr. 28*, 1436.

War with Russia, *see* Russo Japanese War.

Jessel, Capt. H. M. [St. Pancras, S.]

Army—Lance, Decision as to Retention of, *Apr. 14*, 232.

Jews

East African Colonial Trust, Tabling Papers relating to.

Q. Mr. C. Wason; *A.* Earl Percy, *Apr. 26*, 1196.

Immigration into Great Britain, *see* under Aliens Bill.

Limerick, in, Protection of.

Qs. Mr. Sloan, Mr. Joyce; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 202–203.

Q. Sir J. Kennaway; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1186–1187.

Johannesburg

see Transvaal.

Johnson, Mr. J. [Gateshead]

Trade Unions and Trades Disputes' Bill, 2R. *Apr. 22*, 962.

Joiners in Dockyards

see under Dockyards.

Joint Stock Banks

Unclaimed Dividends and Balances, Estimates of.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 27*, 1288.

Jones, Mr. D. B. [Swansea District]

Ritualistic Practices, Royal Commission on—Composition and Terms of Reference, *Apr. 20*, 766, 767.

Russo-Japanese War—Correspondents using Wireless Telegraphy, Russian treatment of, *Apr. 20*, 675.

Jones, Mr. W. [Carnarvonshire, Arfon]

Holyhead Harbour, Improvement of, Proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1517.

Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill, 2R. *Apr. 16*, 348.

Jordan, Mr. T. [Fermanagh, S.]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R. *Apr. 15*, 320.

Joyce, Mr. M. [Limerick]

Agricultural Department. Directory of Consulting with Local Committees as to, *Apr. 18*, 391.

Limerick.

Jews. Persecution of, *Apr. 14*, 203.

Postal Staff.

Holiday Grievances, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Superior Appointments, Increase of, Proposed, *Apr. 13*, 81.

Telegraph Learners, Placing on Establishment, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Telegraphists—Revision of Duties Proposed, *Apr. 13*, 81.

Judge Advocate-General

Courts Martial—Power of Quashing Convictions.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 13*, 78.

Judicial Statistics (England and Wales)

Report Presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

Part II. Presented, *Apr. 20*, 670; *Apr. 21*, 810.

Kearley, Mr. H. E. [Devonport]

Admiralty Establishments, rate of wage paid to employes in, *Apr. 12*, 50, 55.

Marine Light Infantry, Royal—Pensions, suggested Increase in, *Apr. 18*, 358.

Navy.

Canteens, Corrupt practices, etc., *Apr. 12*, 66.

Dockyards, Police on duty at, pay of, *Apr. 12*, 58.

Engineer Commanders, Regulations as to pay of, *Apr. 25*, 1027–1028.

Flour, Oatmeal, Biscuits etc., manufacture of, by the Government, *Apr. 12*, 65.

Gun Sights, defects in, *Apr. 12*, 39.

Committee of Inquiry into, proposed, *Apr. 12*, 32.

Guns, Obsolete breech and muzzle loading, supplied to Ships, *Apr. 12*, 32.

Stores, Reserve of, in excess of requirements, *Apr. 12*, 67.

Volunteers, Medals to, for long service—considering Military Service, after Transfer to Naval Corps, *Apr. 25*, 1027.

Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H. [Devonshire Honiton]

Devon and Cornwall, provision of harbours of refuge in, proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1516.

Jews in Limerick, Protection of, *Apr. 26*, 1186.

Licensing Bill, Intro. *Apr. 20*, 725.

Kettering Improvement Bill

1. 2R. * *Apr. 19*, 477.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Kilbride, Mr. D. [Kildare, S.]

Argentine Cattle Trade—Prohibition of importation of live cattle, *Apr. 14, 189.*

Constabulary, Extra, Cost of, Refusal of Armagh County Council to pay, *Apr. 27, 1903.*

Land Purchase,

Dublin Gazette, Publication of Particulars of Applications, etc. in *Apr. 19, 536.*

Forms for Sale and Purchase, tabling, *Apr. 19, 535.*

Killarney

Telephone communication with, establishing.

Q. Mr. Murphy ; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 25, 1060.

King, Sir H. S. [Hull, Central]**India.**

Burma Police Force, Grievances of, taking steps to remedy, *Apr. 25, 1036-1037.*

Police Commission Report.

Delay in publishing, *Apr. 21, 841.*

Orders, date of issue, *Apr. 14, 188.*

King Estate.

Compulsory Sale of, reasons for delay, etc.

O. Mr. Ffrench, Apr. 13, 167.

King-Harman Estate**Compulsory Sale of**

Circular issued to tenants by solicitors.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell ; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 14, 189.

Plant, W. H., Quality and price of land offered to—Inspection by officer of Estates Commission proposed.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell ; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 15, 295.

King's County

Landlords' Proceedings for Recovery of Rent in.

Q. Mr. H. Burke ; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1038.

Kintore, Earl of

Hutcheson's Hospital and Hutcheson's Educational Trust Bill,

2R. Apr. 21, 806.

Kirkby in Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Knowles, Sir L. [Salford, W.]

Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Legal Expenses of, *Apr. 26, 1180.*

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, *2R. Apr. 15, 345.*

VOL. CXXXIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Labouchere, Mr. H. [Northampton]

Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *Apr. 26, 1249-1251.*

Tea, Additional Tax on—Budget Proposal *Apr. 27, 1341.*

Labour, Children, Employment of—By-Laws under the Act, Councils submitting.

Q. Mr. Tennant ; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 20, 623, 673.

Mosely Commission—Reports, publishing, as Parliamentary Papers.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell ; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 18, 395.

Labourers Acts, Ireland

Atkinson, Mr. C., Appointment of, Reason, etc.

Qs., Mr. Murphy, Capt. Donelan ; As. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 383.

Labourers' Cottages, Ireland

Land taken for purposes of—Selection of Arbitrator, Appeal from Award, etc.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond ; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1025.

Return, relative to, presented *Apr. 28, 1423.*

Sites, Alteration of, obtaining Labourers' Assent to.

Q. Mr. Power ; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 390-391.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill

Second Reading, Date of Taking.

Q. Mr. J. Redmond ; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 27, 1307.

Lambert, Mr. G. [Devonshire, South Molton]**Agriculture.**

Education in Great Britain and Abroad, Amounts spent on, *Apr. 25, 1034-1035.*

Number of Persons engaged in, in England and Wales, *Apr. 18, 379.*

Railway Rates, Reduction of, Steps taken to effect 1903-4, *Apr. 25, 1035.*

Animals—Contagious Diseases, Statistics concerning, *Apr. 18, 361.*

Army Corps Scheme, Expenditure in connection with, *Apr. 14, 284.*

Devon, Provision of Harbours of Refuge in, *Apr. 28, 1506, 1508.*

Education—Schools, New, and Alterations, Necessity to submit Plans to Education Department, *Apr. 25, 1034.*

House of Commons—Doors behind the Speaker's Chair, and in the Lobby, granting free ingress and egress, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1472.*

Somaliland Expedition, Progress of, *Apr. 18, 370-371.*

Tibet Expedition.

Government Policy, *Apr. 18, 374-375.*
Progress of, Casualties Sustained, etc., *Apr. 25, 1045.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Lancashire

Cotton Industry, Condition of.
Os. Mr. Fielden, Apr. 27, 1374-6; Mr. S. Smith, 1385.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill

1. Rep. Apr. 22, 941.*
3rd Apr. 23, 1406.

Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 25, 1021.*

Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 26, 1176.*

Lancaster, County Palatine

Polling Districts—County Council Order altering certain Polling Districts presented, *Apr. 13, 76.*

Lancaster, Duchy of

Chancellor—Sir. W. H. Walrond.

"Lancaster," H.M.S.

Speed of—Improved Propellers.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Pretyman, Apr. 18, 357, 358.

Land Act, Ireland

Annuities, Collection of, Preference to Bank of Ireland.

Q. Major Coates; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 20, 689;
Q. Mr. C. Craig; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 21, 846, 847.

Land Act (Ireland) Amendment Bill

Second Reading, Date of taking.
Q. Mr. J. Redmond; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 27, 1307.

Land Commission, Ireland

Queen's County, Number of Applications from Evicted Tenants in.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 13, 82.

Return of Estate Commissioners, Information given in.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 13, 82.

Staff, Insufficiency of—Delay in dealing with Applications.

Q. Mr. Leamy; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 26, 1187.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland

See also Land Purchase, Ireland.

Procedure, Delays, etc.—Winding up Business of the Court proposed.

Debate on Motion (Mr. Murphy), Apr. 13, 151.

Amount and Value of Property sold in Eight Years, 156, 174, 176, 177.

Bowley, Mr. Justice, opinion of, 158, 173.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—cont.

Procedure, Delays, etc.—*cont.*

Debate on Motion—cont.

Clerks, Status of—Employment in Estates Commissioners Department proposed, 164, 174.

Colclogh Estate, reasons for delay in sale, cost, etc., 169.

Duggan Estate, Delay in Sale of, 155.

Duties and functions of the Court, 152, 153, 165.

Examiners, Receivers, etc., high salaries paid to, in proportion to work done, 168, 169, 170, 173.

Gault Estate, Reasons for delay in selling—Defective title, etc., 161.

Harte Estate, Delay and irregularities in sale of, 156.

Herbert Estate—Alleged concealment of facts by Land Judge's Court, 154.

Insolvent Estates, Reasons for delays in selling, 160, 173, 178.

Inspector, Appointment of, proposed, 161.

Judges—Qualifications for appointment, 152.

King Estate, Reasons for delay in selling, 167.

McCartie Estate, Delay in sale of, 155.

Macgillivuddy Estate, Compulsory sale of—Delays and irregularities alleged, 155, 173.

Macfarlane Estate, Reasons for delay in sale of, 163, 174.

Mahony Estate, Compulsory sale of—Delays and irregularities alleged, 155, 175.

Mansfield Case (Co. Tyrone) Reasons for delay in sale of, 162.

Massereene and Deane Estate, Reasons for delay in sale, etc., 163.

Origin and constitution of Court, 152, 174.

Price of land, Powers of Judge to fix, 166, 170.

Rae Estate—Tenants defrauded of purchase alleged, 154.

Rental of properties in the Court, Amount of, 175, 176.

Return showing number of Sales, etc., Granting proposed, 170, 172, 176.

Richards' Estate, Reasons for delay in Sale of, 168.

[*cont.*]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—cont.Procedure, delays, etc.—*cont.**Debate on Motion—cont.*

● Ross, Judge, Administration of, qualifications, etc., 156, 165, 170, 173, 178.

Rules, Revision of, proposed, 170.

Solvent Estates, Retention of, in Court alleged—Reasons for not selling, etc., 160, 173.

State Bonus, Effect of, on negotiations for Sale, 160, 162, 177.

Trinity College Grant under Land Act—High Prices demanded for Land, etc., 162.

Warden Estate, Purchase of, by Land Speculator alleged, 156.

Land Purchase, Ireland*see also* Land Judge's Court.**Annuities.**

Calculation of, under different Acts, etc.

Q. Mr. Flavin; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 365–366.

Repayment of—Tabling Receivable Order Form.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 362–363.

Ballinacross—Mr. Robinson's Farm, Sale of, through Estates Commissioners, in favour of evicted Tenant—alleged offer.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Butson Estate, Galway—purchase of Abbey Lands, Agreement as to.

Q. Mr. Roche; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1451–1452.

Cusack Estate, Longford, Progress of Sale—Granting Return showing Names of intending Purchasers, etc.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1056.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1304.

Dublin Gazette, Publication of Particulars of Applications, etc., in.

Q. Mr. Kilbride; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 536.

Drummeel Bog, Obligation of Commissioners to become Public Trustees for.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1056–1057.

Fermanagh, in—Cases of Delay in settlements.

Q. Mr. E. Mitchell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1185.

Forms for Sale and Purchase, Tabling.

Q. Mr. Kilbride; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 535–536.

King-Harman Estate.

Plant, W. H., Quality and Price of Land offered to—Inspection by officer of Estates Commission proposed.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Land Purchase, Ireland—cont.

Lloyd's Estate, King's County—Purchase by Agent of Property—Application for Reinstatement by former evicted Tenant.

Q. Mr. Reddy; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1054.

Mahony Estate, Sale of.

Delays and Irregularities alleged.

Os. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 155; Mr. Wyndham, 175.

Doherty, Florence, Reinstatement of.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 21.

Evicted Tenants, Applications from.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28*, 1433.

White Estate, Co. Longford.

Evicted Tenants, Steps to be taken as to.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533.

Hand, Mary, considering application.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1447.

Land Values

Tax on, proposed.

O. Mr. McCrae, *Apr. 19*, 624.

Land Values, Assessment and Rating Bill

Adjourned Motion—Facilities for discussion.

Q. Mr. Trevelyan; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1061.

Lansdowne, Marquess of—Secretary of State, for Foreign Affairs.

France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain—Opportunity for discussing in the House, *Apr. 19*, 486.

Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, 2^a, *Apr. 21*, 820.

Tibet Exhibition, Character and Objects of—Policy of H.M. Government, etc., *Apr. 19*, 498.

Laurie, Lt.-Gen. J. W. [Pembroke and Haverfordwest]

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, 2^a, *Apr. 15*, 332.

Law, Mr. H. A. [Donegal, W.]

Tea, Additional 2d. on—Hardships inflicted on poorer Classes in Ireland by, *Apr. 26*, 1275–6.

Lawrence, Mr. W. F. [Liverpool, Abercromby]

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 723.

Scotland—Sheriff Courts—Fees of Medical Witnesses, *Apr. 25*, 1030.

Lawson, Mr. J. G.—Secretary to the Local Government Board, [York, N.R., Thirsk]

Companies' Act, Franchise limited by—Proposed Amendment of Act, *Apr. 20*, 685.

Apr. 12 - Apr. 28.

Lawson, Mr. J. G.—cont.

Lymph, Annual Sum Paid to Dr. Blaxall for, *Apr. 18*, 380.

Workhouses, Nursing in—Delay in issuing New Order, *Apr. 21*, 849.

Lawson, Sir W. [Cernwall, Camborne]

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 703.

Second Reading, Date of, *Apr. 26*, 1198.

Tibet Expedition—Military Operations—Number of Tibetans killed, *Apr. 14*, 197.

Leamy, Mr. E. [Kildare, N.]

Land Commission Staff, Insufficiency of—*Apr. 26*, 1187.

Lee, Mr. A. H. [Hampshire, Fareham]

Dockyards—Labourers' Wages at Barrow-in-Furness, *Apr. 25*, 1041.

Flogging in the Navy, Abolition of, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1040-1041.

Haslar Hospital—Allowing Free Use of Haslar Bridge, *Apr. 18*, 369.

Ullapool Naval Base, Construction of—Progress of Work, *Apr. 18*, 368.

Leeds

Telegraph Office, Learners in, Providing Appointments for.

Q. Mr. L. Walton; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 25, 1030-1031.

Lees, Sir E. [Birkenhead]

Army—Lance, Abolition of, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 227.

Legge, Col. H. [St. George's, Hanover Square]

Army.

Cavalry Horses, Reduction in Weight carried by, *Apr. 14*, 251.

Lance, Retention of, Proposed, *Apr. 14*, 256.

Lenz, Sir J. [Dundee]

Army—Advertisements in new Journal, *Apr. 20*, 678-679.

Cattle, Canadian, Reason for non-importation of, *Apr. 18*, 380.

Dundee Mails—Earlier delivery proposed, *Apr. 14*, 201.

India—Bombay—Scinde Connection Railway, Objections of the Rao of Cutch to, *Apr. 25*, 1036.

Joint Stock Banks—Unclaimed Dividends and Balances, Estimate of, *Apr. 27*, 1288.

Navy.

Russo-Japanese War—British Officers attached to Belligerent Forces, *Apr. 19*, 524.

Salvage Appliances, *Apr. 19*, 524.

Patents, British—Proportion granted to Foreigners abroad—Approximate Number in Force, etc., *Apr. 18*, 377.

Leng, Sir J.—cont.

Transvaal—Chinese Labour—Conclusion of negotiations, date of exportation of labourers, etc., *Apr. 27*, 1294.

Unclaimed Dividend Account, realization of—Budget proposal—Amount remaining after deduction, methods adopted to trace stockholder, etc., *Apr. 27*, 1288.

Wireless Telegraphy—Post Office Arrangements for receipt and forwarding of Marconi telegrams, *Apr. 14*, 201.

Leicester

Light Railways—Order presented, *Apr. 13*, 519.

Letters

see Post Office.

Lewis, Isle of

Cemeteries, insanitary condition of, Steps to be taken,

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. S. Dickson, Apr. 25, 1053.

Congested state of, delay in settlement of people on the land, etc.

Q. Mr. Weir, Apr. 18, 471.

Cromore—Gravir Road, Grant for, construction of.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 25, 1029.

Portnagurin, provision of harbour of refuge at, proposed.

Q. Mr. Weir, Apr. 28, 1513.

***Lewis, Mr. J. H. [Flint Boroughs]**

Army [Annual] Bill, 2r. *Apr. 14*, 122.

Customs—Boatmen, Age Limit of, *Apr. 15*, 531.

London and North Western Railway Bill. *Con. Apr. 14*, 271.

National Debt, Customs, and Inland Revenue, Amendment of Law relating to, *Apr. 26*, 1241.

Private Bill Procedure—Revision of Scale of Fees, proposed, *Apr. 12*, 24.

Liberia

Trade Report, presented, *Apr. 19*, 480.

Libraries

Public Libraries Act—Rural District Councils in Ireland.

Assistance to Councils.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 12, 21.

Number of Councils adopting Act.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 12, 22.

Licensing Bill

c. Intro., *Apr. 20*, 696.

lr. * *Apr. 20*, 757.

Debate on Introduction [Commons] *Apr. 30*, 696.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Licensing Bill—cont.*Debate—cont.*

Ante-1869 Beerhouses, position of, 703, 727, 742.

Brewery and Distillery Companies floated from 1891 to 1903, capital and dividends of, etc., 710, 711.

Brewster Sessions.

Action of, Hardships inflicted on the Trade by, 698, 705, 726, 729, 738, 739.

Jurisdiction of, 700, 701.

Compensation.

Amount to be awarded, Method of fixing, 701, 736, 737, 752.

Authority to impose Contributions on the Trade for purposes of, to be granted to Quarter Sessions, 700, 702, 721, 751, 752.

Districts where no Reduction necessary, Levying rate from, 751.

Fictitious Value given to worst class of houses by, alleged, 744, 745, 752.

Insurance Fund to be raised from Contributions by Licensed Holders for purposes of, 702, 707, 716, 722, 724, 726, 727, 731, 752.

Licences taken away through no fault of the Owner—Compensation to be granted, 700, 706.

Tied Houses, Position of Occupiers of, 722, 723.

Time limit, proposals as to, 730.

Deputation of Brewers to the Prime Minister, 711, 718, 725, 747.

Drunkennes.

Reduction in licences no guarantee for reduction in, 697, 724, 735, 740.

Royal Commission of Inquiry, composition and findings of, 704, 709, 715.

Licences.

County Boroughs, position of, in, 751.

Exchange of, objections to, 713, 714.

Insurance of, possibility of, 699.

New Licences.

Confirmation of, to rest with Quarter Sessions, 703, 735.

Conditions of granting, 703, 734.

Reduction of, necessity for, 696, 697, 704, 705, 721, 725, 739.

Refusal of.

Absolute discretion of magistrates as to, for the last 120 years, 708, 709, 718, 728, 729.

Licensing Bill—cont.*Debate—cont.***Licences—cont.****Refusal of—cont.**

Appeal to Quarter Sessions, right of, 701, 707, 713, 723.

Local authorities, interference with discretion of, 728, 729, 730, 733, 734, 743, 744.

Magistrates to specify in writing the grounds for refusal, 701, 723.

Refusal of.

Quarter Sessions to be the sole authority for, 700, 717, 721, 723, 727, 728, 729, 730, 734, 751, 752.

Statistics as to, 709, 710.

Retail on-licences, total number of, 697.

Licensed Houses, Ratio of, to population, 697.

Monopoly system, blow aimed at, 735, 739, 742, 745.

Motives for introduction of the Bill, 714, 715, 718, 725, 732, 748, 749.

Opposition to the Bill, 704, 719, 727, 740, 741.

Police and Magistrates Corrupted by the Brewery Companies, alleged, 745, 746, 747, 748.

Quarter Sessions.

Jurisdiction and Powers of, 700, 702, 703, 714.

Power of Acting through a Committee, 702, 721, 723.

Retrograde Measure, Alleged, 713.

State Interference, Necessity for, 731.

Temperance Party Tactics, harm done by, 740, 741, 742.

Tied Houses, Occupiers of, Amount of Compensation to be Allotted to, 722, 723.

Compensation — Protection of Licence Holders.

Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 28*, 1437-1438.

Licensed Premises—"Persons Interested," Scope of term.

Qs. Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Bayley; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 27*, 1301-1302.

Second Reading, Date of.

Q. Sir W. Lawson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 26*, 1198.

Lights and Lighthouses

Coal and Oil delivered at Depôts, Price paid for.

Q. Major Jameson; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1031-1032.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Lights and Lighthouses—cont.**Ships.**

Dover Pier Works, Accidents to, 1899–1903.

Q. Mr. Plummer; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 28*, 1425–1426.

“Princess Alexandra,” Condemnation of—Price realised.

Q. Major Jameson; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1031–1032.

Station Lights and Signals, Instructions issued to Keepers as to showing.

Q. Major Jameson; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1024.

“Tearaght,” “Moya,” “Mermaid,” and “Irene,” Names and Qualifications of Officials—Cost of Repairs, etc.

Q. Major Jameson; A. M. G. Balfour, *Apr. 25*, 1031–1032.

Q. Mr. Plummer; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 28*, 1424–1425.

Light Railways

see Railways.

Limerick

Board of Conservators—Water Bailiffs—Employment of Persons fined for illegal fishing as, alleged.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Jewish Population in, Protection of.

Qs. Mr. Sloan, Mr. Joyce; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 202–203.

Q. Sir J. Kenneway; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1186–1187.

Postal Staff.

Holiday Grievances.

Q. Mr. Joyce; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Superior Appointments, Increase in, Proposed.

Q. Mr. Joyce; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 13*, 81.

Telegraph Learners, Placing on the Establishment.

Q. Mr. Joyce; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Telegraphists, Revision of Duties, proposed.

Q. Mr. Joyce; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 13*, 81.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Electric Power Bill

c. Bill withdrawn, *Apr. 12*, 2.

Liquor Licensing, etc.

see also Licensing Bill.

Alcohol Required for Manufacturing Purposes, Duty on—Objections to.

O. Sir W. Holland, *Apr. 19*, 631.

Liquor Licensing, etc.—cont.

Ale and Beerhouses, Granting Return by Counties and County Boroughs, showing Estimated Funds for Compensation.

Q. Mr. H. Hobhouse; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 25*, 1033.

Duties.

Local Taxation Accounts, Net amount paid over to—Return presented, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Public-houses, on, Method of Levying—Increase in Duty, proposed.

O. Mr. Ashton, *Apr. 19*, 614.

Excise Duties, Revenue Derived from, Decrease in—References to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 546, 547, 548, 574; *Apr. 21*, 870; *Apr. 26*, 1213, 1224.

Licences.

Increase in Number of, Amount of Revenue yielded by.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *Apr. 26*, 1217, 1218; Mr. McCrae, 1221.

Monopoly, Value of.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *Apr. 26*, 1217, 1218, 1219; Mr. B. Roberts, 1227, 1228; Mr. T. W. Russell, 1230.

Renewal of—Refusals.

Death Duties, Recovery of.

Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 28*, 1444.

Number Refused during Feb. and Mar. 1904, Address for Return, *Apr. 28*, 1535.

Statistics as to.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 20*, 683.

Q. Mr. Henderson; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 28*, 1429–1430.

Liverpool, Licences and Drunkenness in.

Q. Sir F. Milner; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 19*, 521.

Scotland—Licensing Courts, Constitution of—Tables presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 480.

Spirits, Duty on, Decrease in Revenue derived from—References to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 546, 547; *Apr. 21*, 870; *Apr. 26*, 1214.

Liquor Sellers' Liability Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 20*, 696.

Liquor Traffic

Spirits, Adulteration of—Excise Regulations as to Spirits issued from bond for home consumption.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, *Apr. 14*, 198.

Apr. 12 — Apr. 28.

Lisburn

Disturbances, Police Protection, etc.

Os. Mr. J. Devlin, *Apr. 19*, 666, 667;
Mr. Wyndham, 667, 668; Mr. T. W.
Russell, 669; Mr. Flavin, Mr.
Sheehy, 668.

Lisles

National School—Appointment of Local Manager.

Q. Mr. Lonsdale; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 363-364.

LithuaniaTrade Report Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943.**Liverpool**

Customs, Irish ex-Constable appointed to position in.

Q. Mr. Delaney; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1057-1058.

Drunkenness in, Deprivation of Licences.

Q. Sir F. Milner; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 19*, 521.

Pilotage Funds, Contributions towards—
Order in Council approving by-laws
of Mersey Docks and Harbour Board,
Apr. 22, 943, 953.

Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Bill

c. 2a. *Apr. 26*, 1258.

Agency and Trust Business, Limitation of—Modification of Clause 9.

Os. Mr. A. Taylor, Sir G. Bartley,
Apr. 26, 1260; Mr. J. W.
Lowther, 1261.

Lloyd-George, Mr. D. [Carnarvon District]Education [Local Authority Default] Bill,
Date of introducing, *Apr. 20*, 694.Intro. *Apr. 26*, 1206.Licensing Bill, Intro. *Apr. 20*, 743.**Lloyd's Estate, King's County**

Purchase by Agent of Property—Application for Re-instatement by former evicted tenant.

Q. Mr. Reddy; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 25, 1054.

Loan Fund Board, Ireland

Belleek and Frintona Societies, Financial Position of, etc.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12*, 23.

Legislation—Re-introduction of Bill.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham,
Apr. 12, 22.

Loans

Egypt (Guaranteed Loan of 1885)—
Account Presented, *Apr. 12*, 5; *Apr.*
19, 484.

Greece (1898)—Account Presented, *Apr. 12*,
5; *Apr. 19*, 484.

India—Loans raised in England—Return
Presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 483.

Local Authorities

Indebtedness of, Growth of.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*,
554-5; Sir H. Campbell-Banner-
man, 570; Mr. Haldane, 581; Mr.
McCrae, 625; Mr. McKenna, 627;
Sir G. Bartley, 630; Mr. Broadhurst,
Apr. 21, 878.

Local Authorities (Treasury Powers) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 13*, 85.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill

c. 2R.* *Apr. 15*, 293.

Rep.* *Apr. 22*, 950.

3R.* *Apr. 25*, 1021.

1. 1R.* *Apr. 26*, 1167.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 13*, 73.

2R.* *Apr. 22*, 950.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 15*, 293.

2R.* *Apr. 26*, 1175.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 18*, 349.

2R.* *Apr. 26*, 1175.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 22*, 950.

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) Bill

c. 1R.* *Apr. 13*, 73.

2R.* *Apr. 20*, 669.

Rep.* *Apr. 27*, 1285.

3R.* *Apr. 28*, 1422.

Local Loans Fund

Purposes of—Restriction of Loans, proposed.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*,
556; *Apr. 21*, 879; Mr. Broad-
hurst, 878, 879; Mr. Bond,
935.

Local TaxationLicensing Duties paid over—Return Presented, *Apr. 15*, 295.

Scotland—Amount Available for Distribution to 31st March, 1903.

Q. Mr. Caldwell; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 14*, 185.

Lockwood Lt.-Col. A. [Essex, Epping]Crimean Veterans, increasing Pensions of, *Apr. 28*, 1435.

Education—Carmarthen Inquiry into
working of Act—tabling Report, *Apr.*
21, 836.

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sani-
tation of, *Apr. 27*, 1466-7.

Licensing Bill—Compensation—Protection
of Licence holders, *Apr. 28*, 1437.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Locomotives on Highways

Motor Cars, *see that title*

Loder, Mr. G. W. E. [Brighton]

Tristan da Cunha, Visit of H.M.S. "Odin"
to, tabling Report of, *Apr. 28, 1427.*

Logan, Mr. J. W. [Leicestershire, Harborough]

Dogs, disallowing Prof. Schäfer's Experiments on, *Apr. 21, 848-849.*

London

Education Act, *see under Education.*

Post Office, *see that title.*

Postal Service between Paris and.

Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28, 1428.*

Small Arms Company—Amount paid by Government for Use of Rifle Range.

Q. Mr. Whitley; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 18, 366.*

London and North Western Railway Bill

c. Con. *Apr. 14, 271.*

3R.* *Apr. 18, 349.*

c. 1R.* *Apr. 19, 477.*

2a.* *Apr. 28, 1406.*

London and South-Western Railway Company

Capital—Draft certificate, authorising raising of, presented, *Apr. 22, 944, 953*

London, Camberwell and Dulwich Tramways Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 26, 1176.*

London, Chatham and Dover Railway Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 14, 182.*

3R.* *April 18, 349.*

l. Royal Assent, *April 28, 1405.*

London, City of

Letters—Earlier morning delivery proposed.

Q. Mr. A. Gibbs; A. Lord Stanley, *April 15, 297.*

London County Council (Money) Bill

c. 1R.* *April 18, 349.*

2R.* *April 27, 1285.*

London, Tilbury and Southend Railway

l. 2R.* *April 25, 1015.*

Londonderry

Prison, Matron of—Marriage during term of service, alleged.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *April 14, 203.*

Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.—President of the Local Government Board [Bristol, S.]

Aliens Bill, 2R., *April 25, 1099.*

Ballot Act, suggested amendment of—Election of Orsett Rural District Council. *April 20, 674.*

Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.—cont.

Poor Law.

Alien Paupers, Number of, Proportion to whole Alien Population, Proportion of British Paupers to Population, *April 25, 1052.*

Children, Boarded out, Number of, in England and Wales, *April 21, 836.*

Guardians—Ex-Officials in receipt of Pensions, Nomination of, *April 18, 361.*

Institutions, Corporal Punishment in—size of birch used, &c., *April 27, 1291.*

Public Health Acts Amendment Bill—Date of Introduction, *April 25, 1031.*

Small-Pox Outbreak of 1903, Cost of, *April 25, 1051.*

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, 2R., *April 15, 342, 346.*

Vaccinators, Public, Member of Boards of Guardians appointed as, *April 20, 674.*

Valuation Bill, Introduction, *April 26, 1199.*

Workhouses, Nursing in—dealing with Committee Report, *April 22, 1431.*

Lonsdale, Mr. J. B. [Armagh, Mid.]

Constabulary, Extra.

Cost of, Refusal of Limerick Corporation to pay, *Apr. 27, 1303.*

Counties remitting Charges for extra Police in the last five years, *Apr. 18, 364.*

Education, Ireland.

Lislea National School — Appointment of Local Manager, *Apr. 18, 363.*

Primary—Antiquated and inadequate System, *Apr. 18, 426.*

Lord Advocate for Scotland

Mr. Scott-Dickson.

Lord Chancellor

Earl of Halsbury.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland

Lord Ashbourne.

Lord Chief Justice

Lord Alverstone.

Lord Great Chamberlain

Marquess of Cholmondeley.

Lord Justice-General of Scotland

Lord Kinross.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

Earl of Dudley.

Lord President of the Privy Council

Marquess of Londonderry.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Lord Privy Seal*Marquess of Salisbury.***Lough, Mr. T.** [Islington, W.]Army—Advertisements in new Journal,
*Apr. 20, 679.*Highbury Telegraph Clerks, Hours of
Duty, *Apr. 26, 1178.*Income Tax, Limit of exemption from,
*Apr. 26, 1257.*National Debt, Customs and Inland
Revenue—Amendment of law relating
to, *Apr. 26, 1242.*Somaliland Expedition, Cost of, *Apr. 18,*
*371.***Tea.**Additional Duty of 2*d.* per pound on
—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 19, 641,*
*642 ; Apr. 26, 1264.*Ireland, Treasury Estimate of Duty
and Consumption in, *Apr. 26,*
*1189.*Tibet Expedition, Objects of—Policy of
H.M. Government, etc., *Apr. 13, 110.*Wine and Spirits, Duties on, Decrease in
in Revenue derived from, *Apr. 26,*
*1213, 1214.***Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.**—*Chairman of*
Committees [Cumberland, Penrith]Baker St. and Waterloo Railway Bill,
*Con. Apr. 14, 266 ; 3R. Apr. 28, 1507.*Deputy Speaker, Appointment as, During
Indisposition of Mr. Gully, *Apr. 13,*
*73.*Liverpool and London and Globe Insur-
ance Company Bill, 2*r.* *Apr. 26, 1261.*Rulings by, as Chairman, *see under Chair-*
*man.***Lucas, Mr. R. J.** [Portsmouth]**Navy.**Dockyards — Wages Paid to Em-
ployés, Rate of, *Apr. 12, 51.*Torpedoes—Steps Taken to Encourage
Efficiency in use of, *Apr. 12, 28.***Luggacurren Estate**Evicted Tenants from, Considering Claims
of, for Re-instatement.Q. Mr. J. Redmond ; A. Mr. Wynd-
ham, *Apr. 18, 393-394.***Lunatics**Criminal — Judicial Statistics presented,
*Apr. 12, 4 ; Apr. 19, 479.***Ireland.**

Ballinasloe Asylum.

Charge Against Attendant Kenny,
etc.Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 21,*
*850-851.***Lunatics — cont.****Ireland—cont.**Ballinasloe Asylum—*cont.*Medical Superintendent, Junior
Assistant appointed to Post
of, Reason, etc.Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 21,*
*851-852.*British Soldiers and Sailors in Irish
Asylums.Q. Mr. J. O'Connor ; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 19, 522-*
*523.*Mullingar Resident Magistrate and
Notification of Cases.Q. Mr. Hayden ; A. Mr.
Atkinson, *Apr. 26, 1183-*
*1184.*Paupers, Uncertified, Admission of.
to Workhouses.Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr. Wynd-
ham, *Apr. 18, 384.*Scotland—Commissioners' Annual Report
presented, *Apr. 12, 6 ; Apr. 19, 480.***London, Mr. W.** [Limerick, E.]

Education, Ireland.

Primary—Antiquated and inadequate
system, *Apr. 18, 462.*Teachers — Status and remuneration
grievances, *Apr. 18, 463.*Income Tax — Appeal from Ballinvara
Creamery, fixing Date for hearing.
*Apr. 20, 688-689.***Lymph**Scotland, for, Annual sum paid to Dr.
Blaxall for.Q. Mr. Weir ; A. Mr. G. Lawson,
*Apr. 18, 380.***Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred**—*Secretary of State*
for the Colonies [Warwick and Leam-
ington]Africa, South—Constabulary forwarding
home Discharges from, etc., *Apr. 20,*
*677.*Africa, West—Agricultural Implements,
Import Duties on, *Apr. 21, 843.*British Guiana, Indian Coolie Immigration
to—Date of publishing Ordinance,
*Apr. 18, 374.*Canada—Iron and Steel Bounties—Amount,
etc., *Apr. 14, 195.*

Cape Colony.

Cape Town—Danzys's Virus for Rat
Destruction, Experiments with,
*Apr. 20, 678.*East London, Order to British Indian
Tradesmen to vacate, *Apr. 20,*
680 ; Apr. 27, 1293, 1294 ; Apr.
28, 1437.

Ceylon.

Estate Schools in—Attitude of Estate
Owners, *Apr. 28, 1437.*[*cont.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—cont.**Ceylon—cont.**

School Children in, Statistics as to
Apr. 26, 1194.

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27, 1391.*

Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Commissions, *Apr. 12, 18; Apr. 27, 295.*

Transvaal Departmental Supplies,
purchasing through, *Apr. 25, 1044-5.*

Davies v. The Crown—Cause of Delay in
settling Case, *Apr. 28, 1436.*

Fiscal Policy—Preferential Tariffs, Colonial
Resolutions relating to, *Apr. 18, 372-373; Apr. 20, 679.*

France—Arbitration Treaty with Great
Britain—Newfoundland Establish-
ments to be relinquished by the French,
Apr. 20, 677.

Gilbert Islands, Maladministration in,
Alleged—Tabling Inquiry Report,
proposed, *Apr. 27, 1294, 1296.*

Gold Coast Colony Railway—Purchase of
Coal through Crown Agents—Average
Price paid, etc., *Apr. 18, 367.*

Nigeria, Northern—Military Operations,
July, 1903, Tabling Despatches relating
to, *Apr. 26, 1193.*

Orange River Colony, Native Labour in,
Statistics as to Unemployed, *Apr. 19, 527.*

Plague at Hong-Kong—Number of Cases
from January to March, 1904, *Apr. 14, 195.*

Rhodesia.

Hut Tax, Collection of, by British
South African Police, *Apr. 18, 367.*

Murray, late J., of, Missing Property
of, *Apr. 28, 1443.*

South African War—Repatriation of Boers,
Cost, Names of Boers, etc., *Apr. 21, 344; Apr. 25, 1043.*

Transvaal.**Chinese Labour, Importation of.**

Australian Resolution opposing,
Tabling, etc., *Apr. 25, 1043.*

Boer opposition to Ordinance,
Withdrawal of, *Apr. 14, 194, 195.*

Chinese Government, Negotiations
with—Date of Tabling Papers,
Apr. 19, 528.

Health of Labourers, Repatriation
after Breakdown of, *Apr. 19, 527.*

Negotiations, Conclusion of—Date
of exportations of Labourers
from China, etc., *Apr. 27, 1294.*

Ordinance and Regulations, Date
of Tabling, *Apr. 18, 374; Apr. 20, 678.*

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—cont.**Transvaal—cont.****Chinese Labour—cont.**

Plague at Hong-Kong and
Johannesburg, Suspending
Operations during Prevalence
of, *Apr. 18, 374.*

Religious observances, facilities
for, *Apr. 13, 80.*

Shipping Accommodation pro-
vided—Ports of Embarkation,
etc., *Apr. 28, 1441-1442.*

Wages.

Kaffir Wages, lowering of, by
Competition, *Apr. 18, 368.*

Rate of, *Apr. 12, 20.*

Chinese under unrestricted conditions,
Number and Status of, *Apr. 18, 373.*

Departmental Supplies, purchasing
through Crown Agents, etc., *Apr. 25, 1044-1045.*

High Commissioner—Regulations as to
assenting to Ordinances, *Apr. 18, 373.*

Johannesburg.

Plague Serum, Prohibition of use
of, *Apr. 14, 191.*

Street Regulations against
Coloured Persons in, *Apr. 18, 366-367.*

Land Settlement Scheme, Progress of—
Return, *Apr. 12, 20.*

Magistrates—Return giving Names,
Ages, etc., Date of granting, *Apr. 12, 20.*

Mines.

Gold Output of, and White and
Coloured Labourers employed
in, March 1898, 1899, 1902,
1903, and 1904, *Apr. 25, 1040; Apr. 26, 1193.*

Mortality in.

Date of issuing Return, *Apr. 12, 19.*

Tabling Papers, *Apr. 28, 1442.*

Native Labour—Statistics as to Un-
employed, *Apr. 19, 527.*

Revenue and Expenditure, Statistics
concerning, *Apr. 25, 1039.*

Trinidad.

Disturbances at Port of Spain—Date
of issuing Report, *Apr. 14, 190.*

Indian Coolie Immigration to—Date
of publishing Ordinance, *Apr. 18, 374.*

Lytton, Earl of

Dogs, Importation of—Withdrawal of
Order relating to, proposed, *Apr. 22, 944.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

McArthur, Mr. C. [Liverpool, Exchange]

Birmingham and Southwark Bishopies Bill, Second Reading, Giving Notice of, *Apr. 21*, 844.

Cotton Industry, condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1402.

Marine Insurance Bill, Date of Reintroduction of, *Apr. 13*, 83.

Merchant Shipping—Foreign Ships trading with United Kingdom—Application of Regulations—Date of Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, *Apr. 13*, 83.

Ritualistic Practices, Royal Commission on—Composition and Terms of Reference, *Apr. 20*, 764, 772, 773.

McArthur, Mr. W. A. [Cornwall, St. Austell]

Devon and Cornwall, provision of Harbours of Refuge in, proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1517.

McCartie Estate

Compulsory Sale of—Delay Alleged. *O. Mr. Murphy, Apr. 13*, 155.

McCrae, Mr. G. [Edinburgh, East]

Exchequer Balances 1st April, 1899 and 1904—South African Loans and Payments, etc., *Apr. 20*, 681, 682.

Exchequer realised Deficit 1903-4, means of Meeting, *Apr. 21*, 836-837.

Expenditure, Increase in, *Apr. 19*, 620, 621.

Income Tax, Additional 1d. in the pound on—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 19*, 623.

Land Values, Tax on, Proposed, *Apr. 19*, 624.

National Debt—Amount of Contribution to the Sinking Fund, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 624.

Macfarlane Estate

Compulsory sale of—Reasons for Delay. *O. Mr. T. W. Russell, Apr. 13*, 163; *Mr. Wyndham*, 174.

Macgillicuddy Estate

Compulsory sale of—Delays and Irregularities alleged. *O. Mr. Murphy, Apr. 13*, 155; *Mr. Wyndham*, 175.

M'Hugh, Mr. P. A. [Leitrim, N.]

Dohern National School, Closing of—Action of National Board, *Apr. 19*, 534.

MacIver, Mr. D. [Liverpool, Kirkdale]

Ritualistic Practices, Royal Commission on—Composition and Terms of reference, *Apr. 20*, 769.

McKenna, Mr. R. [Monmouth, N.]

Alien Paupers, Number of—Proportion to whole Alien Population—Proportion of British Paupers to Population, *Apr. 25*, 1052.

McKenna, Mr. R.—cont.

Income Tax, Number of persons paying, Graduation of tax, etc., *Apr. 26*, 1245, 1246.

Local Authorities, indebtedness of, increase in, *Apr. 19*, 627.

National Debt, Customs and Inland Revenue, Amendment of law relating to, *Apr. 26*, 1239, 1240, 1243.

National Debt, Permanent charge, Amount devoted to paying off, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1352.

Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 628.

McKillop, Mr. W. [Sligo, N.]

Tithe, Quit and Crown Rents—Prices of Redemption in 1901, 1902 and 1903, *Apr. 19*, 535; *Apr. 25*, 1057.

Macnamara Dr. T. J. [Camberwell, N.]

Education

Elementary School Departments — Number in England and Wales, *Apr. 18*, 380.

Ireland—Primary Education Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 461.

London Act.

Provided Schools, grouping of, postponing Operation of Act as regards, *Apr. 27*, 1300-1301.

Section 2, Date of coming into Operation, *Apr. 27*, 1299-1300.

Section 7, postponing Operation of, *Apr. 27*, 1300.

Underfed children—Provision of Meals by Local Education Authority proposed, *Apr. 20*, 789.

Voluntary Schools' Managers — London County and Borough Council Appointments, *Apr. 27*, 1299.

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill.

Expenditure under, *Apr. 28*, 1444-1445.

Non-provided Schools — Powers of Local Authorities, *Apr. 28*, 1445.

Section 16, Act of 1902, suggested substitution for, *Apr. 28*, 1444.

Licensing Bill—"Persons interested in" Licensed Premises, Scope of Term, *Apr. 27*, 1301.

Navy.

Haslar Hospital—Allowing Free Use of Haslar Bridge, *Apr. 18*, 369.

Submarines — Loss of A1 — Salvage operations, Reasons for delay in, *Apr. 14*, 193.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Macnamara, Dr. T. J.—cont.

Savings Banks Deficiencies—Making good out of Consolidated Fund, *Apr. 14, 197.*

Transvaal—Chinese Labour, Ordinance, Withdrawal of Boer opposition to, *Apr. 14, 194.*

MacNeill, Mr. J. G. S. [Donegal, S.]

Arabia—Seizure of Smuggled Arms at Makalla, *Apr. 27, 1295.*

Army.

Artillery—Royal Garrison Regiment, Transfer of, from Malta to South Africa, *Apr. 19, 524-525.*

Courts Martial—Powers of Judge Advocate General in quashing convictions, *Apr. 13, 78.*

India—Policy of Viceroy, Possibility of discussing, except on special Motion, *Apr. 13, 97.*

Navy.

Flogging in, Abolition of, *Apr. 25, 1039-1041; Apr. 28, 1438-1439.*

Speed of H.M.S. "Drake" and "Lancaster"—Improved Propellers, *Apr. 18, 357-358.*

Persian Gulf, Smuggling of Ammunition in the, Making Inquiries as to, *Apr. 19, 580.*

Queen's College, Cork—Residence of President, *Apr. 26, 1185.*

Recruiting in Ireland—Circular issued by Major Gerard, *Apr. 19, 525.*

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Hardships inflicted on poorer classes in Ireland by, *Apr. 19, 632; Apr. 26, 1268-70.*

Transvaal—Chinese Labour—Facilities for Religious Observances, *Apr. 13, 79.*

Tredennick Estate, Donegal, Delay in Applotting, *Apr. 27, 1305.*

West Down Parliamentary Election—Recommendation of Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, *Apr. 27, 1307-1308.*

Yeomanry Sergeant Forster, Arrears of Pay due to, Cause of Delay in Payment of, *Apr. 28, 1439-1440.*

MacVeagh, Mr. J. [Down, S.]

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department—Veterinary Branch—Decision as to Officers' Petition, *Apr. 18, 365.*

Down (Co.) Assizes—Composition of Grand Jury, *Apr. 12, 22.*

Loan Fund Board, Ireland.

Belleek and Fintona Loan Fund Societies, Financial Position of, *Apr. 12, 23.*

Legislation—Reintroduction of Bill, *Apr. 12, 22.*

MacVeagh, Mr. J.—cont.

National School Teachers, Ireland—King's Scholars, Training in 1899-1900, position, date of increment, etc., *Apr. 15, 299, 300.*

Press Gallery of the House—Provision of Annunciators and Tape Machines, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1497.*

Spirits, Adulteration of.

Excise regulations as to spirits issued from bond for home consumption, *Apr. 14, 196, 199.*

Government Warehouses, in, *Apr. 25, 1048-1049.*

Transvaal—Chinese Labour—Religious Observances, Facilities for, *Apr. 13, 80.*

West Down Parliamentary Election—Recommendation of Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, etc., *Apr. 27, 1308.*

Macedonia

Civil Assessors, Tabling Reports of.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 18, 360.*

Gendarmerie, Reorganisation of.

Foreign Staff Officers—Numbers and Distribution, etc.

Q. Mr. Moon; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 18, 359-360.*

Q. Mr. Bryce; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 25, 1047-1048.*

Turkish Refusal to comply with Reform Proposals—Sending out Non-Commissioned Officers.

Q. Mr. C. Allen; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 19, 528-529.*

Madagascar

Exports and Imports, Value of—Statistics for 1903, etc.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 14, 200.*

Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, Ireland

Case sent for trial in opposition to views of the majority of local magistrates—Action to be taken by the Government.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25, 1025.*

Mahony Estate

Sale of.

Delays and irregularities, alleged.

Q. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 155;*
Mr. Wyndham, 175.

Doherty, Florence, Re-instatement of.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 12, 21.*

Evicted Tenants, Applications from.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28, 1433.*

Maidenhead Bridge Bill

1. Report from Select Committee, *Apr. 28, 1406.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Makalla.

Smuggled arms, seizure of.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Brodrick,
*Apr. 27, 1295, 1296.***Malta.**Defences of, Regulations as to Admission
of Foreigners to view.Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Pretym-
man, *Apr. 25, 1026-1027.***Manchester Ship Canal [Finance] Bill**l. Rep.* *Apr. 22, 941.***Mansfield Estate (Co. Tyrone)**Compulsory Sale of—Reasons for delay,
etc.O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13, 162.***Manufacturers**Scottish Board of, carrying out Recom-
mendations of.Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 26, 1183.***Marine Insurance Bill**

Re-introduction, Date of.

Q. Mr. C. McArthur; A. Mr. A. J.
Balfour, *Apr. 13, 83.***Marines, Royal-**

Pensions of, suggested Increase in.

Q. Mr. Kearley; A. Mr. Pretym-
man, *Apr. 18, 358.***Markham, Mr. A. B. [Nottinghamshire,
Mansfield]**Army—Guns, Standardisation of, *Apr. 14,*
*217.***Marlborough, Duke of [Parliamentary Secre-
tary for the Colonies]**New Zealand Trade—Preferential tariff for
British goods, sanction of the Legisla-
ture, etc., *Apr. 21, 830, 831, 832.***Marriages**Scotland, Annual Report presented, *Apr.*
*12, 6; Apr. 19, 481.***Martin, Mr. R. B. [Worcestershire, Droit-
wich]**National Debt, reduction in, *Apr. 21, 924.***Maryborough Prison**

Insane Convict, Treatment of.

Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Atkinson,
*Apr. 28, 1448-1449.*Warders in—Discontent owing to conduct
of Chief Warder, taking steps with
regard to.Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 28, 1434.***Massereene and Deane Estate**

Compulsory sale of—reasons for delay.

O. Mr. T. W. Russell, *Apr. 13, 163.***Matlock and District Gas Bill**c. 2R.* *Apr. 19, 516.***Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. [Wigton]**Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill,
2R., *Apr. 15, 336.***Maxwell, Mr. W. J. [Dumfriesshire]**Education—Scotch Districts—presenting
Return showing Area, Population, and
Valuation, *Apr. 18, 360.***Medical Attendance**Poor Law, *see* Poor Law—Scotland.**"Melampus," H.M.S.**

Repairs, Carrying out, at Haulbowline.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Pretym-
man, *Apr. 20, 675.***Merchant Shipping**Foreign Ships trading to and from Ports in
the United Kingdom—Application of
Regulations—Committee of Inquiry,
date of appointment.Q. Mr. C. McArthur; A. Mr. A.
J. Balfour, *Apr. 13, 83.*Goods, Carriage of—Liability of Shipping
Companies—Legislation to revise
Clauses in Bills of lading proposed.Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Mr. G. Balfour,
*Apr. 12, 956.*Income Tax, exemption of Mariners from—
Inconsistencies of Board of Inland
Revenue, as to.Os. Lord Muskerry, *Apr. 25, 1017;*
Earl of Donoughmore, 1019.Stamp Duties, Evasions of by Companies—
Proposed Government Action.Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Mr. A. Chamber-
lain, *Apr. 26, 1189-1190.***Merchant Shipping Bill**l. 1R.* *Apr. 25, 1017.***Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill**c. 2R.* *Apr. 12, 1.***Metric System of Weights and Measures**Weights and Measures Bill, *see that title.***Metropolitan Police***see* Police.**Metropolitan Police Provisional Order
Bill**c. Rep.* *Apr. 14, 182.*3R.* *Apr. 15, 293.*l. 1R.* *Apr. 19, 478.***Metropolitan Railway Bill**c. 2R.* *Apr. 19, 516.***Mid-Cheshire Tramways Bill**l. Bill not to be proceeded with, *Apr. 26,*
*1165.***Midland Railway Bill**c. Con.* *Apr. 13, 73.*3R.* *Apr. 18, 349.*l. 1R.* *Apr. 19, 477.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Mildmay, Mr. F. B. [Devonshire, Totnes]

House of Commons.

Divisions, Alteration in method of taking, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1470.*

Ventilation and sanitation of, *Apr. 28, 1470.*

Militia

Accountments provided, Grievances as to. *O. Mr. C. Warner, Apr. 14, 274.*

Field Artillery, Armament of, and increase in, proposals as to.

O. Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 212.

Garrison Artillery—Training at mobilisation stations, use of modern guns, etc.

O. Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 221.

Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G. [Notts, Bassetlaw]

Liverpool, Licences and Drunkenness in, *Apr. 19, 521.*

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, 2R., 340.

Mines

Child Labour in—Hours of labour, powers of Inspector to vary.

Q. Mr. Fenwick; A. Mr. Akers-Douglas, Apr. 13, 80.

Coal, *see* Coal Mines.

Mitchell, Mr. E. [Fermanagh N.]

Agricultural Department—Loans for providing Machinery for Technical Instruction, Issue of, *Apr. 28, 1450.*

Ely Estate, Fermanagh—Decrees for Rent against Tenants—Expediting Sale to Tenants, *Apr. 28, 1449-1450.*

Erne River, Laying down young Trout in, *Apr. 26, 1186.*

Fermanagh.

Arms Act, Proclamation under, *Apr. 26, 1185.*

Land Purchase in—Cases of Delay in Settlements, *Apr. 26, 1185.*

Molesworth, Sir L. W. [Cornwall, Bodmin]

Battleships, Speed Trials by, off Cornwall, Damage to Fisheries from, *Apr. 28, 1431.*

Monaghan

Agricultural and Technical Committee, Display of Party Flags at Shows, prohibited by.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 20, 686.

Monkswell, Lord

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, 2R. *Apr. 21, 811, 818.*

Moon, Mr. E. B. P. [St. Pancras, N.]

Africa, South—Constabulary, forwarding Discharges home, etc., *Apr. 20, 677.*

France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain—Newfoundland Establishment relinquished by the French, *Apr. 20, 677.*

Moon, Mr. E. B. P.—cont.

Macedonia—Gendarmerie, Re-organisation of—Foreign Staff Officers—Numbers and Distribution, etc., *Apr. 18, 359.*

Tibet Expedition—Reasons for—Tibetan Mission to St. Petersburg, *Apr. 13, 112.*

Transvaal—Chinese Labour—Date of Tabling Ordinance and Regulations, *Apr. 20, 677-678.*

Mooney, Mr. J. J. [Dublin County, S.]

Contracts for the Army, Exclusion of Irish Firms, *Apr. 14, 254.*

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 28, 1481.*

Rathmines, Division into Wards, Delay in holding Inquiry as to, *Apr. 19, 535.*

Moray Firth

Trawling in—Landing Regulations for Foreign Vessels—Legislation for removal of anomalies, proposed.

O. Marquess of Huntley, Apr. 19, 512; Earl of Onslow, 514.

Morley, Rt. Hon. J. [Montrose Burghs]

Business of the House, Course of, *Apr. 13, 84.*

Morocco

Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and France.

Consultation of Moroccan and Spanish Governments, etc.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 209.

Continental Agreements as to Morocco.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 20, 692, 693.

Moseley Commission

Reports, publishing, as Parliamentary Papers.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 18, 395.

Motor Cars

Hyde Park, Prohibited Roads in, exhibition of Notices in.

Q. Mr. Bull; A. Lord Balcarras, Apr. 25, 1052-1053.

Number registered and number of licences granted in 1903-4—Address for Return, *Apr. 28, 1536.*

Scotland.

Registration and Licensing, Order presented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19, 484.*

Use and Construction, Order presented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19, 484.*

Motor Cycles

Use of, for despatch-carrying in Imperial Yeomanry Training, proposed.

Q. Mr. Allhusen; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 27, 1292, 1293.

Moulton, Mr. J. F. [Cornwall, Launceston]

Devon and Cornwall, Provision of Harbours of Refuge in, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1515.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Moy

Post Office.—Reason for Extra Fees charged.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 14, 206.

Mullingar

Lunatics in—Notification to Resident Magistrate.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 26, 1183-1184.

Mullingar, Kells and Drogheda Railway Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 18, 350.

Con.* Apr. 25, 1021.

3R.* Apr. 28, 1422.

Murnaghan, Mr. G. [Tyrone, Mid]

Tea Duty, Increase in, hardships inflicted on the poorer classes in Ireland by, Apr. 27, 1328-9.

Murphy, Mr. J. [Kerry, E.]

Killarney, Establishing Telephone Communication with, Apr. 25, 1060.

Labourers (Ireland) Acts—Appointment of Mr. C. Atkinson, Apr. 18, 383.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Procedure, Delays, &c.—Winding up Business of the Court proposed, Apr. 13, 151, 176.

Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G.—Secretary for Scotland [Buteshire]**Education.**

Defective and Epileptic Children, making provision for, Apr. 25, 1029.

Districts.

Area, Population, and Valuation, presenting Return showing, Apr. 18, 360.

Valuation and Population of, Apr. 28, 1431.

Equivalent Grants, Apr. 25, 1030.

Fisheries, Protection of, Names of Vessels engaged in, Apr. 19, 532.

Lewis, Isle of—Cromore-Gravir Road, Grant for construction of, Apr. 25, 1029.

Manufactures, Board of, carrying out Recommendations of, Apr. 26, 1183.

Poor Law—Medical attendance for paupers, rules, etc., Apr. 13, 77.

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act—Absence of M.P.'s from Commission of Inquiry, Apr. 18, 381.

Secondary and Technical Education—Grants for Tulliallan and Culross, Apr. 20, 685.

Taxation, Local—Amount available for distribution to Mar. 31, 1903, Apr. 14, 185.

Murray, late James

Missing Property of.

Q. Mr J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 28, 1442-1443.

Museums

British Museum, *see that title*.

Victoria and Albert—Date of completing Building.

Q. Mr Coghill; A. Lord Balcarras, Apr. 18, 356.

Music

Irish Royal Academy of, Lack of Accommodation in—Granting College of Science Building to.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 388-389.

Muskerry, Lord

Merchant Service—exemption of Mariners from Income Tax—Inconsistencies as to, Apr. 25, 1017, 1020.

Nannetti, Mr. J. P. [Dublin, College Green]**Army.**

Canteens—Supplies in Ireland, Apr. 14, 249, 250, 251.

Contracts for—exclusion of Irish Firms, Apr. 14, 234, 243, 253, 256, 276.

Contracts for Government Buildings—excluding Irish Firms from tendering, Apr. 26, 1187-1188.

Dublin.

Inland Revenue and Customs Receipts, Amounts 1902-3, Forwarding Money to London, etc. Apr. 25, 1057.

Post Office, Dual working in, Apr. 28, 1453-1454.

Science College, New Building—Employing Irish Materials and Workmen, etc., Apr. 28, 1452.

Telegraph Service, Dismissal of Messengers, Apr. 25, 1059.

Telegraph School, overcrowding of, Apr. 28, 1453.

Tram Car Licences—Inclusion in amount for Stage Carriage Licences, Apr. 22, 957.

Education, Ireland, Primary—antiquated and in adequate system, Apr. 18, 397.

Housing of Working Classes, embodying Resolutions of National Convention in framing Bill for, Apr. 25, 1055.

Telegraph Service.

Promotion of Female Operators in the Central Office, Apr. 19, 530-531.

Supplementing Staff from England on account of Royal Visit, Apr. 20, 690-691.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

National Debt

Comparison of indebtedness during last five years.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 554.

Funded and Unfunded Debt.

Amounts of, 1904, etc.

Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1032.

Reduction in—Statistics.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 553.

Law relating to, Amendment of—Resolution

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *Apr. 26*, 1239, 1241; Mr. McKenna, 1239, 1240, 1243; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1239, 1241; Mr. J. H. Lewis, 1241; Mr. Lough, 1242; Mr. Buchanan, 1242.

Permanent Debt, Charge.

Allocation of.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 21*, 838.

Amount devoted to payment of.

Os. Mr. McKenna, Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Resolution as to.

Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1198.

Reduction in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 553-4; Mr. Ashton, 608; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 861; Mr. G. Bowles, 885; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 899; Mr. Martin, 924.Q. Mr. Runciman; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1048.

Sinking Fund.

Reduction of Debt by means of.

Os. Mr. Ashton, *Apr. 19*, 609; Mr. McCrae, 622; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 861; Mr. Ritchie, 866, 867, 868; Mr. Runciman, 890; Mr. McCrae, Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1243.

Suspension of, objections to.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 559; Mr. Ritchie, 577; Mr. Haldane, 578; Sir H. Fowler, 596; Sir G. Bartley, 629; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 861; Mr. S. Samuel, 918.**National Expenditure***see* Revenue and Expenditure.**National School Teachers, Ireland**

Appointments and dismissals exclusively in the hands of the managers.

Os. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 436, 461; Dr. Macnamara, 461.

Evening School Teachers, Queen's County, Payment of Grants to.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 26*, 1179-1181.**National School Teachers, Ireland—cont.**

Payment by results, abolition of, hardship entailed by.

O. Sir J. Haslett, *Apr. 18*, 446.

Salaries.

King's Scholars training in 1899-1900, position of, date of increment etc.

Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 15*, 299, 300.

Statistics.

O. Mr. Nannetti, *Apr. 18*, 402.

Status and remuneration of, Grievances in connection with.

Os. Mr. Nannetti, *Apr. 18*, 402, 403; Mr. S. Young, 425; Sir J. Haslett, 444; Mr. London, 463.

Training.

Re-modelling present system, proposed.

O. Mr. T. O'Donnell, *Apr. 18*, 410, 411.**Navy**

First Lord—Earl of Selborne.

Financial Secretary—Mr. E. G. Pretymann.

Armaments, Vote for, *Apr. 12*, 27.

Bases—Ullapool at, construction of—Progress of Work.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Lee, *Apr. 18*, 368.

Battleships.

Armament for, date of placing order.

Os. Mr. J. F. Hope, *Apr. 12*, 51; Mr. Pretymann, 51, 52.

Construction by foreign countries—number, tonnage, etc., of vessels building and projected.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 15*, 296.

Gunning of—Calibre of guns.

O. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 29.

Speed Trials, Damage to Fishing Industry by—measured mile at Polperro—Question of Compensation, etc.

Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *Apr. 26*, 1170; Lord Selborne, 1173.Q. Sir L. Molesworth; A. Mr. A. Fellowes, *Apr. 28*, 1431-1432.

Boilers.

Accidents and Repairs since first Report of Committee, Furnishing List of.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 46; Mr. Pretymann, 47.

Working of Various Classes, Information as to.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 46; Mr. Pretymann, 47.

Canteens, System of—Corrupt Practices, etc., Alleged.

Os. Mr. Kearley, *Apr. 12*, 66; Mr. Pretymann, 68.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Navy—cont.

"Centurion," H.M.S., Defective Gun Sights of.

Q. Mr. Harmsworth; A. Mr. Pretyma-
man, *Apr. 18*, 358-359.

Repairing at Hong-Kong, proposed.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Mr. Pretyma-
man, *Apr. 12*, 41.

Chilian Battleships, Purchase of, Increase
in Estimates Due to.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*,
550; Mr. Ritchie, 576; Mr.
Labouchere, 1341.

Coal, Estimate for, Reason for Placing on
the Shipbuilding Vote.

Os. Earl of Dalkeith, *Apr. 12*, 61;
Mr. Pretyma, 62.

Contracts—Acceptance of Highest Tender
at Berehaven.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 25, 1026.

Cruisers.

Armoured, Gunning of—Inadequate
Provision of Modern Guns.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *Apr. 12*, 27;
Sir C. Dilke, 29; Mr. Prety-
man, 34.

Designs for New, Date of Issuing.

Os. Mr. J. F. Hope, *Apr. 12*, 51;
Mr. Pretyma, 51, 52.

Defences, Regulations as to Admission of
Foreigners to View.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 25, 1026-1027.

Discharges—Case of Ormaby Webb.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Pretyma, *Apr.*
25, 1026.

Dockyards, *see that title*.

"Drake" and "Lancaster," Speed of
H.M.S.—Improved Propellers.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr.
Pretyma, *Apr. 18*, 357-358.

Engineer Commanders, Regulations as to
Pay of.

Q. Mr. Kearley; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 25, 1027-1029.

Expenditure by Continental Countries in
years 1880, 1890, 1900, 1901, 1902,
1903, Compared with that of Great
Britain—Return presented, *Apr. 18*,
352.

Fleets of Great Britain and Foreign
Countries—Return presented, *Apr.*
22, 954.

Flogging in, Abolition of.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. A. Lee,
Apr. 25, 1039-1041.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 28, 1438-1439.

Flour, Oatmeal, Biscuits, etc., Manufacture
of, by the Government.

Os. Mr. Kearley, *Apr. 12*, 65; Mr.
Pretyma, 67, 68.

Gun Sights.

"Centurion," of, *see subheading*
"Centurion."

Navy—cont.

Gun Sights—cont.

Defects in, Committee of Inquiry
into, Appointment of, proposed.

O. Mr. Kearley, *Apr. 12*, 32.

Systems and Gearing in use.

Os. Mr. Pretyma, *Apr. 12*, 38,
39; Mr. Kearley, 39; Mr. G.
Bowles, 41.

Gunnery.

Committees of practical sailors
appointed to inquire into.

O. Mr. Pretyma, *Apr. 12*, 34.

High Angle fire, Investigations as to
possibility of increasing.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, *Apr. 12*, 31;
Mr. Pretyma, 37.

Gunpowder—High Explosive used by the
Japanese, Information as to value of.

O. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 30.

Guns.

Armoured Cruisers, Inadequate
gunning of.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *Apr. 12*, 27;
Sir C. Dilke, 29; Mr. Prety-
man, 34.

Battleships, Calibre of Guns on.

O. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 29.

Calibre and length of.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 12*, 29;
Mr. Pretyma, 37, 38; Mr.
G. Bowles, 40.

Efficiency of—Quick-firing guns fitted
with obsolete breech action.

Os. Mr. Kearley, *Apr. 12*, 32,
42; Mr. Pretyma, 42.

Provision of 7.5 and 9.2 Guns in place
of 6-inch.

Os. Mr. Pretyma, *Apr. 12*, 35,
36; Mr. G. Bowles, 35, 40;
Sir C. Dilke, 36.

Haslar Hospital, Arranging for Free Use
of Bridge.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Mr. A. Lee,
Apr. 18, 369.

Marine Light Infantry, Royal—Suggested
Increase in Pensions.

Q. Mr. Kearley; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 18, 358.

"Melampus," H.M.S., Carrying out Re-
pairs to, at Haulbowline.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Prety-
man, *Apr. 20*, 675.

"Odin," H.M.S., visit of, to Tristan da
Cunha, Tabling Report of.

Q. Mr. Loder; A. Mr. Pretyma,
Apr. 28, 1427.

Ordnance, Reserve of, Steps taken to make
adequate.

Os. Sir J. Colomb, *Apr. 12*, 31;
Mr. Pretyma, 37.

Osborne House, *see that title*.

Rations, *see subheading* Victualling.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Navy—cont.**Russo-Japanese War—Naval Operations.**

British attachés, Advisability of appointing, to watch on behalf of the British Navy.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Sir J. Colomb, Apr. 12, 30; Mr. Pretymann, 42.

Naval Officers attached to Belligerent Forces.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 19, 524.

Salvage Vessels and Apparatus—Employment of Private Firms, etc.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 15, 296.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 19, 524.

Shipbuilding.**Expenditure on—Comparison with Foreign Countries for 1895–1904.**

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 12, 19.

Foreign Countries, Number of Ships Building and Projected, Tonnage, etc.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 15, 296.

Germany, Increase in Construction in.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 12, 45.

Tonnage.**Additions to, Compared with those in Navies of France, Russia and Germany.**

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, Apr. 12, 44; Sir J. Colomb; 46.

Total Warship Tonnage 1895 and 1904, and for Continental Countries and United States.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 25, 1028.

Vote for, Delaying Sanction to, proposed.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, Apr. 12, 43.

Submarine Mines, Questionable Policy of placing under control of the War Office.

Os. Sir J. Colomb; Apr. 14, 279; Sir C. Dilke, 280; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 281.

Submarines.**A1, Loss of—Salvage Operations.****Delay, Reasons for.**

Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 14, 193.

Expeditions Salvage and the possibility of Saving Life.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 15, 296.

Information as to.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 18, 369.

Navy—cont.**Submarines—cont.****A1, Loss of, etc—cont.****Swedish Company, Reasons for Employing.**

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 15, 297.

Construction of, Expenditure on, and lack of information as to Design, etc.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, Apr. 12, 59, 60; Mr. G. Bowles, 60; Mr. Pretymann, 61.

Salvage of Damaged Vessels—Special fittings to facilitate raising Submarines.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 15, 296.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. Pretymann, Apr. 19, 524.

Value of, In time of War.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 12, 61; Mr. Pretymann, 61.

Torpedoes, Efficiency in use of, Steps taken to encourage.

Os. Mr. R. Lucas, Apr. 12, 28; Mr. Pretymann, 37.

Ullapool Base, Construction of—Progress of Work.

Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, Apr. 18, 368.

Victualling.**Estimate for, Increase in.**

Os. Mr. Whitley, Apr. 12, 69; Mr. Pretymann, 70.

Provisions not taken up, Arrangements as to Payments for.

Os. Mr. Whitley, Apr. 12, 69; Mr. Pretymann, 70.

Reserves of Stores in Excess of Requirements, alleged.

Os. Mr. Kearley, Apr. 12, 66; Mr. Pretymann, 67, 68.

Victualling Yards—Unskilled Labourers, Character of Work Performed by, and Rate of Wage.

O. Capt. Norton, Apr. 12, 49, 51.

Navy Estimates**Appropriations-in-Aid—Principle of Apportionment in the Different Votes.**

O. Mr. E. Robertson, Apr. 12, 33.

Armaments—£3,646,000, Com., Apr. 12, 27.**Increase in Vote.**

O. Mr. E. Robertson, Apr. 12, 32.

Civil Pensions and Gratuities—£353,300, Com.* Apr. 12, 71.**Half Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay—£706,200, Com.* Apr. 12, 71.****Increase in, References to, in Debate on the Budget, Apr. 19, 550, 581, 585, 595, 604, 610, 623, 630, 638, 639; Apr. 21, 864, 889, 913, 914; Apr. 27, 1319.**

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr 28.

Navy Estimates—cont.

Martial Law, etc.—£15,500, *Com.* Apr. 12, 70.*

Medical Establishments and Services — £293,000, *Com.* Apr. 12, 70.*

Miscellaneous Effective Services—£444,000, *Com.* Apr. 12, 71.*

Roy 1 Naval Reserve—£404,500, *Com.* Apr. 12, 71.*

Scientific Services—£72,600, *Com.* Apr. 12, 71.*

Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.
Coal, Item for, Reason for Placing on the Shipbuilding Vote.

Os. Earl of Dalkeith, Apr. 12, 61; Mr. Pretymann, 62.

Matériel—£5,062,800, Com., Apr. 12, 59.

Personnel—£3,044,200, Com., Apr. 12, 42.

Victualling and Clothing — £2,428,000, *Com., Apr. 12, 65.*

Netherlands

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 19, 481.*

New Members Sworn

Seely, Mr. John Edward Bernard, for the Isle of Wight, *Apr. 13, 84.*

Waldron, Mr. Lawrence Ambrose, for Dublin (St. Stephen's Green), *Apr. 12, 27.*

New River Company Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 19, 516.*

New Zealand

Trade—Preferential Tariff for British Goods—Sanction of the Legislature, etc.

Os. Earl Beauchamp, Apr. 21, 830; Duke of Marlborough, 830, 832; Marquess of Ripon, 831, 832; Lord Tweedmouth, 831; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 832.

New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 12, 2.*

Rep. Apr. 22, 951.*

3R. Apr. 27, 1285.*

Newcastle, Co. Down

Voting Register, Constitution of.

Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. T. W. Russell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 21, 852.

Newfoundland

French Shore question—Payment of Indemnity under Arbitration Treaty.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 210.

Nidd Valley

Light Railway—transfer of powers—Order presented, *Apr. 19, 519.*

Nigeria, Northern

Military Operations July, 1903, Tabling Despatches relating to.

Q. Dr. Farquharson; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 26, 1193.

Nolan, Col. J. P. [Galway, N.]

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18, 456.*

Norman, Mr. H. [Wolverhampton, S.]

Aliens Bill, *2R. Apr. 25, 1106, 1107.*

North Sea Fisheries

Convention of Powers for protection of immature fish proposed.

Os. Lord Tweedmouth Apr. 19, 504, 509; Lord Heneage, 506.

North Staffordshire Railway Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Northbrook, Earl of

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill
2R. Apr. 21, 815.

Tibet Expedition, Reasons for despatch of—Policy of H.M. Government, etc., *Apr. 19, 493.*

Norton, Captain C. W. [Newington, W.]

Army.

Courts of Inquiry, Constitution and procedure of, *Apr. 13, 144.*

Lances and Swords, decision as to retention of, *Apr. 14, 226.*

Army [Annual] Bill, *R., Apr. 13, 144.*

Cape Colony, British India Traders in—Expulsion from East London, *Apr. 27, 1294.*

Customs Watchers, Saving to Revenue by Institution of, *Apr. 22, 954.*

House of Commons—Divisions, alteration in method of taking, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1488.*

Navy—

Dockyards.

Joiners' Grievances, *Apr. 12, 48.*

Labourers Wages at Barrow-in-Furness, *Apr. 25, 1041.*

Police on duty at, pay of, *Apr. 12, 59.*

Victualling yards, unskilled labour in, character of, and rate of remuneration, *Apr. 12, 49, 51.*

Post Office.

Boy Copyists, Employment of, *Apr. 20, 682.*

Sorters—Hours of duty at East Central Office, *Apr. 27, 1297.*

Southampton, Military Riot at, Men of 2nd Cheshire Regiment implicated in, *Apr. 25, 1042; Apr. 27, 1293.*

Norwich Water Bill.

l. 2a. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Rep. Apr. 28, 1403.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council Bill.

c. 2R." Apr. 19, 516.

Nursing.

Workhouses, in—Dealing with Committee Report.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. W. Long, Apr. 28, 1431.

Observatories, Royal

Edinburgh—Report presented, Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 480.

"Odin," H.M.S.

Visit of to Tristan da Cunha, tabling Report of.

Q. Mr. Loder; A. Mr. Pretymen, Apr. 28, 1427.

O'Brien, Mr. J. F. X. [Cork]

Cork, Post Office.

Holidays—choice of months, etc., Apr. 14, 206.

Promotions in.

Senior Sorting Clerks, of, Apr. 14, 206.

Tweedmouth Committee, effecting Recommendations of, Apr. 28, 1427-1428.

O'Brien, Mr. K. [Tipperary, Mid]

Roscrea Post Office, New Premises, Apr. 20, 689-690.

O'Brien, Mr. P. [Kilkenny]

Post Office.

Adult Night Messengers — Annual Leave in Provincial Offices, Apr. 20, 675.

Scotland, Adult Night Messengers in, Number, Hours, Duties, etc., Apr. 21, 839.

O'Brien, Mr. P. J. [Tipperary, N.]

Borrisokane—Allowing use of Workhouse for Technical Classes, Apr. 18, 392-393.

O'Connor, Mr. J. [Wicklow, W.]

Agricultural Department, Veterinary Branch — recently appointed Inspectors, Names, Qualifications, etc., Apr. 28, 1434.

Dublin—Steam Tramway to Blessington—Compensation for Accidents—Names of Claimants, etc., Apr. 18, 361-362.

Lunatic Asylums, Irish, British Soldiers and Sailors in, Apr. 19, 522-523.

Post Office.

Donard, Wicklow, Arrangements in, Apr. 19, 521.

London Porters' Grievances—Reply to Deputation, Apr. 18, 359.

Money found on Counters—Allocation of unclaimed money, Apr. 22, 955.

O'Connor, Mr. J.—cont.

Rathdangan Postal Arrangements—Revision proposed, Apr. 22, 955.

O'Connor, Mr. T. P. [Liverpool, Scotland]

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and Inadequate System, Apr. 18, 439.

O'Donnell, Mr. J. [Mayo, S.]

Maryborough Prison.

Insane Convict, Treatment of, Apr. 28, 1448.

Warders, Discontent among, due to Conduct of Chief Warder, Apr. 28, 1434.

O'Donnell, Mr. T. [Kerry, W.]

Dingle Guardians, Refund of Surcharge against, Apr. 18, 386.

Education, Ireland.

Droumtacher National Schools — Salary of Principal Teacher — Inspection of School, Apr. 18, 364.

Primary—Antiquated and Inadequate System, Apr. 18, 404.

Irish Language, Teaching of.

Circular dealing with, Withdrawal of —Counting Attendances, Apr. 18, 389-390.

Employing Pensioned Teachers outside School Hours, Apr. 25, 1054.

Moseley Commission, Publishing Report of, as Parliamentary Papers, Apr. 18, 395.

Post Office—Money Orders—Delay in Forwarding Advices, Apr. 19, 536-537.

Rae Estate, Kerry, suggested Purchase of by Congested Districts Board, Apr. 18, 386.

O'Malley, Mr. W. [Galway, Connemara]

Cleggan Harbour, Connemara, Date of commencing Improvements to, Apr. 18, 386.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Hardship inflicted on the poorer classes in Ireland by, Apr. 26, 1282.

O'Shee, Mr. J. J. [Waterford, W.]

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Procedure, Delay, &c.—Winding up Business of the Court proposed, Apr. 13, 178.

Onslow, Earl of—President of the Board of Agriculture

Dogs, Importation of — Withdrawal of Order relating to, proposed, Apr. 22, 945.

Sea Fisheries Bill, Com., Apr. 19, 505, 510, 511, 514.

Orange River Colony

Native Labour in, Statistics as to Unemployed.

Q. Mr. S. Buxton; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 19, 527.

Apr 12—Apr. 28.

Ordinance*See under Army.***Ormesby-Gore, Mr. G. R. C.** [Shropshire, Oswestry]Canada—Iron and Steel Bounties, Amount, etc., *Apr. 14, 195.*Death Duties, Increase in, proposed, *Apr. 21, 916.*Financial Position of the Country, *Apr. 21, 917, 918.*Transvaal—Chinese Labour—Ordinance, Boer Opposition to, Withdrawal of, *Apr. 14, 194, 195.*Vagrancy Laws—Suggested Amendment, *Apr. 18, 378.***Orsett**

Rural District Council Election—Suggested Amendment of Ballot Act.

*Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; A. Mr. W. Long, Apr. 20, 674.***Osborne House**

Convalescent Home for Naval and Military Officers — Accommodation provided, etc.

*Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 13, 77.***Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill***1. 2R. Apr. 21, 811.**Debate on Second Reading [Lords] Apr. 21, 811.*

Boards of Guardians — Insufficient Consideration from to Members of Friendly Societies, alleged, 812, 817, 819, 824, 826.

Extension of Provision of Bill to other thrift-promoting Societies, proposed, 813, 818, 823, 826, 828.

Procedure as to Introduction.

Government rather than Private Members' Measure, 814, 820, 821, 822.

House of Lords, Reason for introducing in, 814, 821.

Com. and Rep. Apr. 28, 1409.**Notice of Motion (Earl of Wemyss), Apr. 28, 1409.***Oxshott Heath**Regulation of—Report from Select Committee, *Apr. 22, 951.***Palaces**

Vote for, increase in.

*Os. Mr. Whitley, Apr. 28, 1533; Mr. Dalziel, 1534; Lord Balcarras, 1535.***Paris**

Education—Meals for Underfed Children — Success of system.

O. Mr. C. Hay, Apr. 20, 787.

Postal Service between London and.

*Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 28, 1428.***Parker, Sir G.** [Gravesend]Fiscal Policy—Preferential Tariffs, Colonial Resolutions relating to, *Apr. 18, 372; Apr. 20, 679.***Parliament**

House of Commons.

Adjournment to discuss matter of urgent Public importance.

Os. Mr. A. Taylor, Apr. 20, 695; Mr. Galloway, Mr. Speaker, 696.

Artistic Decorations — Additional Mosaics, etc.

*Os. Dr. Farquharson, Apr. 28, 1469; Col. S. Sackville, 1471; Lord Balcarras, 1475.*Business of the House, *see that title.*Divisions, *see that title.*

Doors behind the Speaker's Chair, and in the Lobby, granting free ingress and egress, proposed.

Os. Mr. Lambert, Apr. 28, 1472; Lord Balcarras, 1474.

Fire, steps taken to safeguard the buildings from.

Os. Mr. Goddard, Apr. 28, 1471; Lord Balcarras, 1475.

Furniture, increase in Vote for.

Os. Mr. Weir, Apr. 28, 1483; Lord Balcarras, 1490.

Heating arrangements, variation of temperature, etc.

Os. Sir W. Foster, Apr. 28, 1473; Lord Balcarras, 1475.

Indicators, inaccuracy of, alleged.

Os. Mr. W. Redmond, Apr. 28, 1488; Lord Balcarras, 1491.

Ladies' Gallery, inadequate Accommodation in — provision of Annunciators and abolition of the Grille, proposed.

Os. Mr. J. Campbell, Apr. 28, 1467; Mr. H. C. Richards, 1408; Dr. Farquharson, 1469; Lord Balcarras, 1475; Mr. T. Taylor, 1484; Mr. G. Bowles, 1484.

Library—inadequate accommodation.

O. Mr. Peel, Apr. 28, 1472.

Lighting, antiquated system of.

Os. Sir W. Foster, Apr. 28, 1473; Lord Balcarras, 1475.

Press Gallery, alterations and improvements in.

Os. Mr. Wylie, Apr. 28, 1458; Mr. W. Redmond, 1462; Sir. W. Foster, 1473.

Annunciators and Tape Machines, provision of.

Os. Mr. MacVeagh, Lord Balcarras, Apr. 28, 1497, 1498.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Parliament—cont.

House of Commons—cont.

Reading and Writing rooms, provision of.

Os. Sir H. Seton-Karr, *Apr. 28*, 1480; Lord H. Cecil, 1482; Mr. G. Bowles, 1485; Mr. T. W. Russell, 1492.

Smoking-room, position and condition of, inadequate accommodation, etc.

Os. Mr. F. Wilson, *Apr. 28*, 1460; Mr. W. Redmond, 1462; Sir W. Foster, 1474; Sir H. Seton-Karr, 1480; Mr. T. Taylor, 1484; Mr. Dalziel, 1491; Mr. T. W. Russell, 1492, 1493; Mr. C. Warner, 1493.

Telephone Service—Inadequacy of Accommodation provided.

Os. Major E. Gordon, *Apr. 28*, 1461; Mr. W. Redmond, 1463; Lord Balcarras, 1479.

Ventilation and Sanitation of—Recommendations of Committee of Inquiry, delay in carrying out, etc.

Os. Mr. Wylie, *Apr. 28*, 1457–9; Mr. F. Wilson, 1459, 1460; Major E. Gordon, 1461; Mr. W. Redmond, 1461, 1463; Sir M. Foster, 1464; Col. Lockwood, 1467; Mr. H. C. Richards, 1467; Dr. Farquharson, 1468; Mr. Mildmay, 1470; Sir W. Foster, 1472; Lord Balcarras, 1476; Mr. J. Ellis, 1479; Mr. Mooney, 1481; Mr T. Taylor, 1484; Mr. G. Bowles, 1485; Mr T. W. Russell, 1493; Mr. Jacoby, 1494.

Vote Office, Ventilation of.

O. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 28*, 1482.

Water Supply, amount paid for, etc.

Os. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 28*, 1482; Lord Balcarras, 1491.

House of Lords.

Sat first.

Abinger, Lord, after the death of his kinsman, *Apr 19*, 477.

Hartismere, Lord (Lord Hen-niker) after the death of his father, *Apr. 21*, 797.

Entry in journals and signature on Test Roll, Vacation of.

Motion [Earl of Halsbury], *Apr. 25*, 1013.

Ravenworth, Lord, after the death of his kinsmen, *Apr. 22*, 941.

Private Bill Procedure—Fees for promoting Bills, Revision of Standing Order regulating scale of, proposed.

Q. Mr. J. H. Lewis; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr 12*, 24.

Parliamentary Agents

Petty Sessions' Clerks acting as, Regulations as to.

Q. Mr. Brand; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 20*, 673.

Parliamentary Bye Elections

New Members sworn.

Seely, Mr. J. E. B., for Isle of Wight, *Apr. 13*, 84.

Waldron, Mr. Lawrence Ambrose, for Dublin (St. Stephen's Green) *Apr. 12*, 27.

Parliamentary Elections

Companies' Act, Franchise limited by—Amendment of Act proposed.

Q. Mr. E. Gray; *A.* Mr. G. Lawson, *Apr. 20*, 685.

West Down, Recommendation of Candidate by Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, etc.

Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 27*, 1307–1309.

Parliamentary Procedure

Manual of—Presented, *Apr. 21*, 835.

Patent Office

Irish Branch proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 26*, 1178.

Patents

British, for Foreigners abroad, Proportion of—Approximate Number in Force, etc.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr 18*, 377–378.

Paulton, Mr. J. M. [Durham, Bishop Auckland]

Trade Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, *2R.*, *Apr. 22*, 958.

Pease, Mr. J. A. [Essex, Saffron Walden]

Ballot Act, suggested Amendment of—Election of Orsett Rural District Council, *Apr. 20*, 674.

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 26*, 1274.

Peel, Mr. W. R. [Manchester, S.]

Aliens Bill, *2R.*, *Apr. 25*, 1129, 1131.

Army.

Barrack Construction on Salisbury Plain, *Apr. 14*, 283.

Rifles—Relative cost of Manufacture by the Government, and the Trade, *Apr. 14*, 241.

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1386.

House of Commons Library—inadequate accommodation, *Apr. 35*, 1472.

Port of London Bill, date of proceeding with, *Apr. 26*, 1196.

[cont.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Peel, Mr. W. R.—cont.

Yeomanry, Inspector-General of—Number of Regiments inspected 1902 and 1903—salary, allowances, etc., *Apr. 26, 1191-1192.*

Pemba

Slaves, Civil rights of.

Q. Mr. Bayley ; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 12 8.

Pensions

Crimean Veterans, Increase in, suggested, *Q. Col. Lockwood ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 28, 1435-1436.*

Marine Light Infantry, Royal—Increase, suggested.

Q. Mr. Kearley ; A. Mr. Pretymen, Apr. 18, 358.

Police, Metropolitan, Authority for granting Good Service Pensions to.

Q. Mr. C. Hay ; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 25, 1033.

Sweeney, Daniel, for.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin ; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 27, 1306-1307.

Teachers in Scotch Crofting Counties—Number granted since 1898.

Q. Mr. Weir ; A. Mr. S. Dickson, Apr. 25, 1053-1054.

Percy, Earl *Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs* [Kensington, S.]

Africa, East—Jewish Colonial Trust, Tabling Papers relating to, *Apr. 26, 1196.*

Congo.

Free State.

British Subjects, Injuries to, Tabling Memoranda, *Apr. 19, 528.*

Foreign Traders in, Confiscation of Merchandise, etc., *Apr. 26, 1195.*

Natives, Ill-treatment of—Reply to Congo Government Request for Facts as to, *Apr. 19, 528.*

Trade Regulations—Case of Mr. A. Visram, *Apr. 21, 849-850.*

French, British Traders in—Concessionaire régime—Pressing for Action by French Government, *Apr. 26, 1195-1196.*

Consular Reports, Scope of—Report on Florence Art Works, *Apr. 19, 522.*

France, Arbitration Treaty with—Variations in French and English Texts—Binding Version, *Apr. 18, 376.*

Macedonia.

Civil Assessors, Tabling Reports of, *Apr. 18, 360.*

Gendarmerie, Re-organisation of.

Foreign Staff Officers—Numbers and Distribution, etc., *Apr. 18, 360 ; Apr. 25, 1047-1048.*

Turkish Refusal to comply with Proposals, etc., *Apr. 19, 529.*

Percy, Earl—cont.

Pemba—Slavery in—Civil rights of Slaves, *Apr. 12, 8.*

Russo-Japanese War—Russian treatment of Correspondents using Wireless Telegraphy, *Apr. 20, 676.*

Siam, French and British Agreements with—Publication of terms of, *Apr. 19, 529-530.*

Somaliland Campaign—Mullah in Italian Territory—Political and Military advantage gained by War, *Apr. 25, 1046-1047.*

Suez Canal Convention—Suspension of paragraphs under terms of Anglo-French Arbitration treaty, *Apr. 14, 196, 197.*

Sugar—Brussels Convention, adherence of Crown Colonies to, *Apr. 18, 375-376.*

Tibet, Expedition to—Military operations—Number of Tibetans killed, *Apr. 14, 197.*

United States—Increase of Duty on Irish Mackerel—Addressing Representation to U.S.A. Government, *Apr. 18, 377.*

Persian Gulf

Smuggling of Ammunition in, Making inquiries as to.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill ; A. Mr. Brod-rick, Apr. 19, 530.

Petty Sessions

Clerks to—Regulations as to taking part in Political Contests, etc.

Q. Mr. Brand ; A. Mr. A. Douglas, Apr. 20, 673.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.

L. 1 R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Piers and Harbours

Avoch, Construction of Harbour at, proposed.

O. Mr. Weir, Apr. 28, 1513, 1514.

Bristol Channel, Necessity for providing harbour of refuge in, *Apr. 28, 1509, 1510 ; Mr. Spear, 1515.*

Cardigan Bay, Provision of harbours of refuge in, proposed.

O. Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Apr. 28, 1529.

Devon and Cornwall, Necessity for harbours of refuge.

O. Mr. Soares, Apr. 28, 1499-1503 ; Mr. G. Bowles, 1504 ; Mr. Lambert, 1506, 1508 ; Mr. Spear, 1514 ; Mr. Moulton, 1515 ; Sir J. Kennaway, 1516 ; Mr. J. McArthur, 1517 ; Mr. G. Balfour, 1518-1523 ; Sir W. Foster, 1524 ; Sir R. Ropner, 1527 ; Mr. Runciman, 1527-8.

Holyhead Harbour, Provision of facilities for landing passengers and goods, etc.

O. Mr. E. Griffith, Apr. 28, 1511, 1512 ; Mr. W. Jones, 1517 ; Mr. G. Balfour, 1524.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Piers and Harbours—cont.**Ireland.**

Bantry Harbour, Dredging of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Berehaven Harbour.

Dredging of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Fund, Admiralty contributions to.

Q. Major Jameson; A. Mr. Pretymman, *Apr. 20*, 673-674.

Castletown Harbour, Dredging of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 533-534.

Cleggan Harbour, Connemara, Date of commencing Improvements to.

Q. Mr. O'Malley; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 386.

Galway Docks Entrance, Dredging.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27*, 1304.

Wexford Fishery Piers, Construction and Repair of.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Local Authorities, Applications by, Regulations as to, etc.

Os. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 28*, 1523, 1526, 1527; Mr. Soares, 1523; Mr. Lambert, 1523, 1526; Mr. Duke, 1526.

Portnagurin, Isle of Lewis—Provision of harbour of refuge at, proposed.

O. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 28*, 1513.

Provision of, Necessity for—Board of Trade Apathy, etc.

Os. Mr. Duke, 1510; Sir F. Banbury, 1511; Mr. Weir, 1512; Sir J. Kennaway, 1516; Mr. W. McArthur, 1517; Mr. G. Balfour, 1519; Sir W. Foster, 1524; Sir J. Brunner, 1525; Mr. Ainsworth, 1528; Mr. Humphreys-Owen, 1529.

Pilkington, Lieut. - Col. R. [Lancashire, Newton]Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1403.Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Bill, 2a. *Apr. 22*, 966, 981.**Pilotage**Liverpool district, Contributions towards funds—Order in Council approving by-laws of Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, *Apr. 22*, 943, 953.**Pirie, Mr. D. V.** [Aberdeen, N.]London and Paris, Postal Service between, *Apr. 28*, 1428.Merchant Shipping—Carriage of Goods—Liability of Shipping Companies—Revision by legislation proposed, *Apr. 22*, 956.**Pirie, Mr. D. V.—cont.**Railway Companies' Liability—Legislation suggested, *Apr. 26*, 1181-1182.Stamp Duties, Evasions of, by Railway and Shipping Companies—Proposed Government Action, *Apr. 26*, 1189-1190.**Plague**

Hong-Kong—Number of cases from Jan. to Mar. 1904.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 14*, 195.India, *see that title*.**Plaistow**

School accommodation at, Provision of—Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 298.**Plovers**

Green, Sale of, in London during close season.

Q. Mr. Scott-Montagu; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 15*, 299.**Plummer, Mr. W. R.** [Newcastle-on-Tyne]Coal Tax, Yield of, *Apr. 12*, 9.

Lightships.

Dover Pier Works, Accidents to, 1899-1903, *Apr. 28*, 1425."Irene," "Mermaid," and "Tear-
sight," Cost of Repairs to, *Apr. 28*, 1424.**Plymouth Corporation Bill**c. Rep.* *Apr. 27*, 1285**Poland**Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943.**Police**Judicial Statistics Presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

Metropolitan.

Funds—Accounts Presented, *Apr. 28*, 1408, 1424.

Pensions and extra allowances.

Good Service, for—Authority for granting.

Q. Mr. C. Hay; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 25*, 1033.

Special Service for—Regulations as to Constable.

Q. Mr. C. Hay; A. Mr. A. A. Douglas, *Apr. 27*, 1292.

Naval Dockyards—Number and Pay of Police on duty at.

Os. Mr. Whitley, *Apr. 12*, 57; Mr. Pretymman, 57; Mr. Kearley, 58; Capt. Norton, Mr. A. A. Douglas, 59.**Polling Districts**Hertford, County of—County Council Order altering certain polling districts, Presented, *Apr. 13*, 76; *Apr. 19*, 483.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Polling Districts—cont.

Lancaster, County Palatine — County Council Order altering certain polling districts, Presented, *Apr. 13*, 76; *Apr. 19*, 483.

Walsall—Council Order altering certain districts in the Borough, *Apr. 22*, 943, 953.

Polperro

Battleship speed trials on measured mile—Damage to fishing industry and question of compensation, etc.

Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *Apr. 26*, 1170; Lord Selborne, 1173.

Q. Sir L. Molesworth; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *Apr. 28*, 1431-1432.

Pondicherry and Karikal

Trade Reports Presented, *Apr. 28*, 1407.

Poor Law

Alien Paupers, Number of, Proportion to whole alien Population, Proportion of British Paupers to British Population.

Q. Mr. McKenna; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 25*, 1052.

Children, Boarded-out, Numbers in England and Wales.

Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 21*, 836.

Guardians.

Ex-Officials in receipt of Pensions, Nomination of.

Q. Dr. R. Harris; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 18*, 361.

Vaccinators, Public, Members appointed as.

Q. Mr. Caldwell; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 20*, 674.

Institutions, Corporal punishment in, Size of birch used, etc.

Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 27*, 1291.

Scotland—Medical attendance.

Committee Report Presented, *Apr. 14*, 184; *Apr. 19*, 479, 481.

Rules, etc.

Q. Mr. J. C. Wason; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Apr. 13*, 76.

Poor Law Medical Officers (Ireland) Superannuation Bill

c. 1st *Apr. 18*, 397.

Poor Prisoners' Defence Act

Rules, Delay in Making.

Q. Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *Apr. 22*, 954.

Population

Return of, Granting.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*, 1058.

Port of London Bill

Date of proceeding with.

Q. Mr. Peel; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 26*, 1196-1197.

Port of Spain

Disturbances—see Trinidad.

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill

L. Report from Select Committee, *Apr. 28*, 1406.

Portnagurin, Isle of Lewis

Harbour of refuge, Construction of, proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1513.

Post Office

Postmaster-General—Lord Stanley.

Adult Night Messengers—Annual Leave in Provincial Offices.

Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 675.

Boy Copyists, Employment of.

Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 682-683.

Ireland.

Castletown Service, Improvement of.

Q. Mr. Gilhooly; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 19*, 537.

Cork.

Holidays, Arrangements for.

Q. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 206.

Promotions.

Senior Sorting Clerks, of.

Qs. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, Capt. Donelan; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 206.

Tweedmouth Committee, Effecting Recommendations of.

Q. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28*, 1427-1428.

Donard, Wicklow, Arrangements in.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 19*, 521.

Dublin Office, Dual working in.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 28*, 1453-1454.

Limerick.

Holiday grievances.

Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Superior Appointments—Increase in number, proposed.

Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 18*, 81.

Telegraph learners, Placing, on establishment.

Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 205.

Telegraphists—Revision of duties proposed.

Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr. 13*, 81.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Post Office—cont.**Ireland—cont.**

Money Orders, Delay in forwarding
Advices.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 19*, 536-537.

Moy, Extra fees at, Reasons for charging.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Lord Stanley,
Apr. 14, 206.

Postmen's Duties.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 28*, 1454.

Rathdangan, Revision of postal arrangements at, proposed.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 22*, 955.

Roscrea, New Premises at.

Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 689-690.

Sub-Postmasters, Complaints as to
inadequacy of Remuneration of.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 26*, 1196.

London.

Letter Delivery in City of—Earlier
Delivery in morning proposed.

Q. Mr. A. Gibbs; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 15*, 297.

Porters' Grievances—Reply to Deputation.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 18*, 359.

London and Paris, Service between.

Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Apr.*
23, 1428.

Money found on Public Counters—Allocation of Unclaimed Money.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Lord Stanley,
Apr. 22, 955.

Potmen—Dundee—Reply to Petition.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Lord Stanley,
Apr. 18, 378-379.

Roman Catholics, Publications reflecting upon, displayed in Post Office Windows.

Qs. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 27*, 1297, 1298.

Savings Banks, *see that title*.

Scales, Inspection of, proposed.

O. Sir J. Dimsdale, *Apr. 15*, 317.

Scotland.**Dundee.**

Earlier Delivery of Letters proposed.

Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 201.

Postmen's Grievances—Reply to
Petition.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.*
Lord Stanley, *Apr. 18*,
378-379.

Night Messengers, Adult, Number,
Hours, Duties, etc.

Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 21*, 839.

Post Office—cont.

Sorters—Hours of Duty at the East Central Office.

Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley,
Apr. 27, 1297.

Powell, Sir F. S. [Wigan]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., *Apr. 15*,
323.

Power, Mr. P. J. [Waterford, E.]

Labourers' Cottages—Alterations of Sites,
obtaining Labourers' Assent to, *Apr.*
18, 390-391.

President of the Board of Agriculture
Earl of Onslow.

President of the Board of Education
Marquess of Londonderry.

President of the Board of Trade
Mr. Gerald W. Balfour.

President of the Local Government Board
Mr. Walter H. Long.

Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill
l. 3R. Apr. 21*, 798.

c. 1R. Apr. 22*, 951.

Preston, Chorley and Horwich Tramways Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 25*, 1021.

Pretyman, Capt. E. G.—Secretary to the Admiralty [Suffolk, Woodbridge]

Admiralty Establishments, Rate of Wages
paid to employees in, *Apr. 12*, 52-54.

Battleships.

Armament for—Date of Placing
Orders, *Apr. 12*, 52.

Construction by Foreign Countries—
Number Projected and Building,
Tonnage, etc., *Apr. 15*, 296.

Berehaven Harbour Fund, Admiralty Contributions to, *Apr. 20*, 673-674.

Birching of Boys, Abolition of, *Apr. 28*,
1438-1439.

Boilers.

Accidents and Repairs since First
Report of Committee, Furnishing
List of, *Apr. 12*, 47.

Working of various Classes, Information
as to, *Apr. 12*, 47.

Broad Contract—Acceptance of highest
Tender at Berehaven, *Apr. 25*, 1026.

Canteens, System of—Alleged Corrupt
Practices, *Apr. 12*, 68.

"Centurion," Defective Gun Sights of.
Repairing at Hong-Kong, proposed,
Apr. 12, 41; *Apr. 18*, 359.

Coal, Estimate for, Reason for Placing on
the Shipbuilding Vote, *Apr. 12*, 62.

[*cont.*]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Pretyman, Capt. E. G.—cont.**Cruisers.**

Designs for, Date of Issuing, 51, 52.

Gunning of Armoured Cruisers, *Apr. 12, 34.*Discharges—Case of Ormsby Webb, *Apr. 25, 1028.***Dockyards.**Ordnance Inspectors, Appointing Naval Officers as, *Apr. 18, 368.*Police on Duty at, Number and Pay of, *Apr. 12, 57.*“Drake” and “Lancaster” Speed of H.M.S.—Improved Propellers, *Apr. 18, 357–358.*Engineer Commanders, Regulations as to Pay of, *Apr. 25, 1028–1029.*Flogging, *see subheading* Birchling.Gibraltar, Malta, etc.—Defences, Regulations as to Admission of Foreigners to view, *Apr. 25, 1027.***Gun Sights.**“Centurion,” H.M.S. — Defective Condition of Sights, *Apr. 12, 41; Apr. 18, 359.*Systems used in the Navy, *Apr. 12, 38, 39.***Gunnery.**Committees of practical sailors appointed to, inquire into, *Apr. 12, 34.*High Angle fire, Specialisation of Ships for, *Apr. 12, 37.***Guns.**Armoured Cruisers, Supply of modern guns to, *Apr. 12, 34.*Calibre and length of, *Apr. 12, 37, 38.*Provision of 7·5 guns instead of 6-inch, *Apr. 12, 35, 36.*Marine Light Infantry, Royal, Pensions of, suggested Increase in, *Apr. 18, 358.*“Melampus,” H.M.S., repairing at Haul-bowline, *Apr. 20, 675.*“Odin,” H.M.S., Visit of, to Tristan da Cunha, Tabling Report of, *Apr. 28, 1427.***Ordnance.**Inspectors of, Appointing Naval Officers, *Apr. 18, 368.*Reserve of, steps taken to make adequate, *Apr. 12, 37.*Russo-Japanese War—Naval Operations—Appointment of British Attaché to watch, proposed, *Apr. 12, 42; Apr. 19, 524.*Salvage Vessels and Apparatus, Provision of, by Admiralty, employment of private firms, etc., *Apr. 15, 296; Apr. 19, 524.***Pretyman, Capt. E. G.—cont.****Shipbuilding.**Expenditure on — Comparison with that of Foreign Countries for 1895–1904, *Apr. 12, 19.*Total Warship Tonnage 1895 and 1904, and for Continental Countries and United States, *Apr. 25, 1028.*Somaliland Campaign—Capture of Fort Illig in Italian Territory by British, *Apr. 28, 1439.***Submarines.**A1, Loss of—Salvage operations. Delay, Reasons for, *Apr. 14, 194.* Information as to, *Apr. 18, 369.*Life-saving, Possibility of, by more expeditious operations, *Apr. 15, 296.*Swedish Firm, Reasons for employing, *Apr. 15, 297.*Construction of, Expenditure on—Value of, in time of war, etc., *Apr. 12, 61.*Salvage, Fittings to facilitate proposed, *Apr. 15, 296.*Torpedoes, Efficiency in use of, Steps taken to encourage, *Apr. 12, 37.***Victualling.**Estimate for, Increase in, *Apr. 12, 69.*Flour, Oatmeal, Biscuits, Manufacture of, by the Government, *Apr. 12, 67, 68.*Provisions not taken up, Arrangements as to payments for, *Apr. 12, 70.*Reserve of Stores in excess of requirements, alleged, *Apr. 12, 67, 68.*Volunteers, Medals to, for Long Service—Considering Military Service after Transfer to Naval Corps, *Apr. 25, 1027.***Prevention of Corruption Bill**l. 2R. *Apr. 22, 1168.*Attorney-General, Power of Veto by. Os. Earl of Halsbury, *Apr. 26, 1168, 1170; Lord James Hereford, 1169.***Price, Mr. R. J. [Norfolk, E.]**Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill, 2R. *Apr. 15, 327.***Prime Minister—Mr. A. J. Balfour.****Prisons**

Aliens in, Number of.

Q. Sir T. Dewar; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 25, 1033–1034.*

Dezives Gaol, Soldiers in—Character of offences—Transfer to Military Prison, Proposed.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14, 190.*

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Prisons—cont.,

Ireland.

Londonderry—Matron, Marriage of, during Term of Service, Alleged.
Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 14, 203.

Maryborough.

Beating of Convict in.
Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 28, 1448-1449.

Warders, Discontent among, Owing to Conduct of Chief Warder, taking Steps with regard to.

Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 28, 1434.

Judicial Statistics presented, Apr. 12, 4; Apr. 19, 479.

Scotland—Annual Report presented, Apr. 12, 4; Apr. 19, 480.

Trinidad — Amended Rule relating to Indentured Immigrants presented, Apr. 12, 5.

Prisoners

Poor Prisoners Defence Act—Delay in Making Rules.

Q. Mr. B. Roberts; A. Mr. A. A. Douglas, Apr. 22, 954.

Private Bills

Procedure—Fees for Promotion of Bills—Revision of Standing Order Regulating Scale of proposed.

Q. Mr. J. H. Lewis; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 12, 24.

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act

Commission of Inquiry, Absence of M.P.'s from.

Qs. Mr. Black, Sir W. Thorburn, Mr. J. Wilson; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 18, 380-381.

Private Legislation Procedure (Wales) Bill

Select Committee appointed, Apr. 26, 1284.

Public Accounts Committee

Reports of—Facilities for Consideration by the House.

Qs. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 21, 887.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 19, 538.

Public Health Acts Amendment Bill

Date of Introduction.

Q. Sir A. Hickman; A. Mr. W. Long, Apr. 25, 1031.

Public Libraries Act

See that subheading under Libraries.

Queen's Colleges

Cork—President, Length of Residence of, during last Three Years, etc.

Qs. Mr. Hayden, Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 26, 1184-1185.

Deputy Presidents, Names, Salaries, etc.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 532-533.

Queen's County

Land Commission — Evicted Tenants, Number of Applications from.

Q. Mr. Delaney; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 13, 82.

Questions

Debates in the House—Rule as to Placing Questions on the Paper.

Qs. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 26, 1243; Mr. J. W. Lowther, 1244.

Insertion of Words in, Complaint as to.

Q. Mr. John Campbell; A. Mr. Speaker, Apr. 27, 1297.

Quit and Crown Rents, Ireland

Amount, Total—Provision of Forestry Department from.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 18, 397.

Redemption of.

Number of Years' Purchase.

Q. Mr. Delaney; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 25, 1037-1038.

Prices in 1901, 1902, and 1903.

Q. Mr. W. McKillop; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 535.

Q. Mr. W. McKillop; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 25, 1057.

Rae Estate, Kerry

Compulsory Sale—Tenants defrauded of purchase, alleged.

Q. Mr. Murphy, Apr. 13, 154.

Purchase by Congested Districts Board suggested.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 18, 386-387.

Railways

Companies' Liability — Legislation suggested.

Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 26, 1181-1182.

Couplings, Automatic, proposed Adoption of.

Q. Mr. Bell; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 21, 845-846.

Gold Coast Colony—Coal for Government Railway — Purchase through Crown Agents—Average Price, etc.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 367.

Halbeath, Fifeshire, Level Crossing at—providing suitable Protection.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 25, 1050-1051.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Railways—cont.**India.**

Bombay, Scinde Connection, Objections of the Rao of Cutch to.

Q. Sir. J. Leng; A. Mr. Brod-
rick, Apr. 25, 1036.

Construction, position of, and Expenditure on—Return ordered, Apr. 20, 671.

Return presented, Apr. 25, 1023.

Delays in the Transit between Kings-town and Great Southern and Western System.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 28, 1455.

North Wall, Dublin, Inadequacy of transit facilities at.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 27, 1298.

Light Railways.

Act of 1896.

Orders presented under, Apr. 19, 482, 518-519.

Report of proceedings under, Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 484.

London and South Western Company—Draft Certificate authorising raising of Capital presented, Apr. 22, 944, 953.

Rates and Transit facilities for Agricultural Produce.

Correspondence between the Board of Agriculture and Railway Companies presented, Apr. 22, 943, 953.

Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Mr. A. Fellowes, Apr. 25, 1035-1036.

Season Tickets, Cost of allowing Deduction of, in Income Tax Assessments,

Q. Mr. Slack; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 26, 1188-1189.

Stamp Duties evasions of, by Companies—proposed Government Action.

Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 26, 1189-1190.

Transvaal—Revenue, Statistics relative to

Q. Mr. Buchanau; A. Mr. Lyttelton

Apr. 25, 1039.

Uganda—Country produce traffic—Report presented, Apr. 19, 480.

Workmen's Trains—Select Committee of Inquiry into working of Act of 1883, Appointment of, Apr. 14, 292.

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill

c. Rep.* Apr. 19, 538.

Rasch, Major, Sir F. C. [Essex, Chelmsford]

Aliens Bill, 2a., Apr. 25, 1159.

Army.

Barracks, Construction of—Publication of Committee Report, Apr 19, 523-524.

Cavalry Horses, weight carried by, Apr. 14, 253.

Rasch, Major Sir F. C. —cont.**Army—cont.**

Essex Regiment, 2nd Battalion—Resumption of purple facings and old title "Pompadoours" proposed, Apr. 14, 192.

Guns, Quick-firing, unsatisfactory Nature of, Apr. 14, 214.

Officers—Promotion by Selection to Ranks of Colonel and Major General, Apr. 21, 842-843.

Gibraltar Defences, permitting German Emperor to view, etc., Apr. 26, 1192.

Rathcoursey Beach

Accident to Driscoll by explosion of shrapnel shell—compensation to widow and warning to public not to handle shells proposed.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 14, 193.

Rathdangar (Co. Wicklow)

Postal arrangements at revision proposed.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Lord Stanley, Apr. 22, 955.

Rathmines

Wards, Division into, Delay in holding Inquiry on Petition for.

Q. Mr. Mooney; A. Mr. Wyndham, Apr. 19, 535.

Rats

Destruction of—Experiments with Danyasz's Views.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 20, 678.

Ravensworth, Lord

Sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman, Apr. 22, 941.

Rea, Mr. R. [Gloucester]

Baker Street & Waterloo Railway Bill, con., Apr. 14, 263.

Green, Lieutenant, Court of Inquiry into case of—Charges, etc., Apr. 21, 844-845.

Reddy, Mr. M. [King's County Birr.]

Lloyd's Estate, King's County—Application for Re-instatement by evicted tenant, etc., Apr. 25, 1054.

Redmond, Mr. J. E. [Waterford]

Bank of Ireland and Provincial Bank, Arrangements as to Government money passing through, Apr. 25, 1058-1059.

Business of the House, Course of, Apr. 12, 25.

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, Apr. 18, 419.

Expenditure of the country, Increase in, Apr. 19, 598.

Housing of Working Classes—Date of introducing Legislation, Apr. 25, 1055.

Labourers' Bill—Date of Second Reading, Apr. 27, 1307.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Redmond, Mr. J. E.—cont.

Land Act Amendment Bill—Date of Second Reading, *Apr. 27*, 1307.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Procedure, Delay, etc.—Winding up business of the Court proposed, *Apr. 13*, 176.

Luggacurren Estate, Evicted Tenants from—Considering claims for Reinstatement, *Apr. 18*, 393-394.

Queen's College, Cork, Residence of President of, *Apr. 26*, 1184.

Taxation of Ireland, *Apr. 19*, 599.

Tea, Additional Tax on, hardships inflicted on the poor in Ireland by, *Apr. 19*, 599-602.

Redmond, Mr. W. H. K. [Clare, E.]

American Duty on Irish Mackerel, Increase of—Addressing Representation to U.S.A. Government, *Apr. 18*, 377.

Corofin, United Irish League Meetings at—Reason for Police Attendance, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Education, Ireland.

Christian Brothers, Tributes to work of, *Apr. 18*, 442, 443.

Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 442.

House of Commons.

Accommodation for Members, inadequacy of, *Apr. 28*, 1486, 1488.

Indicators, inaccuracy of, *Apr. 28*, 1488.

Telephone accommodation, inadequacy of, *Apr. 28*, 1463.

Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 28*, 1461-64.

Labourers' Cottages, Land taken for purposes of—Selection of Arbitrator, appeal from award, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1025.

Magistrate sending case for trial in opposition to views of majority of local magistrates, *Apr. 25*, 1025.

Tobacco, taxes on—Budget proposals, *Apr. 19*, 659-662.

Water Bailiffs—Limerick Board of Conservators, employment by, of persons fined for illegal fishing alleged, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Reformatory and Industrial Schools

Judicial Statistics presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 479.

Reid, Mr. J. [Greenock]

Shop Hours Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 21*, 848.

Reid, Sir R. T. [Dumfries Burghs]

Death Duties, increase in, proposed, *Apr. 27*, 1320.

Expenditure, increase in, *Apr. 19*, 640; *Apr. 27*, 1318, 1319.

Tea, additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1320.

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R., *Apr. 22*, 977, 979.

Benwick, Mr. G. [Newcastle-on-Tyne]

Army.

Auxiliary Forces, arming, with modern weapons, *Apr. 14*, 240.

Rifles, place of manufacture of, *Apr. 14*, 239.

Revenue and Expenditure

Account 1904 (to 31st March) presented, *Apr. 27*, 1286.

Acts, expenditure under.

Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Apr. 19*, 571; Sir J. Gorst, *Apr. 21*, 863; Mr. G. Bowles, 885, 886.

Amount contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively—Return ordered, *Apr. 12*, 7.

Amounts not paid into the Exchequer for 1901-2, 1902-3, 1903-4—Return ordered, *Apr. 27*, 1287.

Borrowings 5th April, 1899-1904, Statistics as to.

Q. Mr. Black; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 20*, 682.

Chilian Battleships, Purchase of, Increase in Expenditure due to.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 550; Mr. Ritchie, 576; Mr. Labouchere, *Apr. 27*, 1341.

Committee Report, Opportunity of Discussion of, etc.

Q. Sir E. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 19*, 537.

Corn Tax, Repeal of, Effect of, on Revenue.

Q. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 546.

Estimated Expenditure for 1904-5.

Q. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 556-7.

Estimated Revenue for 1904-5.

Q. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 557-8.

Exchequer Balances.

State of, and Drafts on.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 551; Mr. McCrae, 619, 622, 623.

Strengthening and Depletion in each of five years ended March, 1904—Return ordered, *Apr. 26*, 1177—Presented, *Apr. 27*, 1286.

Exchequer Balances 1st April, 1899 and 1904—South African Loans and Payments, etc.

Q. Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 20*, 681-682.

Exchequer Receipts 1903-4, Shortage in—Causes of and Method of meeting.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 545-549, 559, 633, 634; Mr. Ritchie, 573-578; Sir M. H. Beach, 583; Mr. Ashton, 608; Sir W. Holland, 630; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 857; Mr. Ritchie, 870; Mr. G. Bowles, 880; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 886; Mr. J. Walton, 911; Mr. B. Roberts, 922; Mr. Whitley, 936.

Q. Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 21*, 836-838.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Revenue and Expenditure—cont.

Financial Position of the Country,
References to in Debate on Budget Proposals, *Apr. 19*, 602, 603, 605, 606, 625; *Apr. 21*, 874, 875, 886, 889, 890, 905, 906, 910, 917, 930.

Growth of.

Os. Sir E. Vincent, *Apr. 19*, 603; Mr. Ashton, 607, 610; Mr. McCrae, 620, 621; Sir G. Bartley, 623, 629; Sir W. Holland, 630; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 637, 638; Sir R. Reid, 640.

References to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 570–573, 580, 581, 591, 592, 598; *Apr. 21*, 891, 895–97, 900, 901, 907, 906, 910, 911, 920, 921, 924; *Apr. 26*, 1232; *Apr. 27*, 1319, 1331, 1338, 1339, 1343, 1347, 1349.

Ireland, Amount contributed by.

O. Mr. S. O. Gore, *Apr. 21*, 918.

National Debt, *see that title*.

Responsibility of the Prime Minister.

Os. Sir H. Fowler, *Apr. 19*, 593, 594; Mr. McCrae, 625.

Return, Granting, with Population Figures.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 25*, 1058.

Supplementary Grants for 1903–4, Amount of.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 549, 550; Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr. 21*, 858.

Taxes, Yield of, in 1893–4; 1898–9; 1903–4.

Q. Mr. Toulmin; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 22*, 957.

Total Expenditure for 1903–4.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 549, 550; Mr. Runciman, 891.

Treasury Control over Spending Departments.

Os. Mr. C. Warner, *Apr. 26*, 1226; Mr. Coghill, *Apr. 27*, 1317.

War, Preparation for — Inquiry into present Financial System proposed.

Q. Mr. J. F. Hope; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 13*, 82.

Rhodesia

Hut Tax, Collection of, by British South African Police.

Q. Mr. Whitley; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *Apr. 18*, 367.

Murray, late J., of, Missing Property of.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton; *Apr. 28*, 1442–1443.

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill

L. IN. Apr. 28*, 1405.

Richards, Mr. H. C. [Finchbury, E.]

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 28*, 1467.

Richards' Estate

Compulsory Sale of—Reasons for Delay.

O. Mr. French, *Apr. 13*, 168.

Ridley, Mr. M. W. [Stalybridge]

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1400

Ridley, Mr. S. F. [Bethnal Green, S.W.]

Aliens Bill, 2*a.* *Apr. 25*, 1118.

Tenement Houses used as Workshops, Inspection of, *Apr. 19*, 520.

Rifles

see under Army.

Ripon, Marquess of

New Zealand Trade—Preferential Tariff for British Goods, etc., *Apr. 21*, 831, 832.

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T. [Croydon]

Army—Expenditure, Reduction in, proposed, *Apr. 21*, 866.

Budget.

Deficit on Budget of 1903–4, Reasons for, *Apr. 19*, 573–8; *Apr. 21*, 870–1.

Estimates for 1899–1900, and 1903–4, Comparison between, *Apr. 21*, 869.

General Policy of, Affording Opportunity for Discussion of, *Apr. 19*, 577.

Income-Tax, Additional 1*d.* in the pound on—Budget Proposal, *Apr. 19*, 577.

Chilian Warships, Purchase of, *Apr. 19*, 576.

House of Commons—Divisions, Alteration in Method of Taking, proposed, *Apr. 28*, 1483.

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 703.

National Debt, Reduction of, by Means of the Sinking Fund, *Apr. 21*, 866, 867, 868.

Sinking Fund, Suspension of, Objections to, *Apr. 19*, 577.

Taxation, Remission of — Proportion between the Direct and Indirect Taxpayer, *Apr. 21*, 868, 869.

Tea, Duty on—Additional 2*d.* per Pound —Budget Proposal, *Apr. 19*, 577.

Transvaal Loan, Reasons for Delay in Issue of, *Apr. 19*, 867.

Ritualistic Practices

Motion for Discussion of—Adjournment of the House, proposed.

Os. Mr. A. Taylor, *Apr. 20*, 695; Mr. Galloway, Mr. Speaker, 696.

Royal Commission on—Composition and Terms of Reference.

Debate on Motion [Mr. A. Taylor] *Apr. 20*, 757.

Children's "Masses," etc., Inquiry into, 760, 768.

Doctrinal Errors, Examination into, 759, 769, 778.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28

Ritualistic Practices—cont.

Royal Commission on—cont.

Debate on Motion—cont.

Episcopal Element, Objections to
—Use of the Right of Veto
by Bishops, etc., 763, 765, 766,
771.

Evidence, Powers of Commission
to take, 761, 768, 777.

Legal Element, Increase of, 762,
770, 775.

Protestants and Nonconformists,
Non-representation of, al-
leged, 764, 767, 769, 774.

Select Committee, Appointment
of, proposed, 767, 775.

Q. Mr. A. Taylor; A. Mr. A. J.
Balfour, Apr. 14, 212; Apr. 20,
691-692.

Roberts, Mr. J. B. [Carnarvonshire, Eifion]

Income Tax, graduation of, proposed, Apr.
21, 923.

Liquor Licences, Monopoly Value of, Apr.
26, 1227, 1228.

Poor Prisoners Defence Act—Delay in
making Rules, Apr. 22, 954.

Revenue and Expenditure.

Deficit on Budget, method of dealing
with, Apr. 21, 922.

Increase in, Apr. 21, 924.

South African War—Repatriation of Boers,
Cost, Names of Boers, etc., Apr. 21,
843; Apr. 25, 1043-1044.

Roberts, Mr. J. H. [Denbighshire, W.]

Education—Glyn-Traian School, Draft
Final Order for, holding Local Inquiry
into, Apr. 27, 1298-1299.

India.

Customs and Excise—Amount of
Revenue on liquors and drugs
from 1901-1903, Apr. 15, 299.

Excise Legislation, Instructions to
provincial Administrations—
Bengal Excise Bill, Apr. 20, 680.

Police Commission's Report, Date of
Tabling, April 20, 681.

Licensing Bill, Intro., Apr. 20, 718.

Liquor Licences, Refusals to renew, Statis-
tics as to, Apr. 20, 683.

Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amend-
ment Bill, 2R., Apr. 16, 347.

Robertson, Mr. E. [Dundee]

Business of the House—Course of, Apr. 12,
72.

Inland Revenue—Illegal demand for pay-
ment of Claims, Retention of Money so
paid, etc. Apr. 14, 197.

Liquor Licences, Increase in number of,
amount of Revenue yielded by, Apr.
26, 1217, 1218.

Robertson, Mr. E.—cont.

Navy.

Estimates.

Appropriations-in-Aid—principle
of apportionment in the differ-
ent Votes, Apr. 12, 33.

Armaments Vote, Increase in,
Apr. 12, 32.

Shipbuilding.

Expenditure on—Comparison
with foreign Countries for
1895-1904, Apr. 12, 19.

Tonnage, additions to, compared
with those of France, Russia,
and Germany, Apr. 12, 44.

Vote for, delaying sanction to,
proposed, Apr. 12, 43.

Post Office—Dundee Postmen's Grievances
—Reply to Petition, Apr. 18, 378.

Submarine Al., raising of—Latest infor-
mation, Apr. 18, 369.

Tibet, Expedition to, terms of Motion for
discussion of, Apr. 12, 72.

West Down Parliamentary Election—Re-
commendation of Deputy Master of
Mint, Legality of, etc., Apr. 27, 1308.

Robertson, Mr. T. H. [Hackney, S.]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., Apr. 15,
310, 324.

Robinson, Mr. B. [Dudley]

Education—Dating Pupil Teachers' Ap-
pointments previous to publishing
Examination Results, etc., Apr. 20,
671.

Robson, Mr. W. S. [South Shields]

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill,
2R., Apr. 22, 1001.

Reeche, Mr. J. [Galway, E.]

Butson Estate, Abbeylands, Purchase of,
Agreement as to, Apr. 28, 1451-1452.

Rolleston, Sir J. F. L. [Leicester]

Africa, South—Garrison—Clerk's Salaries
—Refund of Income Tax deduct. ons
proposed, Apr. 14, 191.

Johannesburg—Plague Serum, Prohibition
of use of, Apr. 14, 191.

Rollit, Sir A. K. [Islington, South]

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., Apr. 15,
310.

Roman Catholics

Publications reflecting upon, Display in
Post Office Windows—Interpolation
of "Roman" in Question, etc.

Qs. Mr. J. Campbell; As. Lord
Stanley, Apr. 27, 1297, 1298.

Ropner, Col. Sir E. H. O. [Stockton]

Devon and Cornwall, Provision of Har-
bours of Refuge in, Apr. 23, 1527.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Roscrea

Post Office, New Premises.
Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 20, 689-690.

Ross, Judge

Land Judge's Court—Administration of
Judge Ross, etc.
Os. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13, 156*; Mr.
Ffrench, 165, 170.

Royal Commissions

Number issued in each year from 1896 to
1903—Address for Return, *Apr. 23,*
1424.

Rugby

Urban and Rural Districts—Light Rail-
way Order Presented, *Apr. 19, 518.*

Runciman, Mr. W. [Dewsbury]

Devon and Cornwall, Provision of Har-
bours of Refuge in, proposed, *Apr. 23,*
1527-8.

Financial condition of the Country, *Apr.*
21, 889, 890, 891.

National Debt—Probable Reduction, in
1904-5, etc., *Apr. 25, 1048.*

Navy, Expenditure, Possibilities of Reduc-
tion in, *Apr. 21, 889.*

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—
Budget Proposal, *Apr. 21, 891, 892.*

Russell, Mr. T. W. [Tyrone, S.]

Agricultural Department—Annual Grant
paid to North-East Agricultural
Association, *Apr. 18, 389.*

Blaris Hurling Match, Cost of extra Police
on Duty for, etc., *Apr. 20, 688.*

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated
and Inadequate System, *Apr. 13, 421,*
459.

House of Commons.

Reading and writing rooms, Provision
of, *Apr. 23, 1492.*

Smoking-room Accommodation, *Apr.*
23, 1492, 1493.

Land Judge's Court, Ireland—Procedure,
Delays, &c., Winding up business of
the Court proposed, *Apr. 13, 157, 177.*

Liquor Licences, Monopoly value of, *Apr.*
26, 1230.

Lisburn, Disturbances, Police protection,
&c., *Apr. 19, 668.*

Newcastle, Down—Voting Register, Con-
stitution of, *Apr. 21, 852.*

Taxation—War taxes, Necessity for con-
tinuing, *Apr. 26, 1229.*

Tea duty, Hardship inflicted on poorer
classes in Ireland by, *Apr. 26, 1270.*

Russia

Jews in, Treatment of.

Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 25, 1071*; Mr.
Trevelyan, 1081; Major E. Gordon,
1083-5.

Russia—cont.

Navy—Total Warship Tonnage, 1895 and
1904.

Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Prety-
man, *Apr. 25, 1023.*

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 22, 943.*

War with Japan, *see* Russo-Japanese War.

Russo-Japanese War

Correspondents using Wireless Telegraphy,
Russian Treatment of.

Q. Mr. B. Jones; A. Earl Percy,
Apr. 20, 675-676.

Japanese System of Land Transport, Re-
ports as to.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. Arnold-
Forster, *Apr. 28, 1436.*

Naval Operations.

Attachés to watch conduct of, on
behalf of the British Navy, Ap-
pointment of, proposed.

Os. Sir C. Dilke; Sir J. Colomb,
Apr. 12, 30; Mr. Prety-
man, 42.

Naval Officers, Appointment of.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Mr. Pretyman,
Apr. 19, 524.

Rutherford, Mr. W. W. [Liverpool, West Derby]

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27,*
1367.

Ritualistic Practices, Royal Commission
on—Composition and terms of refer-
ence, *Apr. 20, 770.*

Ryde Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Sackville, Mr. S. G. S. [Northants, N.]

House of Commons—Mosaics—Filling in
gaps, proposed, *Apr. 23, 1471.*

St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 26, 1165.*

St. Marylebone Electric Lighting Bill

c. 3R. Apr. 14, 182.*

l. 1R. Apr. 19, 477.*

2R. Apr. 28, 1406.*

St. Osyth

Light Railway Order Presented, *Apr. 19,*
518.

Sale of Intoxicants to Children Bill

l. Com. Apr. 21, 829.

Rep. Apr. 26, 1174.*

Salisbury Plain

Barrack Construction on.

Os. Mr. Peel, *Apr. 14, 283*; Mr. Arnold-
Forster, 285.

Samuel, Mr. H. L. [Yorkshire, Cleveland]

Africa, West—Agricultural Implements,
Import Duties on, *Apr. 21, 843.*

Apr. 12.—Apr. 28.

Samuel, Mr. H. L.—cont.

Congo Free State—Trade Regulations—
Case of Mr. A. Visram, *Apr. 21*, 849–850.

Gold Coast Colony, Government Railway
—Purchase of Coal through Crown
Agents—Average Price, etc., *Apr. 18*,
367.

Transvaal.

Chinese Labour, Importation of.

Chinese Government, Negotia-
tions with—Date of tabling
Papers, *Apr. 19*, 526.

Shipping Accommodation pro-
vided—Rate of Wages—Ports
of Embarkation, *Apr. 28*,
1441–1442.

Departmental Supplies, Purchasing
through Crown Agents, etc., *Apr.*
25, 1044, 1045.

Working Classes, Average annual earnings
of, *Apr. 21*, 839.

Workmen's Compensation Act—Inquiry,
Progress of—Government Bill, *Apr.*
19, 531.

Samuel, Mr. S. M. [Tower Hamlets, White-chapel]**Aliens.**

Criminals—Number from 1898–1903,
Apr. 14, 199.

Males, Number of Adult, in United
Kingdom in 1901, *Apr. 14*, 200.

Aliens Bill, 2R. *Apr. 25*, 1117.

Sinking Fund, Objections to Suspension of,
Apr. 21, 918.

Tea, Additional Duty of 2d. per pound on
Budget proposal, *Apr. 21*, 919.

Sandys, Col. T. M. [Lancashire, Bootle]

Army (Annual) Bill, 2R. *Apr. 13*, 145.

Army—Courts of Inquiry, Constitution and
Procedure of, *Apr. 13*, 145.

Sassoon, Sir E. A. [Hythe]

Tea Imports—Quantity and Value, 1902–3,
etc., *Apr. 21*, 836.

Savings Banks**Deficiencies.**

Annuities, Terminable, Payment of.

Resolution (Mr. A. Chamberlain),
Apr. 20, 796; *Apr. 25*, 1163;
Apr. 28, 1536.

Os. Mr. Dalziel, *Apr. 27*,
1365; Mr. A. Chamber-
lain, 1365; Mr. Weir,
1366.

Making good out of Consolidated
Fund.

Q. Dr. Macnamara; A. Mr.
V. Cavendish, *Apr. 14*, 197.

Stock, Transfer of, to Bank of Ireland,
proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 27, 1290.

Schools

see under Education.

Schwann, Mr. C. E. [Manchester, N.]

Argentine Cattle Trade—Prohibition of
Importation of Live Cattle from—
Withdrawal of Prohibition, proposed,
Apr. 14, 199.

Ceylon.

Estate Schools in—Attitude of Estate
Owners, *Apr. 23*, 1436–1437.

School Children of Mohammedan
Parents in, Numbers, etc., *Apr.*
26, 1193.

India—Coinage—Rupees coined each year,
1893–1904, Government Profits, etc.,
Apr. 21, 839–840.

Tilak, Mr., Prosecution of—Expenditure.
Authority responsible for Prosecution,
etc., *Apr. 14*, 188; *Apr. 26*, 1194.

Workhouses, Nursing in.

Committee Report, Dealing with, *Apr.*
23, 1431.

Delay in issuing New Order, *Apr. 21*,
849.

Science. Royal College of

Date of completing Building.

Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Lord Balcarras,
Apr. 18, 356.

Scotland

Secretary—Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Lord Advocate—Mr. C. Scott-Dickson.

Lord Justice-General—Lord Kinross.

Vice President of the Council of Educa-
tion—Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Agriculture, Number of Persons employed
in.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A.
Fellowes, *Apr. 21*, 847.

Avoch, Construction of Harbour at, pro-
posed.

O. Mr. Weir, *Apr. 23*, 1513, 1514.

Births, Deaths and Marriages—Annual
Report Presented *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*,
481.

Clyde, Trawling in—Foreign trawlers and
the sale of Immature fish—Legis-
lation to remove anomalies proposed.

O. Marquess of Huntly, *Apr. 19*,
513.

Congested Districts, see *that title*.

Culross, Technical Education Grant for.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 20*, 685.

Defective and Epileptic children, Providing
for Education of.

Q. Mr. Weir; Mr. A. G. Murray,
Apr. 25, 1029.

Dog Tax, Proposed Reduction of.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain,
Apr. 23, 1432.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Scotland—cont.**Dundee.**

Mails, Earlier delivery proposed.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Lord Stanley,
*Apr. 14, 201.*Postmen's Grievances — Reply to
Petition.Q. Mr. E. Robertson; A. Lord
Stanley, *Apr. 18, 378-379.*Edinburgh, *see that title.*Education, *see that title.*

Equivalent Grants for.

Q. Mr. Black; A. Mr. A. G. Murray,
*Apr. 25, 1030.*Halbeath, Fifeshire, Level Crossing At—
Providing suitable Protection,Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Balfour,
*Apr. 25, 1050-1051.*Lewis, Isle of, *see that title.*Licensing Courts, Constitution of—Tables
Presented, *Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 480.*Lunatics—Report of Commissioners Pre-
sented, *Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 490.*Lymph for, Annual Sum paid to Dr.
Blaxall for.Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Lawson,
*Apr. 18, 390.*Manufactures, Board of, Carrying out
Recommendations of.Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 26, 1183.*Moray Firth, Trawling in—Landing regu-
lations for foreign vessels, Legislation
to remove anomalies proposed.Qs. Marquess of Huntly, *Apr. 19,*
*512; Earl of Onslow, 514.***Motor Cars.**Registration and Licensing of, Order
Presented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19,*
*484.*Use and Construction of, Order Pre-
sented, *Apr. 12, 7; Apr. 19, 484.*Poor Law, *see that title.*Portnagurin, Construction of harbour of
refuge at, proposed.O. Mr. Weir, *Apr., 28, 1513.*Post Office, *see that title.*Prisons—Annual Report Presented, *Apr.*
*12, 4.*Private Bill Inquiry, Absence of M.P.'s
from.Qs. Mr. Black, Sir W. Thorburn,
Mr. J. Wilson; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 18, 380-381.*Revenue and Expenditure—Amount con-
tributed, &c.—Return ordered, *Apr.*
*12, 7.*Sheriff Courts—Fees of Medical Witnesses.
Q. Mr. Lawrence; A. Mr. S. Dickson,
*Apr. 25, 1030.*Taxation (Local)—Amount available for
distribution to 31 Mar. 1903.Q. Mr. Caldwell; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 14, 185.***Scotland—cont.**Tea, Additional 2d. duty on—Hardships
inflicted on the poorer classes by.Os. Mr. C. Wason, *Apr. 26, 1273;*
Mr. Weir, 1283; *Apr. 27, 1310,*
1311; Mr. Wylie, 1321, 1322;
Mr. Ainsworth, 1354.

Tulliallan, Technical Education Grant for.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A. G.
Murray, *Apr. 20, 685.*Ullapool Naval Base, Construction of—
Progress of Work.Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Lee, *Apr.*
*18, 368.*Vaccination—Annual Report Presented,
*Apr. 12, 6; Apr. 19, 481.***Scott-Montagu, Hon. J. [Hants, New
Forest]**Green Plovers, Sale of, in London during
close season, *Apr. 15, 299.***Sea Fisheries***see Fisheries.***Sea Fisheries Bill***l. Com. Apr. 19, 502.**Debate in Committee (Lords) Apr. 19, 502.*By-laws, Uniformity of — Powers of
Board to make By-laws, etc., 512,
514, 515.Convention between all Powers in
North Sea for protection of im-
mature fish, proposed, 504, 506,
509.Fishing Vessels, Size limit of, proposed,
505, 507, 510.Foreign vessels landing undersized fish,
Powers of Board to prohibit, 510,
513, 514.Round Fish, Extension of provisions
of Bill to, proposed, 512, 513, 514,
515.Size limit of Fish, Powers of Board to
define, etc., 505, 506, 508, 510.Trawling, Effect of, on immature fish,
502.Rep.* *Apr. 22, 949.***Secondary and Technical Education***see under Education.***Secretary of State for the Colonies***Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.***Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs***Marquess of Lansdowne.***Secretary of State for India***Mr. W. St. John Brodrick.***Secretary for Scotland***Mr. A. Graham Murray.***Secretary of State for War***Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.*

3 O 2

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Seely, Maj. J. E. B. [Isle of Wight]Expenditure, Growth of, *Apr. 27*, 1325, 1326.Fiscal Policy — Preferential Tariffs, Tabling, Colonial Resolutions dis-favouring, *Apr. 20*, 679.Indian Coolie Labour, Importation of, into British Colonies, Civil Rights, etc., insisted on by Indian Government, *Apr. 25*, 1046.**Transvaal.**Chinese Labour, Importation of, Australian Resolution opposing, Tabling, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1043.Chinese under unrestricted conditions, Number and Status of, *Apr. 18*, 373.Rand Mines—Gold output and White and Coloured Labourers employed in March, 1898, 1899, 1902 and 1903, *Apr. 25*, 1040.**Selborne, Earl of** — *First Lord of the Admiralty.*Battleship Speed trials at Polperro, Damage to fishing industry by — Question of compensation, *Apr. 26*, 1173.**Servia.**Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 21*, 810.**Seton-Karr, Sir H.** [St. Helens]House of Commons — Smoking-room accommodation, inadequacy of, *Apr. 23*, 1490.**Shackleton, Mr. D. J.** [Lancashire, Clitheroe]Army Dentists — Candidates' Expenses, *Apr. 19*, 523.**Sheehy, Mr. D.** [Meath, S.]Lisburn Disturbances, *Apr. 19*, 668.**Sheppy Gas Bill***l. 2R.* Apr. 25*, 1015.**Shipley Urban District Council Bill***l. Rep.* Apr. 26*, 1165.**Shop Hours Bill**

Date of Introduction.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *April 20*, 692.Q. Mr. J. Reid; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 21*, 848.*c. 1R.* Apr. 26*, 1199.**Siam**

French and British Agreements with, Publication of, Terms of,

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 19*, 529-530.Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943.**Sinking Fund***see* National Debt.**Slack, Mr. B.** [Hertfordshire, St. Albans]Baker Street & Waterloo Railway Bill, *Con., Apr. 14*, 268.Income Tax Assessments, Allowing cost of Railway Season Tickets to be deducted in, *Apr. 26*, 1188-1189.**Slavery**

Pemba—Civil Rights of Slaves.

Q. Mr. Bayley; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 12*, 8.**Sloan, Mr. T. H.** [Belfast, S.]

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum.

Charge against Attendant Kenny, etc., *Apr. 21*, 850.Medical Superintendent, Junior Assistant appointed to Post of—Reason, etc., *Apr. 21*, 851-852.Belfast, Troops in—Alleged Monopoly for Supply of Stores, *Apr. 25*, 1038-1039.Bonamargy Ruins, Custody of, *Apr. 21*, 850.**Constabulary.**Charges of Violence against, *Apr. 20*, 687.District Inspectors over Sixty Years of Age, taking Steps to Retire, *Apr. 18*, 363.Fund, Solvency of—Percentage paid to Subscribers, *Apr. 23*, 1413.Dublin Castle—Number of Constabulary Orderlies, etc., *Apr. 18*, 384.Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18*, 458.Johannesburg, Natives in, Police Regulations for, *Apr. 18*, 366.Limerick—Jews, Persecution of—Measures of Protection by Police, etc., *Apr. 14*, 202.Londonderry, Prison Matron—Marriage during term of service alleged, *Apr. 14*, 203.Monaghan Agricultural and Technical Committee, Display of Party Flag at Shows prohibited by, *Apr. 20*, 696.May Post Office—Reasons for Charging Extra Fees, *Apr. 14*, 206.Navy Discharges—Case of Ormsby Webb, *Apr. 25*, 1028.Workhouses — Uncertified Lunatics, Admission of, *Apr. 18*, 384.**Small-Pox**

Outbreak of 1903, Cost of.

Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 25*, 1051.**Smith, Mr. S.** [Flintshire]Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1385.**Scarea, Mr. E.** [Devonshire, Barnstaple]Devon and Cornwall, Provision of Harbours of Refuge in, *Apr. 23*, 1499-1503, 1523, 1527.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Soldiers*see under Army.***Solicitor-General***Sir E. Carson.***Solicitor-General for Ireland***Mr. J. H. M. Campbell.***Solicitors**

Defaulting—Creation of a Public Trustee.
Q. Mr. H. Heaton ; A. Sir R. Finlay, Apr. 18, 355-356.

Malpractices, Number Struck off the Roll for, since 1899.

Q. Mr. Henniker Heaton ; A. Sir R. Finlay, Apr. 14, 186.

Somaliland**Campaign.****Expenditure on.**

Qs. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Mr. Lough ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18, 871.

Estimates for 1904-5.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 587.

Italian Territory.**Illeg Fort, Captured by British.**

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse ; A. Mr. Pretyman, Apr. 28, 1439.

Mullah in—Political and Military Advantage Gained by War.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse ; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 25, 1046-1047.

Mullah, Position of.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18, 371.

Progress of.

Q. Mr. Lambert ; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 18, 370-371.

Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill

c. 3R. Apr. 12, 1.*

l. 1R. Apr. 19, 477.*

2a Apr. 28, 1406.*

Soudan**Cotton, Possibility of Cultivating, in.**

Oa. Mr. Rutherford, Apr. 27, 1371 ; Mr. Emmott, 1381, 1383, 1384 ; Mr. Lyttelton, 1393.

Finances, Administration and Condition—
Report Presented, Apr. 12, 4 ; Apr. 19, 480.

South African War**Boers, Repatriation of, Money Expended on—Names of Boers, etc.**

Q. Mr. B. Roberts ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 21, 843-844, Apr. 25, 1043-1044.

History of, Arrangements for Compilation, Time to be occupied, etc.

Q. Mr. Elliot ; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, Apr. 13, 77.

South African War—cont.**History of—cont.****Henderson, Col., Utilising Preface by.**

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse ; A. Mr. Arnold-Foster, Apr. 26, 1041-1042.

Rewards—Carrying out Lord Kitchener's Recommendations.

Q. Mr. Ainsworth ; A. Mr. Arnold-Foster, Apr. 13, 79.

White Paper No. 155 of 1902, Return in Continuation of.

Q. Mr. Humphreys-Owen ; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 27, 1290.

South Kensington**Museum Buildings—Dates of Completion.**

Q. Mr. Coghill ; A. Lord Balcarras, Apr. 18, 356.

South Shields Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 19, 477.*

South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill

l. Rep. Apr. 26, 1163.*

Southampton**Military Riot at, Men of 2nd Cheshire Regiment implicated in, etc.**

Qs. Capt. Norton ; As. Mr. Arnold-Forster, Apr. 25, 1042 ; Apr. 27, 1293.

Southend Water Bill

c. Lords Amendments, Con. Apr. 25, 1021,*

l. Commons Amendments Agreed to, Apr. 26, 1166.

l. Royal Assent, Apr. 28, 1405.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill

c. 3R. Apr. 12, 1.*

l. 1R. Apr. 19, 477.*

2R. Apr. 28, 1406.*

Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill

l. 3R. Apr. 19, 477.*

c. 1R. Apr. 21, 834.*

Spain**Arbitration Treaty between France and Great Britain—Consultation of Spanish Government, etc.**

Q. Mr. G. Bowles ; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Apr. 14, 209.

Speaker

Absence of, from the House owing to indisposition—Appointment of Mr. J. W. Lowther as Deputy Speaker, Apr. 13, 73.

Adjournment of the House to discuss matter of urgent public importance, Apr. 20, 696.

Budget Resolutions—Income-Tax, Restrictions on, Discussion of, Apr. 26, 1252.

Cotton Cultivation in Africa—Amendment to Motion, Apr. 27, 1389.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Speaker—cont.

Discussion of Subjects outside scope of Debate, *Apr. 20, 759; Apr. 26, 1259; Apr. 27, 1326, 1328, 1339, 1355.*

India, Viceroy of—Criticism of Policy of, except on special motion, *Apr. 18, 97.*

Irrelevant Observations, *Apr. 28, 1439.*

Personal Allusions and Insinuations in Debate, Ruling as to, *Apr. 20, 748, 749; Apr. 27, 1303.*

"Roman," Interpolation of, in question relating to Catholics, *Apr. 27, 1297.*

Spear, Mr. J. W. [Devonshire, Tavistock]

Bristol Channel, Construction of Harbour of Refuge in, proposed, *Apr. 28, 1515.*

Weights and Measures Bill, 2R. *Apr. 15, 319.*

Spencer, Earl

France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain—Opportunity for Discussing in the House, *Apr. 19, 485.*

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, 2R. *Apr. 21, 822.*

Tibet Expedition, Character of—Policy of H. M. Government, etc., *Apr. 19, 491.*

Strabane, Raphoe and Convoiy Railway Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 27, 1235.*

Stamp Duty

Contracts, Future Option and Warrant, Suggested Imposition on.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26, 1179–1180.*

Evasions of, by Railway and Shipping Companies — Proposed Government Action.

Q. Mr. Pirie; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 26, 1189–1190.*

Revenue derived from, Falling off in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19, 549; Mr. Ritchie, Apr. 21, 871.*

Standing Orders

No. XXI., Suspension of, *Apr. 19, 485.*

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—Postmaster-General [Lancashire, Westhoughton]

Boy Copyists, Employment of, *Apr. 20, 682–683.*

Ireland.

Castletown Service, Improvement of, *Apr. 19, 537.*

Cork Post Office.

Holidays, Arrangements, for, *Apr. 14, 207.*

Promotion in.

Senior sorting clerks, of, *Apr. 14, 206.*

Tweedmouth Committee effecting Recommendations of, *Apr. 28, 1428.*

Donard, Wicklow, Arrangements in, *Apr. 19, 521.*

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—cont.

Dublin Office.

Dual Working in, *Apr. 28, 1454.*

Telegraph Messengers, Dismissal of, *Apr. 25, 1059–1060.*

Telegraph School, Overcrowding of, *Apr. 28, 1453.*

Killarney, Establishing Telephone Communication with, *Apr. 25, 1060.*

Limerick Postal Staff.

Holiday Grievances, *Apr. 14, 206.*

Superior Appointments, Increase in, proposed, *Apr. 13, 81.*

Telegraph learners, Placing on establishment, *Apr. 14, 205.*

Telegraphists, Revision of duties, proposed, *Apr. 13, 82.*

Money Orders—Delay in Forwarding Advices, *Apr. 19, 536–537.*

Moy Post Office, Reasons for charging Extra Fees in, *Apr. 14, 206.*

Postmen's Duties, *Apr. 28, 1454.*

Rathangan — Revision of postal arrangements, proposed, *Apr. 22, 955.*

Roscrea, New Premises at, *Apr. 20, 690.*

Sub-Postmasters, Complaints as to Inadequacy of Remuneration to, *Apr. 26, 1196.*

London.

Letter delivery in City—Earlier morning delivery proposed, *Apr. 15, 298.*

Porters' Grievances—Reply to Deputation, *Apr. 18, 359.*

London and Paris, Service between, *Apr. 28, 1428.*

Messengers, Adult Night.

Leave, Annual, in Provincial Offices, *Apr. 20, 675.*

Scotland—Number, Hours, Duties, etc., *Apr. 21, 839.*

Money found on Post Office Counters—Allocation of Unclaimed Money, *Apr. 22, 955.*

Roman Catholics, Publications Reflecting on, Display of in Post Office windows, *Apr. 27, 1297.*

Savings Banks, Stock transfer of, to Bank of Ireland, proposed, *Apr. 27, 1290.*

Scotland.

Dundee.

Mails, Earlier delivery, proposed, *Apr. 14, 201.*

Postmen's Grievances—Reply to Petition, *Apr. 18, 379.*

Night Messengers, Adult—Number, Hours, Duties, etc., *Apr. 21, 836.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—cont.

Sorters—Hours of duty at East Central Office, *Apr. 27, 1297.*

Telegraph Service.

Highbury Clerks, Hours of Duty, *Apr. 26, 1178.*

Ireland.

Dublin.

Dismissal of Messengers, *Apr. 25, 1059–1060.*

Overcrowding of Telegraph School, *Apr. 23, 1453.*

Limerick.

Learners, Placing, on establishment, *Apr. 14, 205.*

Revision of duties, proposed, *Apr. 13, 82.*

Royal Visit, Supplementing staff from England on account of, *Apr. 20, 690–691.*

Leeds Office, Learners in, Providing Appointments for, *Apr. 25, 1031.*

Promotions of Female Operators in the Central Office, *Apr. 19, 531.*

Telephone Service.

Dublin and Galway, Establishing Communication between, *Apr. 27, 1302.*

Killarney, establishing communication with, *Apr. 25, 1060.*

Wireless Telegraphy—Post Office arrangements for receipt and forwarding of Marconi telegrams, *Apr. 14, 201.*

Stanley of Alderley, Lord

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, *2R., Apr. 21, 827.*

Steel Industry

see Iron and Steel Industry.

Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M. [Glasgow, College]

Income Tax Collection in the United Kingdom — Granting Return for January, February and March, *Apr. 18, 355.*

Submarines

see under Navy.

Suez Canal

Convention — Suspension of paragraphs prescribing annual meeting of agents. *Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 14, 196, 197.*

Sugar

Brussels Convention, Adherence of Crown Colonies to.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Earl Percy, Apr. 18, 375–376.

Duty on, Revenue derived from, Decrease in.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 547.

Sunday Closing [Shops] Bill

l. 2R., Apr. 28, 1409.

Debate on Second Reading [L ds] Apr. 28, 1409.

Acts to be repealed by the Bill, 1413, 1419.

Fines proposed to be inflicted, 1411, 1413, 1420.

Growing practice of opening shops and stalls on Sunday, 1409.

Local Authorities, Powers granted to, 1411, 1414, 1416, 1418, 1419.

Lord's Day Observance Society, Evidence of, 1410, 1415.

Prohibition of Sunday trading, 1411. Exceptions to, 1411, 1414, 1416, 1419.

Prosecutions.

Number of—Statistics for 1902, 1415, 1417, 1420.

Proposals as to, 1414.

Public opinion as to, 1415, 1416, 1417.

Trade Associations' protests against Sunday opening, 1409, 1410.

Withdrawal of Bill, proposed, 1417, 1418, 1421.

Bill withdrawn, *Apr. 28, 1421.*

Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill

c. 2R., Apr. 16, 347.

Superannuation

Civil Service, *see that title.*

Supply

(*See also* Army Estimates, Navy Estimates and Civil Service Estimates.)

Committee to examine and report on Estimates prior to discussion in Committee of Supply, Appointment of, proposed.

O. Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 21, 887.

Discussion of Votes, Inadequate opportunities for, alleged.

Os. Mr. H. Hobhouse, Apr. 21, 920; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 929, 930.

Supply of Electricity Bill

l. 1R. Apr. 23, 1408.*

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill

c. Rep. Apr. 27, 1285.*

Sutton Gas Bill

l. 2R. Apr. 25, 1015.*

Swanwick

Colliery Accident—Steps to be taken to prevent Negligence.

Q. Mr. Jacoby; A. Mr. Cochrane, Apr. 26, 1182–1183.

Sweating

see under Aliens Bill.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Sweeney, Daniel

Pension for.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Mr. V. Caven-
dish, *Apr. 27*, 1306-1307.**Switzerland**Accident and Sickness Insurance Laws,
Granting Return relative to.Q. Mr. Tennant; A. Mr. A.
Douglas, *Apr. 20*, 672.**Talbot Rt. Hon. J. G. [Oxford University]**Licensing Bill, Intro. *Apr. 20*, 710, 719.**Taxation**Customs and Excise, *see that title*.

Dog Tax, Proposed Reduction in Scotland.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain,
Apr. 28, 1432.Incidence of—Appointment of Royal Com-
mission of Inquiry into, proposed.Os. Mr. Haldane, *Apr. 19*, 582; Sir
E. Vincent, 606, 607; Mr. A.
Chamberlain, 638.

Indirect Coal Tax not a fair instance of.

Os. Mr. Ritchie, Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr.*
21, 868; Mr. McCrae, Mr. A.
Chamberlain, 893.Local Taxation, *see that title*.

Policy of the Government.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *Apr. 26*, 1216;
Mr. McCrae, 1219, 1220.

Remission of.

Proportion as between the Direct and
Indirect TaxpayerOs. Mr. S. Buxton, *Apr.*
21, 860; Mr. Ritchie,
868, 869; Mr. Broad-
hurst, 877; Mr. A.
Chamberlain, 892, 893.References to, in Debate on the
Budget, *Apr. 21*, 904, 912;
26 Apr., 1224, 1273; *Apr. 27*,
1326, 1327, 1336, 1344.

Sources of Supply.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 21*, 894.

War Taxes, Necessity for Continuing.

References to, in Debate on the
Budget, *Apr. 26*, 1216, 1219, 1220,
1221, 1225, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232;
Apr. 27, 1317, 1331, 1332, 1336, 1337,
1348.

Yield to Taxes in 1893-4, 1898-9, 1903-4.

Os. Mr. Toulmin; As. Mr. A. Chamber-
lain, *Apr. 22*, 957; *Apr. 27*, 1289,
1290.**Taylor, Mr. A. [Liverpool, E. Toxteth]**Crown Agents for the Colonies—Com-
missions, etc., *Apr. 12*, 17; *Apr. 27*,
1295.Liverpool and London and Globe Insur-
ance Company Bill, 2R. *Apr. 26*, 1259.

Ritualistic Practices in the Church.

Adjournment of the House to Discuss,
proposed, *Apr. 19*, 593.**Taylor, Mr. A.—cont.**

Ritualistic Practices.

Royal Commission on—Composition
and Terms of Reference, *Apr. 14*,
212; *Apr. 14*, 757; *Apr. 20*, 691,
692.**Taylor, Mr. T. C. [Lancashire, Radcliffe]**Army—Rifles—Relative Cost of Manu-
facture by the Government and the
Trade, *Apr. 14*, 237.

House of Commons.

Ladies' Gallery, Provision of annuncia-
tors in, *Apr. 28*, 1484.Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr.*
23, 1484.Income Tax—Graduation of, proposed,
Apr. 26, 1254.Taxation—Proportion as between direct
and indirect, *Apr. 27*, 1344.Tea, Additional duty of 2d. per pound on—
Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 646; *Apr.*
27, 1343-1345.**Tea**

Duty on.

Ad valorem duty proposed.

Os. Sir B. Gurdon, *Apr. 21*, 872;
Mr. Broadhurst, 880; Mr.
McKenna, *Apr. 27*, 1353.Additional 2d. per pound on—Bud-
get proposal—References to, in
Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*,
566, 568, 577, 579, 587, 588, 589,
596, 699, 600, 612, 615, 618, 624,
631, 632, 636, 641, 642, 648.Decline in consumption due to, alleged
—References to, in Debate on the
Budget, *Apr. 21*, 891, 892; *Apr. 26*,
1265, 1266, 1279; *Apr. 27*, 1333,
1537.India and Ceylon, Effect on tea industry
in—References to, in debate on
the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 612, 616, 617,
636, 637, 641, 642, 643-646; *Apr.*
26, 1265, 1266, 1273; *Apr. 27*,
1312, 1318, 1337, 1338, 1344, 1345,
1346.**Ireland**Hardships inflicted on the poor by
tax—References to, in Debate
on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 599-
602, 632; *Apr. 21*, 926; *Apr.*
26, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271,
1276, 1282; *Apr. 27*, 1316,
1317, 1328, 1329, 1339, 1340.Total amount paid in, up to 31st
March, 1904—Treasury esti-
mate.Os. Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr.
Lough; A. Mr. A.
Chamberlain, *Apr. 26*,
1189.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Tea—cont.**Duty on—cont.**

References to, in Debate on the Budget,
Apr. 21, 859, 860, 872, 880, 891,
 908, 913, 919, 925; *Apr. 26*, 1264,
 1265, 1267, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275,
 1277, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283; *Apr.*
27, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1318,
 1319, 1321, 1322, 1323-25, 1326,
 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1335, 1337,
 1341, 1343, 1444, 1348, 1349, 1350,
 1351, 1352, 1353, 1355, 1356.

Scotland—Hardships inflicted on the
 poorer classes by tax—References
 to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr.*
26, 1273, 1283; *Apr. 27*, 1310,
 1321, 1322, 1354.

Imports, Quantity and Value of, 1902-3,
 etc.

Q. Sir E. Sassoon; A. Mr. A.
 Chamberlain, *Apr. 21*, 836.

Teachers

see Education and National School
 Teachers.

Telegraph Service

Employees—Highbury Clerks, Hours of
 Duty.

Q. Mr. Lough; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 26, 1178.

India, Reducing rates to.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 18*,
 375.

Ireland.

Dublin.

Dismissal of Messengers.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord
 Stanley, *Apr. 25*, 1059-60.

School, Overcrowding of.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord
 Stanley, *Apr. 28*, 1453.

Royal Visit, Supplementing Irish
 Staff from England on Account of.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord
 Stanley, *Apr. 20*, 690-691.

Leeds Office, Learners in, Providing Ap-
 pointments for.

Q. Mr. L. Walton; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 25, 1030-1031.

Wireless Telegraphy—Receipt and For-
 warding of Marconi Telegrams—
 Arrangements with Post Office.

Q. Sir J. Lang; A. Lord Stanley,
pr. 14, 201.

Promotion of Female Operators in the
 Central Office.

Q. Mr. Nannetti; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 19, 530-531.

Dublin and Galway, Connection between.

Q. Mr. C. Devlin; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 27, 1302.

House of Commons—Inadequacy of
 Accommodation provided.

Os. Maj. E. Gordon, *Apr. 23*, 1461;
 Mr. W. Redmond, 1463; Lord
 Balcarras, 1476.

Telegraph Service—cont.

Ireland—Extension to Killarney.

Q. Mr. Murphy; A. Lord Stanley,
Apr. 25, 1600.

Tennant, Mr. H. J. [Berwickshire]

Accident and Sickness Insurance, Con-
 tinental Laws, Granting Return Rela-
 tive to, *Apr. 20*, 672.

Children, Employment of—By-Laws under
 the Act, Councils Submitting, *Apr. 20*,
 672.

Texas

Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 26*, 1168.

Thames Conservancy

Proceedings of Conservators—General
 Report Presented, *Apr. 23*, 1408, 1424.

Thames River Steamboat Service Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 23*, 1422.

Thames Steamboat Trust Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 23*, 1422.

Thomas, Mr. D. A. [Merthyr Tydvil]

Death Duty paid on Licensed Houses—
 Recovery of Duty in Cases of Refusal
 to Renew Licence, *Apr. 23*, 1444.

Thompson, Dr. E. C. [Monaghan, S.]

Workhouses, Commission on—Publishing
 Evidence, etc., *Apr. 23*, 1435.

Thorburn, Sir W. [Peebles and Selkirk]

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland)
 Act, Absence of M.P.'s from Commis-
 sion of Inquiry on, *April 18*, 381.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill

c. Rep.* *April 14*, 182.

Con.* *April 20*, 669.

3R.* *April 25*, 1021.

l. 1R.* *April 26*, 1166.

Tibet Expedition

Government Policy.

Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Mr. Brodrick,
April 18, 374-375.

Military Operations.

Casualties sustained, etc.

Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Mr. Brodrick,
April 25, 1045.

Number of Tibetans killed.

Q. Sir W. Lawson; A. Earl Percy,
April 14, 197.

Motion for discussion of, Terms of.

Qs. Sir H. C. Bannerman, Mr. J.
 Redmond, Sir W. Lawson; As.
 Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Brodrick,
April 12, 25.

Q. Mr. E. Robertson; A. Mr.
 Brodrick, *April 12*, 72.

Debates on Motions [Mr. Brodrick]
April 13, 85, [Earl of Hardwicke]
April 19, 488.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Tibet Expedition—cont.Motion for discussion—*cont**Debates on Motions—cont.*

Boundary between Sikkim and Tibet—Removal of pillars, etc. 89, 91, 100, 106, 111, 126.

British and Russian spheres of interest in Asia, Settlement of proposed, 118, 124, 125, 128, 129.

British Resident at Lhasa, Establishment of, 496, 497.

British Subjects detained in prison, 101, 102.

Character of the expedition, 86, 87, 114, 117, 127, 128, 491, 492, 498.

Chinese Government.

Attitude of, 91, 93.

Suzerainty over Tibet, Views taken of, 101.

Chumbi valley closed to inhabitants of Sikkim, 90, 91.

Convention of 1890, Violation of, 89, 90, 91, 106, 111, 494, 495.

Curzon, Lord, Administration of—Policy with regard to Tibet—Forward Policy, etc., 95, 96, 102, 103, 119, 120, 121, 123, 132, 495, 499.

Deputation from the Dalai Lama to St. Petersburg, 92, 112, 113, 115, 119.

Exclusive Policy of Tibet a recent growth, 106.

Expenses, Defraying, out of the Revenues of India, 85, 104, 117, 489, 493, 498.

Free Trade Agreement, Violation of, 89, 90, 100, 106, 111.

Grazing Lands, Dispute as to, 89, 100, 111, 126.

India Office, Communications from, to Indian Government in India, Information as to, 122.

Military Operations, Necessity for, alleged, 87, 97, 110, 490, 492.

Authorisation for Despatch of Armed Force, 86, 114, 117, 500.

Objects of the Expedition, and Policy of His Majesty's Government, 94, 95, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 109, 110, 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 131, 132, 492, 493, 494, 496, 500.

Papers relating to, Tabling, 490.

Political *status quo*, Impossibility of consenting to any Change in, 92, 116, 130, 131.

Progress of, 87, 88, 98, 99.

Tibet Expedition—cont.Motion for discussion—*cont.**Debates on Motion—cont.*

Reasons for Despatch of the Expedition, 88, 95, 100, 102, 105, 107, 111, 115, 126, 127.

Russian Interests in Tibet—Assurances on the part of the Russian Government, etc., 98, 102, 108, 115, 116, 118, 124, 131, 497, 501.

Settlement of Questions arising between the two Governments, Difficulty of carrying on Negotiations for, 88, 91, 97, 127.

Surveys and drawing up of Maps by Members of the Expedition, Prohibition of, proposed, 497.

Withdrawal of Expedition, proposed, 104, 105, 107.

Tierney, Dr., Case of

Adjudicating on Cases at Clones Petty Sessions when he was Medical Adviser to the parties—Official Action by Lord Chancellor proposed.

Q. Mr. Griffith Boscawen; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 13*, 78.

Tilak, Mr.

Prosecution of, for forgery and perjury—Expenditure, Authority responsible for prosecution, &c.

Qs. Mr. Weir, Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 14*, 187; Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 26*, 1194.

Tipperary

Urban Council Surcharges, Auditor's Costs. Q. Mr. Cullinan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 388.

Tithe Rents, Ireland

Redemption of.

Number of Years Purchase of.

Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1037-1038.

Prices in 1901, 1902 and 1903.

Q. Mr. W. McKillop; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 535.

Tobacco

Cigarettes, Consumption of, in 1903-4.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 22*, 956.

Contraband—Distribution of Balance.

Q. Mr. Whitmore; A. Mr. V. Cavenish, *Apr. 19*, 519-520.

Duties on.

Anomalies of.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Apr. 19*, 562.

Cigars and Cigarettes, Foreign, Increased duty on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 19*, 564, 655.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Tobacco—cont.**Duties on—cont.**Cigars and Cigarettes, etc.—*cont.*

References to, in debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 661, 662; *Apr. 21*, 871, 879, 884, 902; *Apr. 26*, 1215.

Drawback, Rates of, Proposed changes in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 565; *Mr. G. Bowles, Apr. 26*, 1215; *Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1223.*

Q. Mr. Buchanan; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 28, 1432.

Stripped Tobacco—Budget proposal, References to, in Debate on the Budget, *Apr. 19*, 563-4, 587, 596, 655, 656, 661; *Apr. 21*, 879.

Values, Taxation on, instead of on weight, proposed.

Os. Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 26, 1229.

Moisture limit, Raising, to 32 per cent.

O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 565.

Tomkinson, Mr. J. [Cheshire, Cirewe]

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 26*, 1275.

Tomlinson, Sir W. E. M. [Preston]

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *Apr. 27*, 1404.

Weights and Measures Bill, 2 R., *Apr. 15*, 324, 326.

Torpedoes

See under Navy.

Torquay Tramways Bill

l. 2r. Apr. 21*, 798.

Toulmin, Mr. G. [Bury, Lancashire]

Taxation—Yield of taxes in 1893-4, 1898-9, 1903-4, *Apr. 22*, 957; *Apr. 27*, 1289.

Trade, Board of

President—Mr. Gerald W. Balfour.

Parliamentary Secretary—Mr. A. Bonar Law.

Dublin Branch proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 26, 1178-1179.

Trade and Commerce

Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence—Report of proceedings Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943.

Foreign Countries and British Possessions—Annual Statement Presented, *Apr. 22*, 943, 953.

Germany—Exports to United Kingdom and Imports from, Value of—Return Presented, *Apr. 18*, 352.

Madagascar and Tunis—Exports and Imports in 1903.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 14, 200.

Trade and Commerce—cont.

Prosperity of the country, Decline in.

Os. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 19, 544, 545; *Mr. Ritchie, 574; Mr. Haldane, 578; Mr. Ashton, 608, 615; Sir W. Holland, 630, 631.*

Trade Reports

Annual Series Presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 480, 481; *Apr. 20*, 670; *Apr. 21*, 810, 835; *Apr. 22*, 943; *Apr. 25*, 1024; *Apr. 26*, 1168; *Apr. 27*, 1287; *Apr. 28*, 1407.

Miscellaneous Series Presented, *Apr. 12*, 4; *Apr. 19*, 480.

Trade Unions and Trades Disputes Bill

c. 2R. Apr. 22, 958.

Debate on Second Reading [Commons], Apr. 22, 958.

Act of 1875, Objects of, 967, 980, 981, 984, 999, 1000.

Conspiracy, Difficulty of Defining, 960, 977, 979, 980, 986, 993, 997, 1002, 1006.

Expenditure of Trades Unions, Items of, 960, 962, 963, 976.

Funds.

Benefit Funds, separating from other Funds, proposed, 987, 995, 1004, 1005.

Liability of, for acts of Agents, etc., 960, 965, 970, 971, 972, 973, 976, 981, 982, 983, 987, 988, 995, 997, 1000, 1003.

Intimidation, allegations as to, 965, 966.

Law as to Unions, necessity for defining, 958, 959, 962, 991, 993, 998, 1000, 1001, 1005.

Lyons v. Wilkins, case of, 968.

Objections to the Bill, 965, 968, 969, 973, 984, 990.

Picketing, state of the law as to, 959, 968, 969, 978, 979, 985, 992, 994, 997, 1001, 1007.

Powers placed in the hands of Trade Unions by the Bill, 965, 969, 971, 978, 985, 986, 987, 989, 996, 1000.

Quinn v. Leatham, case of, 960, 970, 973.

Royal Commission.

Constitution of, 975, 979, 1008.

Report of, awaiting, prior to legislating, 958, 959, 962, 974, 975, 979, 984, 989, 997, 998.

Status of Unions, 959, 981, 982.

Strikes, the main object of Trade Unions, alleged, 961, 962, 963.

Training Colleges

see under Education.

Transvaal

Chinese in—Number under unrestricted Conditions—*Status of.*

Q. Major Seely; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 373.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Transvaal—cont.

Chinese Labour, Importation of.

Australian Resolution, opposing, Tabling, etc.

Q. Major Seely ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1043.

Boer opposition to Ordinance, Withdrawal of alleged.

Qs. Mr. S. Ormsby Gore, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Dr. Macnamara ; As. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 14, 194, 195.

Chinese Government, Negotiations with—Date of Tabling Papers.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 19, 526.

Health of Labourers, Repatriation after Breakdown of.

Q. Mr. S. Buxton ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 19, 527.

Negotiations, conclusion of, date of exportation of Labourers, etc.

Q. Sir J. Leng ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 27, 1294.

Ordinance and Regulations, Date of Tabling.

Q. Sir H. Fowler ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 374.

Q. Mr. Moon ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 20, 677-678.

Plague at Hong-Kong and Johannesburg, Suspending Operations during Prevalence of.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 374.

Religious observances, facilities for.

Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 13, 79, 80.

Shipping Accommodation provided—Ports of Embarkation etc.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttelton ; A. Apr. 28, 1441-1442.

Wages, Rate of.

Q. Mr. Whitley ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 12, 20.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 28, 1441.

Kaffir Wages, lowering of, by Competition.

Q. Mr. Whitley ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 367-368.

Coolie labour, Indentured, in — Return presented, Apr. 12, 5.

Departmental Supplies, purchasing through Crown Agents, etc.

Qs. Mr. H. Samuel, Sir H. Fowler ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1044-1045.

High Commissioner, Regulations as to Assent of, to Ordinances.

Q. Mr. Channing ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 373.

Transvaal—cont.

Johannesburg.

Plague—use of Serum—prohibition suggested.

Q. Sir J. Rolleston ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 14, 191.

Street Regulations against Coloured Persons in.

Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 366-367.

Labour Question.

Chinese Labour, *see that subheading.*

Native Labour, statistics as to Unemployed.

Q. Mr. S. Buxton ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 19, 527.

White and Coloured Labourers employed in the Gold Mines in March 1898, 1899, 1902, and 1903.

Q. Major Seely ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1040.

Land Settlement Scheme, Progress of—Return.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 12, 20.

Loan, Delay in issue of, reasons for.

Os. Mr. Ritchie, Apr. 21, 867 ; Sir B. Gordon, 873 ; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 927.

Loans, Repayment of—Application of money towards Budget deficit.

References to in debate on Budget Resolutions, Apr. 19, 551, 554, 586, 609, 634 ; Apr. 21, 881, 898, 911, 922.

Q. Mr. McCrae ; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, Apr. 21, 836-838.

Magistrates—Names, Ages, etc., date of granting Return.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 12, 20.

Mines.

Gold Output and White and Coloured Labourers employed in March, 1894, 1899, 1902, 1903, and 1904.

Q. Major Seely ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1040.

Q. Mr. Buchanan ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1040.

Labour Question—*See subheadings* Chinese Labour and Labour Question.

Mortality in.

Return, Date of issuing.

Qs. Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. J. Ellis ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 12, 19.

Tabling Papers.

Q. Mr. J. Ellis, Sir J. Gorst ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 28, 1442.

Revenue and Expenditure, Statistics concerning.

Q. Mr. Buchanan ; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 25, 1039.

*Apr. 12—Apr. 28.***Trawling**

English Trawlers under Norwegian Flag—
Stopping Practice.

Q. Capt. Ellice; A. Mr. S. Dickson, Apr. 27, 1902.

Immature Fish, effect of the Trawling Industry on—Limitation of size of vessels, etc.

O. Lord Tweedmouth, Apr. 19, 502, 505, 510; Earl of Onslow, 507.

Moray, Firth, and Clyde—Landing Regulations for Foreign Vessels—Legislation to remove anomalies, proposed.

Oa. Marquess of Huntly, Apr. 19, 512; Earl of Onslow, 514.

Treasury

First Lord—Mr. A. J. Balfour.

Tredennick Estate, Donegal

Delay in Applotting—Measures to be taken.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Atkinson, Apr. 27, 1905.

Trevelyan, Mr. C. P. [Yorkshire, W.R., Elland]

Aliens Bill, 2R, *Apr. 25, 1075.*

Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *Apr. 26, 1246-48.*

Referring Question to Committee, *Apr. 25, 1048.*

Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill—Adjourned Motion, Facilities for discussion of, *Apr. 25, 1061.*

Tibet Expedition, Reasons for undertaking, authorisation of Parliament, etc., *Apr. 15, 114.*

Transvaal Mines, Mortality in—Date of issuing Return, *Apr. 12, 19.*

Valuation Bill—Date of Introduction, *Apr. 18, 395.*

Indian Coolie Immigration Ordinances.

Date of publishing.

Q. Sir H. Fowler; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 18, 374.

Trinidad

Coolie Labour imported into.

Ordinance presented, *Apr. 19, 479.*

Disturbances at Port of Spain.

Papers relating to, presented, *Apr. 12, 4; Apr. 19, 480.*

Report, date of issue.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. Lyttelton, Apr. 14, 190.

Indentured Immigrants sentenced to hard labour—Copy of amended Prison Rule presented, *Apr. 12, 5; Apr. 19, 483.*

Trinity College, Dublin

Grant under Land Act, high prices demanded for land, etc.

O. Mr. T. W. Russell, Apr. 13, 162.

Tristan da Cunha

"Odin," H.M.S., Visit of, Tabling Report of.

Q. Mr. Loder; A. Mr. Pretyman, Apr. 28, 1427.

Tuberculosis [Animals] Compensation Bill

c. 2R, Apr. 15, 327.

Debate on Second Reading [Commons] Apr. 15, 327.

Agriculturists' interest in the measure, 327, 331.

Butchers, Attitude of, towards the proposals, 327, 328, 329, 331.

Communicability of Disease, Opinions as to, 334.

Difficulty of detecting Disease in the living Animal, 329, 334, 339, 341, 343.

Elimination of Disease of greater importance than destruction of affected Animals, 336, 339, 340, 342, 344, 346.

Inequalities of present system, 327, 331, 335, 338.

Inspectors, Qualifications of—Incompetent men appointed under present system, 338, 344.

Live cattle trade, Effect of the Bill upon, 331, 335.

Local Authorities, Freedom of, to Condemn Carcasses, 328, 330.

Maximum and Minimum Compensation, fixing by the Board of Agriculture, proposed, 328, 331.

Notification of Tuberculosis in the live Animal, necessity for legislation as to, 328.

Payment of Compensation out of the rates, proposed, 328, 330, 332, 333, 337.

Royal Commission of Inquiry, Recommendations of, 330, 337, 341, 342, 343.

Tuke, Sir J. B. [Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities]

War Office Reconstitution Committee Report—Health of the Army—Discussion of portion of Report, *Apr. 13, 83.*

Tulliallan

Technical Education Grant for.

Q. Mr. E. Wason; A. Mr. A. G. Murray, Apr. 20, 685.

Tunis

Exports and Imports, value of—Statistics for 1896, 1903, etc.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. G. Balfour, Apr. 14, 200.

Trade Report presented, *Apr. 22, 943*

Turkey

Trade Report presented, *Apr. 22, 943.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Tweedmouth, Lord

Battleship Speed Trials on measured mile at Polperro—Damage to Fishing Industry and Question of Compensation, *Apr. 26*, 1170.

Hutcheson's Hospital and Hutcheson's Educational Trust Bill, 2R., *Apr. 21*, 798, 809, 810.

New Zealand Trade—Preferential Tariff for British Goods, etc., *Apr. 21*, 831.

Sea Fisheries Bill, *Com.*, *Apr. 19*, 502, 509, 512, 515.

Twelve o'Clock Rule, Suspension of

Ways and Means, Proceedings of Committee.

Motion [Mr. A. J. Balfour] *Apr. 19*, 540; *Apr. 21*, 856.

Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir W. Harcourt, *Apr. 20*, 694.

Tynemouth Corporation Bill

c. 2R. * *Apr. 19*, 516.

Tynemouth Gas Bill

c. 2R. * *Apr. 12*, 2.
Rep. * *Apr. 22*, 950.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill

c. 2R. * *Apr. 22*, 950.

Uganda

Railway—Country Produce Traffic—Report Presented, *Apr. 19*, 480.

Ullapool Naval Base

Construction of—Progress of Work.
Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. A. Lee, *Apr. 18*, 368.

United Irish League

Corofin, Meeting at, Reason for Police Attendance at.
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 19*, 534.

United States of America

Cotton, *see that title*.
Irish Mackerel, Increase of Duty on—Addressing Representation to U.S.A. Government.
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 18*, 377.
Navy—Total Warship Tonnage 1895 and 1904.
Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25*, 1028.
Trade Report Presented, *Apr. 26*, 1168.

University of Leeds Bill

c. 2R. * *Apr. 19*, 516.

Urlingford

Workhouse—Refusal to allow Board Room to be used for Meetings.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1451.

Vaccination

Prosecution at Thames Police Court, Steps to be taken with regard to.
Q. Mr. Crooks; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 25*, 1049–1050.

Public Vaccinators, Members of Boards of Guardians, appointed as.
Q. Mr. Caldwell; A. Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 20*, 674.

Scotland.

Annual Report Presented, *Apr. 12*, 6; *Apr. 19*, 481.

Lymph for, Annual Sum paid to Dr. Braxall for.
Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Lawson, *Apr. 18*, 380.

Vagrancy

Hyde Park, in, Introducing Legislation as to.
Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 25*, 1050.

Laws—Amendment suggested.
Q. Mr. S. Ormsby-Gore; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 18*, 378.

Valuation Acts

Ireland—Select Committee of Inquiry—Report Presented, *Apr. 18*, 397.

Date of Introduction.
Q. Mr. Trevelyan; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 18*, 395.

c. Intro., *Apr. 26*, 1199.
1R. * *Apr. 26*, 1203.

Debate on Introduction [Commons], *Apr. 26*, 1199.

Appeal, Alteration in Law as to, 1202.
Division of Areas into Districts, and Appointment of Valuation Committees, 1201.

Law as to Valuation, Necessity for Amendment of, 1199, 1200, 1203.

Railways and Canals to be dealt with in a separate measure, 1202.

Schedule of deductions to be made from gross estimated value, 1201, 1202.

Single Authority for valuation and assessment purposes, proposed, *Apr. 26*, 1201.

Surveyor of Taxes to be present at meetings of valuation Committees, proposed, 1201.

Two assessment authorities for each area, Confusion caused by, 1200.

Uniformity of Valuation and Assessment, steps to be taken to secure, 1201.

Valuation Committees

Appointment of, for areas containing a population of not less than 50,000, 1201.

Composition of, 1202.

Ventilation of the House of Commons

see Parliament—House of Commons.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Victoria and Albert Museum

Buildings—Date of Completion.

Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Lord Balcarras, *Apr. 18, 356.***Victoria University of Manchester Bill**c. 2R. * *Apr. 19, 516.***Victualling Yards**

Unskilled labourers, character of work performed by, and rate of Wage.

O. Capt. Norton, *Apr. 12, 49, 51.***Vincent, Sir E. [Exeter]**National Expenditure—Committee Report, Opportunity of Discussion, etc., *Apr. 19, 537.***Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. [Sheffield, Central]**Aliens Bill, 2R., *Apr. 25, 1135.*Auxiliary Forces, Administration of—Deferring Changes until Receipt of Report of Royal Commission, *Apr. 18, 369.*Weights and Measures Bill, 2R., *Apr. 15, 323.***Vivisection***see Animals, Experiments on.***Volunteers**

Ammunition, Supplying at same rate as to Militia and Yeomanry, proposed

O. Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14, 224.*

Green, Lieutenant, Court of Inquiry into Case of, Charges, etc.

Q. Mr. Rea; A. Mr. Arnold Forster, *Apr. 21, 844-845.*

Courts-Martial, Powers of and rules of procedure.

O. Sir C. Dilke, *Apr. 13, 138, 139, 148, 149; Mr. C. Warner, 141; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 148, 149, 150; Mr. Dalziel, 149, 150; Sir R. Finlay, 149; Mr. Dalziel, Apr. 14, 290; Sir R. Finlay, 291.*

Medals for Long Service—Considering Military Service after Transfer to Naval Corps.

Q. Mr. Kearley; A. Mr. Pretymann, *Apr. 25, 1027.***Wages.**

Army Ordnance Department—Labourers' Wages in Ireland.

Q. Mr. C. Hay; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 19, 526.*Dockyards, *see that title.***Wales.**

Cardigan Bay, Provision of Harbours of Refuge in, proposed.

O. Mr. Humphreys-Owen, *Apr. 28, 1529.*Carmarthen, *see that title.*Education, *see that title—Wales.***Wales—cont.**

Glyn-Traian National School, Draft Final Order for, Holding local inquiry into.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts; A. Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 27, 1298-1299.*

Holyhead Harbour—Provision of facilities for landing passengers and goods, etc.

O. Mr. G. Griffiths, *Apr. 28, 1511, 1512; Mr. W. Jones, 1517; Mr. W. Jones, 1517; Mr. G. Balfour, 1524.***Walsall.**Polling Districts—Council Order altering certain districts in the Borough, *Apr. 22, 943, 953.***Walton, Mr. J. [Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley,**Financial position of the Country, *Apr. 21, 910, 911.*Taxation, Remission of—Proportion between the direct and indirect taxpayer, *Apr. 21, 912, 913; Apr. 26, 1273.*Tea, Additional duty of 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 21, 913; Apr. 26, 1272.***Walton, Mr. J. L. [Leeds, S.]**Leeds Telegraph Office, Learners in, Providing Appointments for, *Apr. 25, 1030.***War***See also titles South African War, Russo-Japanese War, etc.*

Preparations for—Appointment of Select Committee to inquire into present, proposed.

Q. Mr. J. F. Hope; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 13, 82.***War Office**

Secretary of State—Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.

Under Secretary—Earl of Donoughmore.

Financial Secretary—Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport.

Contracts for Arms and War Material—Allocation of, between Ordnance Factories and the Trade.

Q. Mr. Crooks; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26, 1190-1191.*

Cottages in Wiltshire, Notices to quit.

Q. Lord E. Fitzmaurice; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26, 1181.*

Ordnance Department—Establishment of buying section.

O. Mr. C. Hobhouse, *Apr. 14, 252.***Reconstitution Committee.**

Adoption of Recommendations of—Allowing opportunity for Discussion.

Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 26, 1197.*

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

War Office—cont.**Reconstitution Committee—cont.**

Financial System recommended by—
Changes proposed—Affording
facilities for discussing in the
House.

Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr.
Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 14*,
192.

Report of—Health of the Army,—
Discussion of portion of Report
relating to.

Q. Sir M. Foster; A. Mr. A.
J. Balfour, *Apr. 12*, 23.

Qs. Sir J. Tuke, Dr. Farqu-
harson; A. Mr. A. J. Bal-
four, *Apr. 13*, 83.

Warden Estate

Compulsory Sale of—Purchase by land
speculator alleged.

O. Mr. Murphy, *Apr. 13*, 156.

Warner, Mr. T. C. T. [Stafford, Lichfield]**Army.**

Act, Reprinting with Amendments
every year, proposed, *Apr. 13*,
141, 142.

Guns for the Artillery—Expenditure
on Obsolete guns, *Apr. 14*, 213.

Lance, Proposed abolition of, *Apr. 14*,
233.

Pay, Forfeiture of—Right of appeal
to Court-Martial, *Apr. 13*, 142.

Rifles.

New pattern, Cost of, Payments
for, etc., *Apr. 14*, 225.

Place of Manufacture, *Apr. 14*,
233.

Relative cost of manufacture by
the Government and the
Trade, *Apr. 14*, 242.

Schoolmasters, military and civilian,
Placing on the same footing, *Apr.*
13, 112.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R., *Apr. 13*, 141.

Expenditure—Treasury control over spend-
ing departments, *Apr. 26*, 1226.

House of Commons—Smoking-room ac-
commodation, Inadequacy of, *Apr. 23*,
1493.

Militia—Accoutrement grievances, *Apr.*
14, 274.

Wason, Mr. J. C. [Orkney and Shetland]

Africa, East—Jewish Colonial Trust,
Tabling Papers relating to, *Apr. 26*,
1196.

Congo Free State, Foreign Traders in—
Confiscation of Merchandise, etc., *Apr.*
26, 1194-1195.

Gilbert Islands, Maladministration, alleged
—Inquiry—Tabling Report, proposed,
Apr. 27, 1294, 1295.

Wason, Mr. J. C.—cont.

Poor Law, Scotland—Medical Attendance
for Paupers—Rules, etc., *Apr. 13*, 74.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget
Proposal, *Apr. 26*, 1273.

Wason, Mr. E. [Clackmannan and Kinross]

Africa, South—Garrison—Indian Contri-
butions towards Expenditure, Tabling
Indian Dissents from, *Apr. 25*, 1034.

Agriculture in Scotland, Number of Per-
sons engaged in, *Apr. 21*, 847.

Secondary and Technical Education—
Grants for Tulliallan and Culross,
Apr. 20, 685.

Water Bailiffs, Ireland

Limerick Board of Conservators—Employ-
ment of Persons Fined for Illegal
Fishing, alleged.

Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr.
Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Ways and Means

Committee of—Suspension of Twelve
o'clock rule.

Motion [Mr. A. J. Balfour] *Apr. 19*,
540; *Apr. 21*, 856.

Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman,
Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir W.
Harcourt, *Apr. 20*, 694.

Wednesfield

Cottage Homes—Excessive Corporal
Punishment in—Size of Birch used,
etc.

Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. W.
Long, *Apr. 27*, 1291.

Weights and Measures Bill

c. 2R. *Apr. 15*, 302.

Debate on Second Reading [Commons] *Apr.*
15, 302.

Appointment and Control of Inspec-
tors—Powers of Board of Trade,
322.

Capacity and Length, Marking De-
nominations on Measures, pro-
posed, 313.

Certificates of Suitability for the use
of Appliances—Powers of Board
of Trade as to, 311, 312, 316, 318.

Committee of Inquiry into System,
Findings of, 304, 317, 321, 322.

Disputes between Inspectors and
Manufacturers, Powers of Board
of Trade to Decide, 322.

General Principles of the Bill, 302,
307, 308, 311, 321, 322.

History of the Matter, 303.

Local Authorities, Attitude of, towards
Proposed Amendments, 304, 305,
310, 322.

Metric System.

Adoption of, *en bloc*, proposed,
309, 310, 311, 319.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Weights and Measures Bill—cont.*Debate on Second Reading—cont.***Metric System—cont.**

Clauses relating to, Withdrawal of, 320, 321, 323, 324.

Troy Weight and Apothecaries weight, Abolition of, proposed, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 323.

Model regulations of Board of Trade, Impossibility of enforcing, 306, 307.

Periodical re-verification of weights, measures, and weighing instruments, 308, 312, 315, 319, 320, 322.

Postal Scales, Inspection of, proposed, 317.

Principle of Act of 1878 as applied to Act of 1889, 306.

Rebate in lieu of discount, System of, 308, 309, 310.

Referring to Select Committee, proposed, 324, 325, 326.

Uniformity in administration of Acts, Necessity for, 302, 303, 306, 307, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 321.

Verification Officers and Inspectors, Proposals as to, 308.

Weir, Mr. J. G. [Ross and Cromarty]**Army.**

Breakfast provided for Soldiers, Nature of, Apr. 14, 291.

Cordite, Estimate for, Apr. 14, 222, 223.

Rifles, Place of manufacture, relative cost of, in Government, and outside, factories, etc., Apr. 14, 245, 246.

Small-arm and machine gun ammunition, Estimate for, Apr. 14, 222, 224.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R., Apr. 14, 291.

Avoch, Construction of Harbour at, proposed, Apr. 28, 1513-4.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Act Amendment Bill—Date of Second Reading, Apr. 18, 395.

Dog Tax, Proposed Reduction of, in Scotland, Apr. 28, 1432.

Education.

Cookery Instruction in Scotch Schools, Apr. 25, 1053.

Defective and Epileptic Children, making Provision for, Apr. 25, 1029.

Teachers in Crofting Counties, Number of—School Board Pensions granted since 1898, Apr. 25, 1053.

Fisheries, Scotch, Protection of, Names of Vessels engaged in, Apr. 19, 532.

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, Apr. 28, 1482.

Weir, Mr. J. G.—cont.**India.**

Agricultural Banks in, Apr. 28, 1432-1433.

Telegraphic Rates to, Reduction of, Apr. 18, 375.

Lewis, Isle of.

Cemeteries, Insanitary Condition of, Apr. 25, 1053.

Congested state of, Apr. 18, 471.

Cromore-Gravir Road, Grant for Construction of, Apr. 25, 1029.

Lymph for Scotland, Annual Sum paid to Dr. Blaxall for, Apr. 18, 390.

Portnagurin, Construction of Harbour of Refuge at, proposed, Apr. 28, 1513.

Railway at Halbeath, Fifeshire—Level Crossing, providing suitable Protection at, Apr. 25, 1050-1051.

Savings Banks—Annuities, Terminable, Payment of, Apr. 27, 1365.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, Apr. 26, 1283; Apr. 27, 1310-1313.

Filak, Mr., Prosecution of—Expenditure, Authority responsible for Prosecution, etc., Apr. 14, 187.

Trinidad—Disturbances at Port of Spain—Report, date of issue, Apr. 14, 190.

Ullapool Naval Base, Construction of—Progress of Work, Apr. 18, 368.

Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E. [Taunton]**Army.**

Act, Reprinting with Amendments every year, proposed, Apr. 13, 143.

Cavalry Horses, reduction in weight carried by, Apr. 14, 275.

Guns.

Auxiliary Forces, arming with modern weapons, Apr. 14, 221.

New pattern of quick-firing, nature of, Apr. 14, 221.

Lances and Swords, Decision as to retention of, Apr. 14, 225.

Pay, Forfeiture of—Right of appeal to Court-martial, Apr. 13, 143.

Window blinds for Officers' quarters, cost of, Apr. 14, 284.

Army [Annual] Bill, 2R. Apr. 13, 143.

Wellington College

Report of Governors for 1903 presented, Apr. 22, 943, 953.

Wellington (Somerset) Gas Bill

1. 2R.* Apr. 25, 1015.

Rep.* Apr. 28, 1406.

Wemyss, Earl of

Outdoor Relief [Friendly Societies] Bill—Notice of Motion, Apr. 28, 1409.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

West Down

Parliamentary Election—Recommendation of Deputy Master of the Mint, Legality of, etc.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 27*, 1307-1309.

West Indies

Cotton Cultivation in, Development of, proposed.

Os. Mr. Peel, *Apr. 27*, 1388; Mr. Lyttelton, 1393.

West Metropolitan Railway [Abandonment] Bill

c. 2R.* *Apr. 19*, 516.

Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 22*, 951.

Wexford

Fishery Piers in, Construction and Repair of.

Q. Sir T. Esmonde; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Weymouth

School accommodation, Provision of — Decision of the Board.

Q. Mr. E. Griffith; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *Apr. 15*, 299.

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. L. [York, W.R., Ripon]

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 716.

Wheat

India—Amount exported from, in 1902-3.

Q. Mr. H. Craig; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Apr. 14*, 186.

Whiskey.

Adulteration of, in Government Warehouses, Steps to be taken as to.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *April 25*, 1048-1049.

White, Mr. G. [Norfolk, N.W.]

Education—Authorities bringing the Act into Force—Number in each month since April, 1903, etc., *April 18*, 353, 354.

White Estate, N. Longford.

Sale of—considering Application of Mary Hand.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *April 28*, 1447.

Tenants evicted from, steps to be taken as to.

Q. Mr. Gilhooley; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *April 19*, 533.

Whiteley, Mr. G. [York, W. R., Pudsey]

Death Duties, raising, proposed, *April 26*, 1249.

Income Tax Remissions—Shortening and simplifying procedure as to, proposed, *April 26*, 1249.

Whiteley Mr. H. [Ashton-under-Lyne]

Cotton Industry, Condition of, *April 27*, 1393.

Whiteley, Mr. H. J. [Halifax]

Army.

Army Corps Scheme, abandonment of, *April 14*, 286.

Engineers, increase of staff in China, *April 14*, 286.

Rifle Ranges—Amounts paid to London and Birmingham Small Arms Companies—Vote charged, etc., *April 18*, 366.

Rifles, new pattern—Payments made in advance, alleged, *April 14*, 224, 225.

Deficit on Budget, method of meeting, *April 21*, 936.

Navy—Victualling.

Increase in estimate for, *April 12*, 69.

Provisions not taken up, arrangements as to payments for, *April 12*, 69, 70.

Palaces, increase in expenditure on, *Apr. 23*, 1533.

Police on duty at Naval Dockyards, number and pay of, *April 12*, 57.

Rhodesia—Hut Tax, Collection of, by British South African Police, *Apr. 18*, 367.

Tea, additional duty on—Budget proposals, *Apr. 27*, 1351.

Transvaal—Chinese Labour — Rate of Wages, *Apr. 18*, 20.

Kaffir Wages, Lowering of, by Competition, *Apr. 18*, 367.

Whitmore, Mr. C. A. [Chelsea]

Tobacco, contraband—Distribution of Balance, *Apr. 19*, 519-520.

Whittaker, Mr. T. P. [Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley]

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 707.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment Bill

l. Royal Assent, *Apr. 23*, 1405.

Wine

Duties on, decrease in Revenue derived from.

Os. Mr. Lough, *Apr. 26*, 1213.

Williams, Mr. A. O. [Merionethshire]

Licensing Bill, Intro., *Apr. 20*, 724.

Wilson, Mr. F. W. [Norfolk, Mid.]

Authrax — Increase in Norfolk — Compensation for Animals dying of the Disease, proposed, *Apr. 14*, 185.

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of, *Apr. 23*, 1459.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Wilson, Mr. H. J. [Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth]

Army—Rifles, Relative Cost of manufacture by the Government and the trade, *Apr. 14*, 239.

Wilson, Mr. J. [Falkirk, Burghs]

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act—Absence of M.P.'s from Commission of Inquiry, *Apr. 18*, 381.

Wilson, Mr. J. [Durham, Mid.]

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1323-5.

Wiltshire

War Office Cottages in, Notices to quit.
Q. Lord E. Fitzmaurice; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26*, 1181.

Wireless Telegraphy

Receipt and Forwarding of Marconi Telegrams—Arrangements with Post Office.

Q. Sir J. Leng; A. Lord Stanley, *Apr. 14*, 201.

Russian Treatment of War Correspondents using.

Q. Mr. B. Jones; A. Earl Percy, *Apr. 20*, 675-676.

Wolf, Mr. G. W. [Belfast, E.]

Education, Ireland, Primary—Antiquated and Inadequate System, *Apr. 18*, 465.

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill

c. Rep.* *Apr. 18*, 74.

Con.* *Apr. 19*, 516.

3R.* *Apr. 25*, 1021.

l. 1R.* *Apr. 26*, 1166.

Woollen Industry

Ireland—Loans for Purchase of Machinery proposed.

Q. Mr. W. Abrams; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 14*, 204.

Woolwich

Rotunda Guns, Protection of.

Q. Sir G. Bartley; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 18*, 372.

Workhouses

Ireland.

Commission — Publishing Evidence, etc.

Q. Dr. Thompson; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 28*, 1435.

Lunatics, Uncertified, Admission of.

Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 18*, 384.

Nursing in.

Committee Report, dealing with.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. W. Long, *Apr. 28*, 1431.

Delay in Issuing New Order.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. G. Lawson, *Apr. 21*, 849.

Workhouses—cont.

Urlingford—Refusal to allow Board Room to be used for Meeting.

Q. Mr. J. Devlin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 28*, 1451.

Working Classes

Compensation.

Bill, Date of Introduction.

Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Apr. 20*, 692.

Inquiry, Progress of—Government Bill.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel; A. Mr. A. Douglas, *Apr. 19*, 531.

Income—Average annual earnings.

Q. Mr. H. Samuel; A. Mr. G. Balfour, *Apr. 21*, 839.

Irish, Housing of—Date of introducing Legislation, etc.

Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Nannetti; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Apr. 25*, 1055.

Workmen's Trains

Select Committee of Inquiry into working and administration of Act of 1883, Appointment of, *Apr. 14*, 292.

Works

First Commissioner—Lord Windsor.

Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. S., Temporary Chairman of Committees [Sheffield, Hallam]

Army—Rifles—Place of manufacture, *Apr. 14*, 239.

Trades Unions and Trades Disputes Bill, 2R. *Apr. 22*, 996.

Wylie, Mr. A. [Dumbartonshire]

House of Commons, Ventilation and Sanitation of—Carrying out improvements, *Apr. 28*, 1457-9.

Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on—Budget proposal, *Apr. 27*, 1321-2.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—Chief Secretary for Ireland [Dover]

Academy of Music, Royal—Lack of Accommodation, *Apr. 18*, 389.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department.

Annual Grant paid to North-East Agricultural Association, *Apr. 18*, 389.

Directory of, Consulting with Local Committees as to, *Apr. 18*, 391.

Emigration, Effect of work of Department on, *Apr. 14*, 204.

Rural District Councils, Assistance to under Public Libraries Act, *Apr. 12*, 21.

Veterinary Branch.

Inspectors Names, Qualifications, etc., *Apr. 28*, 1435.

Officials transferred from, *Apr. 18*, 387-8.

Petition of Officers, Decision as to, *Apr. 18*, 365.

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—cont.

Ballinacross—Mr. Robinson's Farm, Offer to sell through Estates Commissioners in favour of evicted tenant, alleged, *Apr. 14*, 190.

Belleek and Fintona Loan Fund Societies, Financial position of, *Apr. 12*, 23.

Blaris, Sunday Hurling Matches, Prohibition of—Payment of extra Police, *Apr. 20*, 687, 688; *Apr. 21*, 853-854.

Bonamargy Ruins, Custody of, *Apr. 21*, 850.

Cahirciveen River Estuary Buoys, Authority having Power to erect, *Apr. 20*, 686.

Clones Petty Sessions—Case of Dr. Tierney, *Apr. 13*, 78.

Constabulary.

Charges of Violence against, *Apr. 20*, 687.

Counties remitting Charges for extra Police 1901-1903—Names of Counties—Amounts remitted, *Apr. 18*, 364-365.

District Inspectors over Sixty Years of Age, taking Steps to retire, *Apr. 18*, 363.

Dublin Castle Orderlies, etc., Number of, *Apr. 18*, 384.

Fund, Solvency of—Percentage paid to Subscribers, *Apr. 28*, 1434.

Galway, Alleged Assault by Constable in, *Apr. 18*, 392.

Testimonials, Public Collections for—Case of Sergeant Dalton, *Apr. 20*, 688.

United Irish League Meetings, Corofin, Reason for Police Attendance at, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Cusack Estate, Progress of Sale of—Granting Return showing Names of intending Purchasers, *Apr. 25*, 1056.

Deaf and Dumb Children, Introducing Legislation as to, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Dingle Guardians, Refund of Surcharge against, *Apr. 18*, 386.

Down (Co.) Assizes—Composition of Grand Jury, *Apr. 12*, 22.

Dublin.

Castle, Number of Constabulary Orderlies, etc., *Apr. 18*, 384.

College of Science, Newry Granite for Foundation of, Contract for Supply of, *Apr. 25*, 1038.

Steam Tramway to Blessington—Compensation for Accidents—Names of Claimants, etc., *Apr. 18*, 362.

Tram Car Licences—Inclusion in Amount for Stage Carriage Licences, *Apr. 22*, 957.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—cont.**Education.**

Borrisokane Technical Classes, Allowing Use of Workhouse for, *Apr. 12*, 393.

Dohern National School, Reason for Closing, *Apr. 19*, 534.

Droumtacher National School—Salary of Principal Teacher—Inspection of School, etc., *Apr. 18*, 364.

Epidemics in Schools, Regulations as to Closing—Teacher's Salary, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1056.

Lislea National School—Appointment of Local Manager, *Apr. 18*, 363-364.

Primary—Antiquated and Inadequate System, *Apr. 18*, 429.

Training Colleges, Approval of Commissioners to Settlement of 1891, etc.—Claim of Provincial Colleges with respect to Free Homes, *Apr. 18*, 382, 383.

Fermanagh.

Arms Act, Proclamation under, *Apr. 26*, 1185, 1186.

Estates in—Delay in sale of, *Apr. 25*, 1185.

Fisheries.

Erne River, Laying down Young Trout in, *Apr. 26*, 1186.

Wexford Piers, Construction and Repair of, *Apr. 18*, 385.

Housing of Working Classes, Introducing Legislation as to, *Apr. 25*, 1055.

Irish Language, Teaching of.

Circular dealing with, Withdrawal of—Counting Attendances, *Apr. 18*, 390.

Qualified Pensioned Teachers, Employing, Outside School Hours, *Apr. 25*, 1054.

King-Harman Estate.**Compulsory Sale.**

Circular issued to tenants by solicitors, *Apr. 14*, 189.

Plant, W. H., Quality and price of land offered to—Inspection by Estates Commission Officer, proposed, *Apr. 15*, 295.

King's County.

Landlords' Proceedings for Recovery of Rent in, *Apr. 25*, 1038.

Labourers Acts—Reason for appointment of Mr. C. Atkinson, *Apr. 18*, 383.

Labourers' Cottages.

Land taken for purposes of—Selection of Arbitrator, appeal from award, etc., *Apr. 25*, 1025.

Sites, Alterations of, Obtaining Labourers' Assent to, *Apr. 18*, 391.

[cont.]

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—cont.**Land Commission.**

Queen's County—Evicted Tenants, number of applications received from, in Ossory Division, *Apr. 13, 82.*

Return, Information given in, *Apr. 13, 82.*

Staff, insufficiency of—Delay in dealing with Applications, *Apr. 26, 1187.*

Land Judge's Court—Procedure, Delays, etc.—Winding up business of the Court proposed, *Apr. 13, 172.*

Land Purchase.**Annuities.**

Calculation of, under different Acts, etc., *Apr. 18, 366.*

Repayment of—Tabling Receivable Order Form, *Apr. 18, 362-363.*

Cusack Estate, Progress of Sale—Granting Return showing names of intending Purchasers, *Apr. 25, 1056.*

Drummeel Bog, Obligation of Commissioners to assume Position of Public Trustees of, *Apr. 25, 1056-1057.*

Dublin Gazette, Publication of Particulars of Applications, etc., in, *Apr. 19, 536.*

Fermanagh, in—Cases of Delay in Settlements, *Apr. 26, 1185.*

Forms for Sale and Purchase, Tabling, *Apr. 19, 536.*

King-Harman Estate.

Compulsory Sale—Circular issued to Tenants by Solicitors, *Apr. 14, 189.*

Plant, W. H., Quality and price of Land offered to—Inspection by Estates Commissioners, proposed, *Apr. 15, 295.*

Lloyd's Estate, Purchase of, by Agent of Property—Application of evicted Tenant for Re-instatement, *Apr. 25, 1054.*

Mahoney Estate, Sale of.

Delays and Irregularities, alleged, *Apr. 13, 175.*

Doherty, Florence, Re-instatement of, *Apr. 12, 21.*

Negotiations for Sale of, etc., *Apr. 28, 1433.*

White Estate, Steps to be taken as to evicted Tenants of, *Apr. 19, 533.*

Limerick.

Board of Conservators—Employment of persons fined for illegal fishing as Water Bailiffs, *Apr. 14, 189.*

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—cont.**Limerick—cont.**

Jews, Persecution of—Protection by police, etc., *Apr. 14, 202, 203; Apr. 26, 1186, 1187.*

Lisburn Disturbances—Police protection, etc., *Apr. 19, 667, 668.*

Lislea National School—Appointment of Local Manager, *Apr. 18, 363-364.*

Lloyd's Estate—Purchase by Agent of Property—Application of evicted Tenant for Re-instatement, *Apr. 25, 1054.*

Loan Fund Board Ireland—Legislation—Re-introduction of Bill, *Apr. 12, 23.*

Londonderry Prison Matron—Marriage during term of service, alleged, *Apr. 14, 203.*

Luggacurren Estate—considering claims of evicted Tenant for Re-instatement, *Apr. 18, 393-394.*

Lunatics Asylums.**Ballinasloe.**

Charge against Attendant Kenny, etc., *Apr. 21, 850-852.*

Medical Superintendent, Junior Assistant appointed to Post of, etc., *Apr. 21, 851-852.*

British soldiers and Sailors in, *Apr. 19, 523.*

Uncertified lunatics, admission of, to Workhouses, *Apr. 18, 384.*

Magistrates—Case sent for trial in opposition to views of the majority of local magistrates—Action of the Government, *Apr. 25, 1025.*

Mahony Estate, *see under sub-heading Land Purchase.*

Maryborough Prison—Discontent among Warders due to Conduct of Chief Warder, *Apr. 28, 1424.*

Monaghan Agricultural and Technical Committee, Display of Party Flags at Shows prohibited by, *Apr. 20, 686.*

National School Teachers.

Appointments and Dismissals exclusively in the hands of the Managers, *Apr. 18, 436, 461.*

Evening School Teachers, Queen's County, Payment of Grants to *Apr. 26, 1181.*

King's Scholars Training in 1899-1900, Position, Date of Increment, etc., *Apr. 15, 300.*

Newcastle, Down, Voting Register, Constitution of, *Apr. 21, 852.*

Piers and Harbours.

Berehaven Harbour, Dredging of, *Apr. 19, 534.*

Castletown and Bantry Harbours, dredging of, *Apr. 19, 534.*

Apr. 12—Apr. 28.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—cont.Piers and Harbours—*cont.*Cleggan Harbour, Connemara, Date of Commencing Improvements to, *Apr. 18, 386.*Wexford Fishery Piers, Construction and Repair of, *Apr. 18, 385.*Public Libraries Act, Number of Rural District Councils adopting, *Apr. 12, 22.*

Queen's Colleges.

Cork—Term of Residence of President, *Apr. 26, 1184, 1185.*Deputy Presidents, Names, Salaries, etc., *Apr. 19, 533.*Quit and Crown Rents, Redemption of. Number of Years Purchase of, *Apr. 25, 1037–1038.*Prices of, in 1901, 1902, and 1903, *Apr. 19, 535.*Rae Estate, Kerry, suggested Purchase of, by Congested Districts Board, *Apr. 18, 387.*Rathmines—Division into Wards, Delay in holding Inquiry as to, *Apr. 19, 535.*Tipperary Urban Council Surcharges, Auditor's Costs, *Apr. 18, 388.*

Tithe Rents, Redemption of.

Number of Years Purchase of, *Apr. 25, 1037–1038.*Prices of, in 1901, 1902, and 1903, *Apr. 19, 535.*Water Bailiffs—Limerick Board of Conservators, employment by, of persons fined for illegal fishing, alleged, *Apr. 14, 189.*Wexford Piers, Construction and Repair of, *Apr. 18, 385.*White Estate, Tenants evicted from, Steps to be taken with regard to, *Apr. 19, 533.*Woollen Industries, etc.—Assistance to purchase machinery proposed, *Apr. 14, 205.*

Workhouses.

Commission on, publishing Evidence, etc., *Apr. 28, 1435.*Lunatics, uncertified, Admission of, *Apr. 18, 384.***Yeomanry**

Forster, Sergeant W. C., Arrears of Pay due to, Cause of Delay in Payment.

Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 28, 1439–1440.*

Inspector-General of—Number of Regiments inspected 1902 and 1903—Salary, Allowances, etc., 1902 and 1903.

Q. Mr. Peel; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 26, 1191–1192.***Yeomanry—cont.**

Training—Motor Cycles for despatch-carrying, etc., proposed.

Q. Mr. Allhusen; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Apr. 27, 1292, 1293.***Yerburgh, Mr. R. A. [Chester]**Macedonia—Civil Assessors, Tabling Reports of, *Apr. 18, 360.*

Navy.

Battleships, Construction of, by foreign countries—number projected and building, tonnage, etc., *Apr. 15, 296.*Defences, Regulations as to Admission of Foreigners to view, *Apr. 25, 1026–1027.*

Submarines.

A1, loss of—Possibility of saving life by more expeditious salvage, *Apr. 15, 296.*Fittings to Facilitate Salvage, proposed, *Apr. 15, 296.*Total Warship Tonnage, 1896 and 1904, and of Continental Countries and United States, *Apr. 25, 1028.***Yorkshire (West Riding)**Registrar Practising as Solicitor—Order presented, *Apr. 26, 1177; Apr. 28, 1408.***Yorktown and Blackwater Gas Bill**c. 2R.* *Apr. 19, 516.***Youghal Bay**

Salmon Fisheries—Restrictions placed on Fishermen, taking steps with regard to.

Q. Capt. Donelan; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Apr. 27, 1306.***Young, Mr. S. [Cavan, E.]**

Education, Ireland.

Primary—Antiquated and inadequate system, *Apr. 18, 424.*Teachers—Status and remuneration grievances, *Apr. 18, 425.*Epidemics in Schools—Regulations as to Closing—Teacher's Salary, etc., *Apr. 25, 1055–1056.***Young and Bell's Patents Bill.**c. Rep.* *Apr. 14, 182.*3R.* *Apr. 18, 349.*I. Royal Assent, *Apr. 28, 1405.***Yoxall, Mr. J. H. [Nottingham, W.]**Civil Service Clerks—Abstractor Class—Age Limit for Appointments, *Apr. 18, 355.*

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